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THE LONDON PRIN

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GIVING

TAIED ACCOUNT OF THE SEPOY INSURRECTION IN INDIA; AND A CONCISE HITORY OF THE GREAT MILITARY EVENTS WHICH HAVE TENDED TO CONSOLIDATE BRITISH EMPIRE IN HINDOSTAN.

BY CHARLES BALL.

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THE HISTORY

OF THE

INDIAN MUTINY.

CHAPTER I.

LUCKNOW; THE RESIDENCY AND ITS DEFENCES; STRENGTH OF THE GARRISON; DISMISSAL OF NATIVE TROOPS BY SIR HENRY LAWRENCE; ATTACK UPON THE REBELS AT CHINHUT; TREACHERY OF THE GUNNERS, AND OF THE OUDE CAVALRY; RETREAT OF THE BRITISH TROOPS; CONCENTRATION OF THE EUROPEAN INHABITANTS WITHIN THE RESIDENCY; COMMENCEMENT OF THE SIEGE; DEATH OF SIR H. LAWRENCE; BRIGADIER INGLIS SUCCEEDS TO THE COMMAND; VIGOROUS OPERATIONS OF ATTACK AND DEFENCE; A MESSENGER FROM CAWNPORE; MINES AND COUNTERMINES; DEATH OF MAJOR BANKS; CONDITION OF THE BESIEGED; WEEKLY PROGRESS OF EVENTS; STATE OF THE WOMEN AND CHILDREN; ADVANCE OF GENERAL HAVELOCK FROM CAWNPORE; BATTLES OF OONAO AND BUSHERUT-GUNGE; RETROGRADE MOVEMENT; JUNCTION WITH OUTRAM; SECOND ADVANCE TO LUCKNOW, AND PARTIAL RELIEF OF THE GARRISON.

THE story of the relief of Lucknow will ever occupy one of the brightest pages in the annals of British heroism. The unquenchable spirit of the besieged, amidst the perils of war, the ravages of disease, and the wear of anxiety; the indomitable energy and perseverance of the noble band sent forth to the rescue; and, finally, the glorious triumph by which their united efforts were crowned, present to the world a continuity of events as interesting in detail, as they were supremely important in result. The lives and honour of Englishwomen were imperilled, and the brave hearts and strong arms of their indignant countrymen were irresistible, as they sprang forward to save or to avenge them.

Turning from the crime-polluted streets of Cawnpore, while yet reeking with the blood of the victims of treachery and lust, and echoing with the despairing shrieks of the miscreant slaughterers of the defenceless and the weak, as they writhed in the retributive grasp of the avenger Neill; we have now to trace the progress of the lamented Havelock, as, with his noble band, progressively augmented to about 2,500 British soldiers, he fought his way step by step through a country whose entire population was in arms against him, and whose every town, village, and even house had been converted into a fortress, only to be reduced by blood and toil. With but one practicable road along which he could advance, he found on either side impenetrable jungle, or death-exhaling swamps, that rendered the slightest deviation from the main route perilous, if not fatal, to the troops under his command. The bridges over the intervening rivers and streams, between Cawnpore and Lucknow, which at the period were swollen to an enormous height, had been carefully destroyed by the people of Oude; and on the further banks, as he approached, innumerable bands of armed rebels, consisting of the mutinous soldiers of the Bengal native army, and of regiments of the several contingents in revolt, had taken their position—strongly intrenched, amply supplied with artillery and ammunition, and all burning with hatred and fanaticism; impatient to avenge their imagined wrongs by exterminating the whole race of their benefactors, whom they felt they had outraged by crime so sanguinary, and insults so foul, that a life of despair, or a felon's doom, had left no alternative for them but a war of reckless desperation. Yet, under a leader whose name had now become synonymous with assurance of victory, the band

of Havelock overcame in detail every obstacle as it presented itself; and though for a moment checked in its triumphant career by a swollen river, or by the visitation of disease, neither paucity of numbers, increasing difficulties, or unavoidable privations, could prevent the accomplishment of the glorious task enjoined them, or could avert the just punishment it was their mission to inflict upon the merciless and unmanly destroyers of helpless women and innocent children.

Anticipating the result of General Havelock's advance upon Lucknow, we must pause for a moment before the vista opened to us by three weary months of daily-increasing peril and diminishing resources, to compare with the generous perseverance and resistless valour of the rescuers, the heroic spirit and unwavering faith of the rescued;—to contemplate the exertions of that small but glorious band, whose vigilance and bravery preserved the priceless treasures of womanly honour and infant purity, dependent upon it for protection, and for even more than existence;—to trace, with exulting admiration, the ceaseless energies called into action by the inspiriting examples of a Lawrence and an Inglis, and their co-rivals in a glorious emulation; sustained by which, a few worn-out heroes, regardless of wounds or fatigue, had, from June to September, successfully repulsed the assaults of an enemy outnumbering them by thousands, as day by day they rushed upon a position ill-provided to withstand a siege; and whose defence consisted in the brave hearts and strong arms of its handful of defenders, rather than in the walls by which it was partially surrounded. And thus it was, that, sustained by the impulses of their true English hearts, and by their faith in the outstretched arms and sleepless anxiety of their advancing countrymen, no impatient cry, no desponding wail was heard, though the women and children far outnumbered their defenders, every one of whom, as he fell, struck down a barrier behind which they were sheltered, and left a gap through which the tide of horrors that surged around them, might rush in to desecrate and destroy. No wonder, then, that while the defended thus bravely sustained the spirits, and cheered the energy of the defenders by their inspiring faith and patient endurance of hardship and of peril, the assaults of the rebel hordes that thirsted for their blood, were shorn of half their terrors, and assurance of ultimate deliverance became daily yet more strong, as the counter-attacks of the little garrison occasionally forced the assailants to reel backward in dismay, and by well-timed and judiciously-planned sorties, found opportunity to drive into the beleaguered inclosure, the herds and stores of provisions collected by the besiegers for the necessary use and sustenance of their own troops, and the hungry multitudes that swarmed around them.

The relief of Lucknow from the rebel host that surrounded it, involved a struggle in which every nerve was strained to its utmost power of tension, both by our beleaguered countrymen and by those who fought their way through hostile myriads to relieve them; and the capability of English endurance was, indeed, then tested. Before the gates of the residency could be thrown back to welcome the generous rescuers, death had already thinned the ranks of its defenders: the wisest and bravest—where all were wise and brave—had fallen in the shock of war; physical weakness had prostrated the strength, though it could not subdue the indomitable spirit, of the heroes of Lucknow; and famine had already unveiled its ghastly face amidst the beleaguered band. One day—perhaps but a few hours longer, and the unsurpassed heroism displayed by all, for the sake of all, might have proved unavailing; and three months of unsurpassed endurance and unshaken faith would have been succeeded by an hour in which the shrieks of dishonoured and dying women and children would have mingled with the expiring groans of their mutilated and overpowered defenders. Already the mines of the insurgents had penetrated within the line of defence, and a short time need only have elapsed before the extemporised bulwarks of the residency would be blown into the air, and the infuriated and ferocious host that panted for slaughter, with their no less brutal abettors from the bazaars and the gaols, would have been streaming over the ruins to glut themselves with the blood of the defenceless victims. It was the will of Providence that this crowning atrocity of the sepoy war should be wrested from the grasp of the murderous host that designed its consummation; and Lucknow, its women, and its children were saved! but some of the best blood of England bathed the laurels that were implanted to immortalise the memory of their deliverance.

The position of Sir Henry Lawrence had

become extremely onerous after the events of the latter end of May, to which reference has already been made;* and it was impossible he should avoid being deeply impressed with a sense of the importance of an approaching crisis. In anticipation of this, he had already began to make preparations for the defence of the residency, in which he purposed to collect the whole of the European community, both civil and military, then in Lucknow; and, with this view, had thoroughly armed several important points of defence within the enclosure, distributing his European soldiers to the best advantage over the place. Two squadrons of the 2nd Oude irregular cavalry were at the dâk bungalow, half-way between the residency and the cantonment; and at the latter were stationed about 340 men of her majesty's 32nd regiment. The cantonment was situated about six miles from the city, and the residency was itself entirely isolated from both.

According to a plan recently published of the residency and a part of the city of Lucknow, the former appears to have been, in its entirety, an irregular, lozenge-shaped enclosure, having its acute angles nearly north and south; the southern extremity being contiguous to the Cawnpore-road, and the northern point approaching near to the iron suspension-bridge over the Goomtee, which separated the cantonment from the city and residency. Near the south point of the enclosure was the house of Major Anderson, standing in the middle of a garden or open court, and surrounded by a wall: the house was defended by barricades, and loopholed for musketry; while the garden was strengthened by a trench and rows of palisades. Next to this house, and communicating with it by a hole in the wall, was a newly-constructed defence-work, that received the name of the Cawnpore Battery; mounted with guns, and intended to command some of the houses and streets adjacent to the Cawnpore-road. A house next this, occupied by a Mr. Deprat, had a verandah, which, for defensive purposes, was blocked up with a mud wall six feet high, and two feet and a-half thick: this wall was continued in a straight line to that of the next house, and carried up to a height of nine feet, with loopholes for musketry. Next to this was a house occupied as a school for boys of the Martinière college—strengthened by a stockade of beams placed before it; and adjacent was a street or road, defended by stockades, barricades, and a trench. Further towards the western angle of the enclosure was a building known as the Daroo Shuffa, or King's Hospital; but then called the Brigade Mess-house; having a well-protected and lofty terrace, which commanded an exterior building called Johanne's House. In its rear was a parallelogram, divided by buildings into two squares or courts, occupied in various ways by officers and their families. Then came groups of low brick buildings, around two quadrangles, called the Sikh Squares, on the tops of which erections were thrown up to enable the troops to fire upon the town. Separated from these by a narrow lane was the house of Mr. Gubbins, the financial commissioner; the lane was barricaded by earth, beams, and brambles; the buildings were strengthened in every way; and the extreme western point formed a battery, constructed by Mr. Gubbins himself. Then, passing along the north-west side, were seen in turn the racket-court, the slaughterhouse, the sheep-pen, and the butcher-yard—all near the boundary of the fortifications, and separated one from the other by wide open spaces: there was a storehouse for cattle-food, and a guard-house for Europeans; and all the buildings were loopholed for musketry. In the rear of the Bhoosa Intrenchment (as this post was called), was the house of Mr. Ommaney, the judicial commissioner; guarded by a deep ditch and cactus-hedge, and provided with two pieces of ordnance. North of the slaughterhouse, a mortar battery was formed. The English church was the next important building towards the north: it was speedily converted into a granary; and in the churchyard was formed a mortar battery, capable of shelling all the portion of the city between it and the iron bridge. This churchyard was afterwards destined to receive melancholy proofs of the sacrifices required for the defence of the station. Beyond the churchyard was the house of Lieutenant Innes, in dangerous proximity to many buildings held by the rebels, and bounded on two sides by a garden; and it was a difficult but most important duty to strengthen this house as much as possible. The extreme northern point of the whole enclosure—not 500 yards from the iron bridge—was scarcely susceptible of defence in itself; but it was fully protected by the Redan

* See vol. i., p. 183.

battery, constructed by Captain Fulton. This was decidedly the best battery in the whole place, commanding a wide sweep of the city and country on both banks of the river. Along the north-east side, connected at one end with the Redan, was a series of earthworks, fascines, and sandbags, loopholed for musketry, and mounted with guns. A long range of sloping garden-ground was turned into a glacis, in front of the line of intrenchment just named. In the centre of the northern half of the whole place was the residency proper, the official abode of the chief commissioner. This was a spacious and beautiful brick building, which was speedily made capable of accommodating several hundred persons; and as it stood on elevated ground, the terrace roof commanded a view of the whole city—for such as would incur the peril of standing there. The hospital, a very large building near the eastern angle of the whole enclosure, had once been the banqueting-room for the British resident at the court of the king of Oude; but it was now occupied as a hospital, a dispensary, officers' quarters, and a laboratory for making fusees and cartridges: it was defended by mortars and guns in various directions. The Ballee, or Bailey Guard, was near the hospital, but on a lower level; various parts of it were occupied as a store-room, a treasury, and barracks: the portion really constituting the Bailey Guard gate (the station of the sepoys formerly guarding the residency), was beyond the limits of the enclosure, and was, therefore, productive of more harm than good to the garrison: and as a means of security, the gateway was blocked up with earth, and defended by guns. Dr. Fayrer's house, south of the hospital, had a terrace roof, whence rifles were frequently brought to bear upon the insurgents; and, near it, a few guns were placed in position. Southward, again, was the civil dispensary; and near this the post-office—a building which, from its position and construction, was one of the most important in the whole place. Soldiers were barracked in the interior; a shell and fusee-room was set apart; the engineers made it their head-quarters; several families resided in it; and guns and mortars were planted in and around it. The financial office, and the house of Mrs. Sago (the mistress of a charity-school), were on the south-east side of the enclosure; and were, with great difficulty, put in a defensive condition. The judicial office, near Sago's house, could only be protected from an open lane by a wall of fascines and earth. The gaol near the Cawnpore gate was converted into barracks, and the native hospital became a tolerably sheltered place. The Begum's kothee, or "lady's house" (formerly belonging to a native lady of rank), was in the centre of the whole enclosure: this comprised many buildings, which were afterwards converted into commissariat store-rooms, cooking-rooms, and dwellings for officers' families.

The residency at Lucknow, it will be seen from the above description, was a small town, rather than a mere single building, occupied by the chief commissioner. Before the defences were commenced (in June), it could be approached and entered from all sides; and, at the beginning of July, only a part of the defence-works above described were completed. The brave occupants of the improvised fortress had to fight and build, to suffer and work, to watch and fortify, day after day, under privations and difficulties it is almost impossible for those at a distance to appreciate. The various houses, frequently denominated "garrisons" by those engaged in the siege, did really deserve that title in a military sense; for they were gradually transformed into little forts or strongholds, each placed under one commander, and each bravely defended against all attacks of the enemy, until the triumphant advance of Havelock gave all that survived of the heroic band a respite from their labours.

Of the Europeans collected together within the enclosure of the residency, on the 30th of May, 1857 (numbering, altogether, 794 persons), the women and children alone amounted to 522; besides whom were 138 civilians: the entire military force for their immediate protection, consisting of 144 men of all grades—from the chief commissioner downward. At a subsequent period, when the whole of the European troops had been withdrawn from the outposts, and were concentrated within the enclosure, the residency became necessarily the shelter of a much larger number of persons, including as well the English troops as also a number of men belonging to the native corps, who as yet professed to be loyal to the government.

After the affair of the 30th of June (hereafter referred to), the discomforts of the individuals shut up within the line of defences began to be seriously augmented. The un-

fortunate result of the affair near Chinhut, rendered it apparent that every European or native Christian who valued existence, must look for its preservation within the walls of the residency; and many who had risked remaining in the city until that time, now rushed into the enclosure, without having made any preparation for flight, and, in most instances, divested of every article of property but the clothing they happened to be wearing at the moment of their panic. The confusion for the first few days after this sudden influx, was indescribable. Numbers who had thus come in at the eleventh hour, vainly for a time sought to find, or to make, something which they might call a home; and the consequent excitement, aided by the clamour and perplexities of the native servants, rendered the enclosure for a short time a perfect Babel in miniature.

Without further anticipating events which will be better understood in their due course, it is necessary here to observe, that, after the defection of a portion of the native troops at Lucknow, on the 31st of May, and their flight towards Seetapore,* some 700 men of the several corps who still remained, or professed to remain, faithful to the government, continued to be employed in their military duties as usual; but as time progressed, and it became evident to the keen perception of Sir Henry Lawrence that the whole surface of Oude was seething with rebellion; when, day by day, intelligence reached him that station after station had been a scene of sanguinary outrage, and that regiment after regiment had, after murdering its officers, either dispersed in lawless gangs over the country, or, in a mass, had joined the rebel hordes that were directing their steps towards the capital; it was no longer prudent that reliance should be placed upon the loyalty of men so closely connected by blood and religion with the rebellious soldiery, and whose presence had become a source of embarrassment rather than of strength. At length, intelligence reached the residency that the deserters from Lucknow had succeeded in exciting their co-religionists at Seetapore to mutiny; and the danger of an explosion among their comrades who still remained, became hourly more imminent. No time, therefore, was to be lost in removing this cause of anxiety, and, in all probability, of danger also; and Sir Henry Lawrence at once determined upon getting rid of the whole of the native troops that remained in the cantonment. This object was accomplished by giving each man the arrears of pay due to him, with leave of absence from duty for three months. The plan succeeded, without, at the moment, exciting suspicion of the motive; and nearly the whole of the men availed themselves of the proffered indulgence; thus relieving the European garrison from much anxiety, and greatly strengthening its confidence in its own means for surmounting the difficulties that appeared likely to surround it.

In a non-official communication from Mr. Martin Gubbins (the finance commissioner already mentioned), to his brother, the assistant judge at Benares (printed among the Indian correspondence laid before the House of Commons),† that gentleman observes as follows:—"Here in Oude we have lost every station but Lucknow. We hope to hold against all the world for a length of time. We hold two positions—that is, the residency and Muchee Bhowun, separated by about three-quarters of a mile; and we have 225 Europeans and three guns in the Muchee Bhowun cantonment. We have, thank God, got rid of the remnants of the mutinous regiments of Lucknow—that is, the 48th, 21st, and 39th native infantry, and 7th light cavalry. Sir H. Lawrence was so ill that a provisional council has been appointed. We ordered commanding officers to recommend their men to go home for three months after receiving their pay; it succeeded, in most cases, with a mere trifling exception: none remain of all our disciplined troops. About 1,200 Seetapore mutineers threaten us on the north; six regiments and a battery on the Fyzabad side, and two regiments and a battery from beyond the Gogra, also threaten us. I have no fear if we are true to ourselves, and go at the fi[illegible] force which approaches. We have ple[illegible]y of elephants to carry the Europeans, and the fellows fear us immensely; but if, as I expect, we may be hemmed in, though I do not fear the result, yet we must needs undergo the misery and sorrow of a siege."

Although the residency was the main point of defence, the city and cantonment were still under British control up to the end of June; and, on the 27th of that month, Sir Henry Lawrence apprised the authorities at Allahabad, that he still held the residency and the Muchee Bhowun, having

* See vol. i., p. 183.

† See Blue Book (Indian Mutiny), No. 3; p. 75.

then concentrated his force upon those points only; and that his supplies were equal to two months' consumption: adding, that although he felt assured that Lucknow was at that moment the only place in Oude where British influence was paramount, and he dared not leave the city for twenty-four hours without risk of a popular rising; he declared his belief, that if he could be strengthened by one additional European regiment, and a hundred artillerymen, he could re-establish British supremacy in Oude. It was not the will of Providence that he should have an opportunity for testing the soundness of his faith.

The next authentic information received by the Indian government, in reference to events at Lucknow, was conveyed by the following telegrams from the officer commanding at Allahabad, and the chief commissioner at Benares, to the governor-general in council. The first is dated "Allahabad, July 10th, 1.30 P.M. This just come in to officer commanding here:—'Lucknow, June 30th. From Sir H. Lawrence. Went out this morning eight miles to meet the enemy, and were defeated, through misconduct chiefly of artillery and cavalry, many of whom deserted. Enemy followed us up, and we have been besieged for four hours. Shall likely be surrounded to-night. Enemy very bold, and our Europeans very low. Looks upon his position now ten times as bad as it was yesterday: it is very critical. We shall be obliged to concentrate, if we are able. We shall have to abandon much supplies, and blow up much powder. Unless we are relieved in fifteen or twenty days, we shall hardly be able to maintain our ground. We lost three officers killed this morning, and several wounded—Colonel Case, Captain Steevens, Mr. Brackenbury.'"

The second telegram, dated from Benares, July 11th, 6.15 P.M., is more explicit:—"A man belonging to the commissariat-office in Lucknow, deposed that, on June 29th, it was rumoured that 7,000 or 8,000 insurgents were encamped on the opposite side of the Kookral canal. Sir Henry went out to meet them with two companies of her majesty's 32nd, eleven guns, and sixty sowars. After a severe contest of two hours, and a loss of sixty men, he was forced to retreat. The sowars were panic-struck, and fled. At Allygunge, about two miles from the Kookral canal, the enemy attacked and captured six guns. Sir Henry said to have been wounded there. The British fought their way to the residency, closely followed by the insurgents, who entered the city, and began plundering the inhabitants, who would not join them in their excesses."

The siege of Lucknow commenced on the 1st of July—the day succeeding the disastrous affair above-mentioned; and it was, for duration and severity, even more truly such than was that to which the ill-fated Sir Hugh Wheeler had been subjected at Cawnpore; since, in addition to the incessant firing of musketry, cannon, and mortars, there were also, in its progress, subterranean mines or galleries dug by the mutineers from the outer streets, under the enclosing wall of the position, intended to blow up and destroy the defences. To detect these proceedings, it was necessary to maintain strict and unceasing watchfulness at every point of the residency at all hours. The concentration of the European troops being now indispensable, a telegraph, established upon one of the buildings, signalled to the officer in command at the Muchee Bhowun, directing him to blow up the fort, and retire to the residency with the treasure and guns. This affair was successfully accomplished; and 240 barrels of powder, and 600,000 rounds of ammunition, were blown into the air to prevent them from falling into the hands of the enemy; the officers and soldiers meanwhile taking their departure for the residency, where they helped to strengthen the ranks of its valiant defenders.

As yet, nothing had occurred seriously to depress the spirits of the garrison; but the period approached when the master-mind that had hitherto successfully grappled with every difficulty opposed to it, was destined to succumb to the lethargy of the tomb, by an accident as extraordinary as it was unexpected. After repeatedly facing the perils of treason, and the more honourable dangers of the battle-field, it was the fate of Sir Henry Lawrence to be stricken down in a moment of comparative repose, and beneath the shelter of his own roof. It had happened, during the morning of the 1st of July, that an 8-inch shell, from a battery of the rebels, entered a small apartment of the residency, in which at the time Sir Henry Lawrence was sitting, in conversation with his private secretary, Mr. Couper. The missile burst between them, without injuring either: and now as the

residency seemed to have become a special target for the round shot and shells of the insurgents, the officers of Sir Henry's staff earnestly besought him to remove his personal quarters to another and more secure part of the building. He, however, declined to accede to their wishes, jestingly observing, that the room was so small, another shell would certainly never pitch into it. Unfortunately, his error was a fatal one.

On the very next day, while resting on a couch in the same apartment, after several hours of severe and exhausting labour, another shell penetrated the wall, and burst; one of the fragments inflicting a wound upon Sir Henry, that was immediately known to be mortal. The consternation and grief of the whole garrison, when this lamentable occurrence was made known, was excessive; but it was fruitless. The truly great man, and true soldier, lingered in agony until the morning of the 4th of July, when death relieved him from further suffering. No military honours marked the funeral rites of the chief commissioner of Oude; there was neither time nor opportunity for the pomp of grief: a hurried prayer was offered up amidst the booming of cannon, and volleys of hostile musketry performed the soldier's requiem, as a few spadefuls of earth fell on the mortal remains of one whose name is inscribed among the most worthy of the sons of England.*

Sir Henry Montgomery Lawrence was the elder brother of Sir John Laird Muir Lawrence, K.C.B., chief commissioner of the Punjab, and eldest son of the late Lieutenant-colonel Alexander William Lawrence, who was distinguished by his gallantry at the siege of Seringapatam. The mother of Sir Henry was the daughter of the late Captain Knox, of the county Donegal, Ireland. Henry Montgomery Lawrence was born in 1806, at Mattura, in Ceylon; and, in 1837, married Honoria, younger daughter of the Rev. George Marshall, of Cardonagh, Ireland; but was left a widower in 1854. Having received his early education at the diocesan school of Londonderry, and afterwards at the Royal Military College, Addiscombe, he entered the military service of the East India Company in 1821, as a cadet in the Bengal artillery, and soon acquired the reputation of being one of the most able and intelligent officers in the service. Having shared the perils and glories of the Cabul campaign with Sir George Pollock, he was, in 1843, raised to the rank of major; and, in the same year, became British resident at Nepaul. He afterwards took a distinguished part in the campaigns on the Sutlej; soon after which, he was made a military companion of the Bath; and, at the same time, promoted to the rank of lieutenant-colonel. In 1846, he was appointed resident at Lahore, and agent for the governor-general on the north-western frontier; and, in consequence of his able services in the administration of this important office, the distinction of K.C.B. (civil) was conferred upon him in 1848. In the following year, he was appointed, by Lord Dalhousie, president of the board for the reduction and government of the recently annexed province of the Punjab; and subsequently was appointed chief commissioner of the kingdom of Oude, upon the annexation of that state also. In each of these high and important posts, Sir Henry Lawrence increased the high opinion already entertained of his administrative talents both by the government and by his friends. In 1854, he obtained the rank of full colonel, and was nominated an honorary aide-de-camp to her majesty, as a further recognition of his extraordinary merits.

In Sir Henry Lawrence, the Indian service and the country lost an officer whose head and hand could ill be spared at the moment they were deprived of his services.

* Some affecting incidents connected with the last moments of the lamented chief, are preserved by the authoress of *A Lady's Diary of the Siege of Lucknow;* who was, at the time the fatal wound was inflicted, staying with her husband at the house of Dr. Fayrer, a surgeon, who had repeatedly urged upon Sir Henry Lawrence the paramount duty of cherishing his own life as one valuable to others, even if slighted by himself. This lady says—"He was brought over to this house immediately: —— prayed with him, and administered the holy communion to him. He was quite sensible, though his agony was extreme. He spoke for nearly an hour quite calmly, expressing his last wishes with regard to his children. He sent affectionate messages to them; and to each of his brothers and sisters. He particularly mentioned the Lawrence Asylum, and intreated that government might be urged to give it support. He bade farewell to all the gentlemen who were standing round his bed, and said a few words of advice and kindness to each. There was not a tearless eye there; every one was so deeply affected and grieved at the loss of such a man." The depression occasioned by his loss was extreme.

but it was not merely as a soldier, or as an administrator, that he stood high in general appreciation. As a frank, honourable, and straightforward English gentleman, and as a generous and unselfish friend, he had few equals and no superiors: so that his loss fell quite as heavy upon private society in India, as it did upon the public service. In India, his memory will long be cherished as that of one of its most valued benefactors; and the asylum founded by him, between Simla and Umballah, for the orphan children of European soldiers, will long attest his claim to the lasting gratitude of his countrymen.

A few hours previous to his death, Sir Henry Lawrence nominated Major Banks to succeed him as chief commissioner, until the important functions of the office were otherwise provided for by government. Colonel Inglis, of the 32nd regiment, was also named by him to command the troops and watch over the safety of the residency until it should be relieved. How nobly that arduous task was performed, will be best described in the official documents hereafter referred to.

On the day Sir Henry Lawrence was laid in his hurried grave, his nephew, Mr. G. H. Lawrence, was wounded; and Miss Palmer, daughter of Colonel Palmer, of the 48th regiment, had her thigh shattered by a ball: on that day, also, all order or legitimate trade ceased in the city, which was entirely in the hands of marauders and budmashes. On the 5th of July, the rebels obtained possession of a high building called Johanne's House, from which they were able to keep up a galling fire upon Anderson's house, the gaol barracks, the post-office, and the Begum's kothee. On the 6th and 7th, a harassing fire was kept up on the residency from various points; and some of the *bhoosa* (or chopped straw, for bullocks' fodder) which had been stored in an ill-protected place, was set on fire by the enemy, placing a magazine in its vicinity in imminent danger. On one of these days, Major Francis had both his legs cut off by a cannon-ball while sitting in the mess-room. Mr. Marshall, an opium-merchant, was killed; and the Rev. Mr. Polehampton was wounded. Many of the enemy's batteries were not more than from fifty to a hundred yards' distant from the exterior boundary of the residency enclosure, and the practice from them was most destructive. The principal number of deaths, however (which were from ten to twenty a-day during the first week), were caused by musket bullets, the enemy having many good marksmen among them; and one especially—an African eunuch, belonging to the late court of the king of Oude—who used his musket with deadly precision from Johanne's house.

The second week of the siege opened with an augmentation of the evils already endured. On one day, the Bailey Guard would be fiercely attacked; another day the Cawnpore battery demanded incessant watchfulness and exertion from the officers and men posted at those outworks. Brigadier Inglis, upon whom the mantle of Lawrence had worthily fallen, sent off letters and messages to Cawnpore and Allahabad; but none reached their destination, the messengers being invariably intercepted on their way. This he knew not at the time; he only knew that no intelligence, no aid, reached him in return; and he felt that he was, in fact, thrown upon his own resources, which he consequently measured with an anxious heart. Sometimes a few officers would retire to obtain a little rest just before midnight, to be aroused at one or two o'clock in the morning by a message, that Gubbins' house or "garrison" (as most of the fortified houses within the enclosure were now called), or the Bailey Guard, or some other important post, was closely attacked. Sleep, food, everything was forgotten at such moments, except the paramount duty of repelling the enemy at the first attack. One day, a rebel armed with a musket pushed forward to such a spot as enabled him to shoot Lieutenant Charlton withinside the door of the church. Sometimes the enemy would fire logs of wood from their cannon and mortars, as if they were deficient in shot or shell; but their fire did not slacken on that account. Occasionally they sent shots which set the commissioner's house on fire, causing danger as well as difficulty in the attempt to extinguish the flames; and it soon became perilous for any one within the enclosure to be seen for an instant by the enemy, so deadly accurate were their marksmen. Sometimes the officers, with a few men, longing for a dash that might inspirit them in the midst of their troubles, would make a sortie beyond the defences, spike a gun or two, dispatch a few rebels, and then hasten back to the enclosure. Lives, however, were too valuable to be risked for

advantages so small as these; and, consequently, such acts of heroism were not encouraged by the brigadier.

The indignation and anxiety of the garrison became much increased during the third week of the siege, in consequence of the enemy having commenced firing at the brigade mess-house, where the ladies and children had taken refuge. In perfect keeping with the sepoy tactics, attacks were thus persistently made upon those who could not defend themselves; and thus the officers and soldiers found their attention distracted from necessary duties at other points. Anderson's house had by this time become so riddled with shot, that the stores were removed from it; and Deprat's house, similarly battered by the enemy, in like manner became uninhabitable. The buildings near the boundary suffered most, and, as a consequence, those nearer the centre became more crowded with inmates. Day by day, and hour by hour, did officers and men work hard to strengthen the defences. Mortars were placed behind the earthwork at the post-office, to shell the battery at Johanne's house; and stockades and traverses were made to screen the entrance to the residency, within which so many persons were sheltered. Nevertheless, the attack increased in vigour quite as rapidly as the defences gained strength. The custom of the insurgents at this time, was to fire all night, so as to afford the garrison no rest, and wear them out with a want of it. They also now placed a mortar that sent shells directly into the residency building, and commenced a new battery to bear upon Gubbins' house; and their cannon-balls fell upon and into Fayrer's and Gubbins' houses, the post-office, and the brigade mess-house. On the 20th, a shot swept through a room in which several of the officers were breakfasting, and a mine was sprung inside the Water-gate, intended to blow up the Redan battery; while, at the same time, vigorous attacks were made on almost every point of the enclosure, as if to bewilder the garrison with crushing onslaughts on every side. Almost every building was the object of a distinct attack. The Redan battery was fortunately not destroyed, the enemy having miscalculated the distance of their mine; but the explosion was followed by a desperate struggle on the glacis outside, in which the insurgents were mowed down by grapeshot before they would abandon their efforts to enter at that point. At Innes's house, Lieutenant Loughnan maintained a long and fierce contest against a body of insurgents twenty-fold more numerous than the little band that aided him; and before they desisted, a hundred of their dead and wounded were carried off by the rebels. The financial office and Sago's house, entirely defended by military men, bore up bravely against the torrent that sought to overwhelm them. In short, every point was attacked with vigour; but every attack was also vigorously repelled.

When the muster-roll was called after these exciting struggles, it was found that many valuable lives had been lost; though, happily, not more than thirty persons of all grades were killed or wounded on the 20th. But it is asserted by the author of *A Personal Narrative of the Siege*, that the loss of the enemy during seven hours of incessant fighting, could not have been less than 1,000 men—a result attributed to the showers of grapeshot poured forth from the beleaguered garrison.

In the course of the fourth week, a gleam of hope brought transient joy to the besieged. On the 23rd, a messenger who had succeeded, amidst imminent peril, in reaching Cawnpore and returning, entered the residency, bringing news of Havelock's victories in the Doab. He was immediately sent off again, with an urgent request to the general to advance with his column to Lucknow as speedily as possible. Now, indeed, the anxiety of the English residents was painfully augmented; they began to count the days that must elapse before Havelock could arrive—a hopeful idea at the moment, but bitterly disappointing afterwards; for succour came not, and they knew not why; and, at last, the "deferred hope that maketh the heart sick," shed its chilling influence around them. Meanwhile, the enemy were not idle: on narrowly watching, the engineers detected the rebels forming a gallery beneath the ground, from Johanne's house to the Sikh Square and the brigade mess-house. They could hear the miners at their subterraneous work, and immediately ran out a countermine, and destroyed the enemy's work by an explosion. On the 25th of the month, a letter arrived from Colonel Tytler at Cawnpore—the first received from any quarter throughout the month of July; for the former messenger had merely brought rumours concerning

Havelock, and not a letter or message. The assurance that that general intended to advance to Lucknow, again awakened hopes that had almost ceased to exist; and the messenger was dispatched to him with a plan of the city, to aid his proceedings, and to urge his prompt advance; the messenger being promised a reward of 5,000 rupees if he safely brought back an answer.

To add to the distress of the Europeans, Major Banks, the civil commissioner named by Sir Henry Lawrence, was shot dead while reconnoitring from the top of an out-house. The Rev. Mr. Polehampton was also killed; as were Lieutenants Lewin, Shepherd, and Archer. Dr. Brydon was severely wounded; and the death of Major Banks greatly increased the care and responsibilities of Brigadier Inglis; who, now that there was no chief commissioner, felt the necessity of placing the community under strict military garrison rules.

The following picture of the condition of the occupants of the residency during July, is drawn by one of themselves:*—"The commissariat chief was ill; no one could promptly organise that office under the sudden emergency; the food and draught bullocks, unattended to, roamed about the place, and many of them were shot, or tumbled into wells. Terrible work was it for the officers to bury the killed bullocks, lest their decaying carcasses should taint the air in the excessively hot weather. Some of the artillery horses were driven mad for want of food and water. Day after day, after working hard in the trenches, the officers had to employ themselves at night in burying dead bullocks and horses, the men being all employed as sentries, or on other duties. As the heat continued, and the dead animals increased in number, the stench became overpowering, and was one of the greatest grievances to which the garrison was exposed; and the officers and men were troubled by painful boils. Even when wet days occurred, matters were not much improved; for the hot vapours from stagnant pools engendered fever, cholera, and other diseases. The children died rapidly, and the hospital rooms were always full; the sick and wounded could not be carried to upper apartments, because the enemy's shot and shells rendered such places untenable. The officers were put on half rations early in the month; and those they had to cook for themselves, as most of the native servants had ran away when the troubles began, and many of them ended their service by plundering their unsuspecting masters." The English ladies suffered unnumbered privations and inconveniences, as may be conceived from the following account in the Diary before alluded to; which, recording the first day of the siege, says—"No sooner was the first gun fired, than the ladies and children (congregated in large numbers in Dr. Fayrer's house) were all hurried down stairs into an underground room, called the Tye Khana—damp, dark, and gloomy as a vault, and excessively dirty. Here we sat all day, feeling too miserable, anxious, and terrified to speak, the gentlemen occasionally coming down to reassure us and tell us how things were going on. —— was nearly all the day in the hospital, where the scene was terrible; the place so crowded with wounded and dying men, that there was no room to pass between them, and everything in a state of indescribable misery, discomfort, and confusion. In the preceding month, it had been a hardship for these ladies to be deprived of the luxuries of Anglo-Indian life; but they were now driven to measure comforts by a different standard. They were called upon to sweep their own rooms, draw water from the wells, wash their own clothes, and perform all the menial duties of the household; while their husbands and fathers were cramped up in little outhouses or stables, or anywhere that might afford temporary shelter at night. When food became scanty, and disease prevalent, these troubles were of course augmented, and difference of rank became almost obliterated, where all had to suffer alike. Many families were huddled together in one large room, and all privacy was destroyed. The sick and wounded were, as might be supposed, in sad plight; for, kind as others were, there were too many harassing duties to permit them to help adequately those who were too weak to help themselves. Officers and men were lying about in the hospital rooms, covered with blood, and often with vermin; the *dhobees*, or washermen, were too weakhanded for the preservation of cleanliness; and few of the British had the luxury of a change of linen: the windows being kept closed and barricaded to prevent the entrance of shot, the pestilential atmosphere carried off almost as many unfortunates as the enemy's mis-

* Rees' *Personal Narrative of the Siege.*

siles." Of the flies, it is said—"They daily increased to such an extent, that we at last began to feel life irksome, more on their account than from any other of our numerous troubles. In the day, flies; in the night, mosquitos: but the latter were bearable; the former intolerable. Lucknow had always been noted for its flies; but at no time had they been known to be so troublesome. The mass of putrid matter that was allowed to accumulate, the rains, the commissariat stores, the hospital, had attracted these insects in incredible numbers. They swarmed in millions; and though we blew daily some hundreds of thousands into the air, this seemed to make no diminution in their numbers—the ground was still black with them, and the tables were ever covered with these flies. We could not sleep in the day on account of them. We could scarcely eat. Our beef, of which we got a tolerably small quantity every day, was usually studded with them; and when I ate my miserable boiled lentil-soup and unleavened bread, a number would fly into my mouth, or tumble into and float about in my plate."

The fifth week of the siege opened with the same dreary prospect as the last, only deepened in intensity: the enemy did not, it is true, attack with more vigour, but the defenders were gradually becoming weaker in all their resources except courage, and the resolution to bear all rather than yield to the enemy. Colonel Tytler's letter had inspired hope that the relieving column, under General Havelock, would arrive at Lucknow before the end of July; but when the 30th and 31st had passed, and the 1st and 2nd of August had passed also, then, indeed, were their hopes cruelly destroyed, and it required all the energy of the brigadier to keep up the spirits of himself and his companions under the disappointment.

About the beginning of the month a great accession to the number of rebel sepoys had occurred, thereby increasing the phalanx opposed to the British, and requiring yet more strenuous exertions to repel their constant attacks. During the operations of this week (the fifth), one of the ladies, Mrs. Dorin, was among the number who fell from the shots of the enemy—an event which was peculiarly distressing to all. A soldier learns to brave death on his own account, but he is inexpressibly grieved when he sees tender women falling near him by bullets intended for men alone.

Shortly after the sixth week had commenced, the brigadier succeeded in obtaining the services of a native, who undertook the perilous duty of conveying a small note to General Havelock at Cawnpore. On the 8th of August, the garrison could hear and see much marching and countermarching of troops within the city, without being able to discern its cause; but fondly hoped, when the booming of guns was heard, that Havelock was at hand. This hope was, however, speedily and bitterly dashed; for, on the following day, a great force of rebels was seen to approach from the direction of the cantonment, cross the river, and join the main body of the insurgents in Lucknow. On the 10th, they made a desperate assault on all parts of the enclosure; but the attacks were again frustrated by the heroic valour and determination of the besieged.

Up to the time when the seventh week of the siege had commenced, there had been twenty letters sent for succour; first by Sir Henry Lawrence, and then by Brigadier Inglis; and to only one of these had a direct reply been received. Few of them had reached their destination; and of those few a reply to one alone safely passed through all the perils between Cawnpore and Lucknow; and this was not of a nature to impart much comfort. At length, on the 13th (each intermediate day being occupied with fighting), a letter was received from General Havelock, telling of his inability to afford present succour. The residency had by this time been so shaken by shells and balls, that it was no longer a secure retreat; but a great increase of discomfort was yet in store for the numerous persons who had been hitherto accommodated within it. On the 18th, a terrible commotion took place, the enemy having exploded a mine under the Sikh Square, or barrack, and made a breach of thirty feet in the defence boundary of the enclosure. Instantly all hands were set to work: boxes, planks, doors, beams, were brought from all quarters to stop up the gap; while muskets and pistols were brought to bear upon the assailants. Not only did the gallant fellows within the enclosure repel the enemy, but they made a sortie, and blew up some of the exterior buildings which were in inconvenient proximity.

By the eighth week, the report of firearms had become so familiar to the residents of the enclosure, that they ceased to notice the missiles as they whistled past their ears.

Every day was now marked with some vicissitudes. On the 20th, the enemy opened a tremendous cannonading, which knocked down a guard-room over the mess-house, and lessened the number of places from which the garrison could obtain a look-out. The enemy were, on that day, also detected in an attempt to run new mines under the Cawnpore battery and the Bailey Guard. This led to a brilliant sortie, which resulted not only in the spiking of two of the enemy's guns, but also in the blowing up of Johanne's house, which had been such a perpetual source of annoyance to the garrison. It was one of the best day's work yet accomplished, and cheered the poor, hard-worked fellows for a time; but they had still enough to trouble them. The Cawnpore and Redan batteries were almost knocked to pieces, and needed constant repair; the judicial office became so riddled with shot, that the women and children had to be removed from it; while the enemy's sharpshooters were deadly accurate in their aim: their miners began new mines as fast as the old ones were destroyed or rendered harmless; and, worst of all, Inglis's little band was rapidly decreasing.

The last week in August was the ninth of a perilous life in the residency at Lucknow. As the days passed slowly and sadly by, they exhibited variations in the degree of danger; but they brought no comfort to the hearts of the garrison and its charge. The advantage gained by the successful mining and blowing up of Johanne's house (the post from which the African eunuch before mentioned had kept up a most accurate and fatal fire into the enclosure, bringing down more Europeans than any other person in the enemy's ranks), was more than balanced by abundant miseries in other quarters. Gubbins' house had become so shot-riddled, that the ladies and children placed there for shelter, were too much imperilled to remain longer: they were necessarily removed to other buildings; adding to the number of inmates in rooms already sadly overcrowded.

Distressingly severe as the labours of the besieged had been from the commencement, they now became doubly so; for the enemy had erected a new battery opposite the Bailey Guard, and commenced new mines in all directions. As the defenders could seldom venture on a sortie to examine the enemy's works of attack, they were driven to the construction of listening galleries—underground passages, where the sound of the enemy's mining picks and shovels could be heard. And then would be renewed the digging of countermines, and a struggle to determine which party should be the first to blow the other into the air.

During this harassing week, another letter was received from General Havelock; whose intimation, that a period of three weeks, at least, must yet elapse before he could possibly reach them, threw them into a state of despondency; the more painful because the announcement that a letter from him had reached the residency, had raised their hopes and expectations to the utmost: when, therefore, the delay was made known, the disappointment of all was excessive. The sick and wounded, and the women and children, suffered in health and comfort much more terribly in August than in July: every kind of peril and discomfort had increased in severity; every means of succour and solace had diminished in prospect. Death struck down many; disease and wounds prostrated a still greater number; and those who remained were a prey to apprehensions that weakened mind and body together. The poor women, shut up by dozens together in small rooms, yearned, but yearned in vain, for the breathing of a little air free from impurities. They dared not move out, for the balls and bullets of the enemy sped into and across every open space. Sometimes an 18-pounder shot would burst into a room where two or three of them were dressing, or where a large number of them were at meals. In some of the houses where many ladies formed one community, they would take it in turn to keep awake for hourly watches during the night. One of these said in a letter—"I don't exactly know what is gained by these night watchings, except that we are all very nervous, and are expecting some dreadful catastrophe to happen." The little children now died off rapidly, their maladies being more than could be met with the resources at hand; and those who bore up against the afflictions were very much emaciated. The husbands and fathers, worn out with daily fatigue and nightly watching, had little solace to afford their families; and thus the women and children were left to pass the weary hours as best they could. A few little creatures ("siege babies," as their poor mothers called them) came into the world during this stormy period; and with them each day was a struggle for life.

To the officers and men, much additional misery arose from the fact, that the commissariat quarter, offensive to every sense, on account of the organic accumulations inseparable from the slaughtering and cutting up of animals, was one of the weakest parts in the whole enclosure, and required to be guarded at all hours by armed men, who loathed the spot for the reasons mentioned. The chaplain, also, now found the churchyard getting into such a horrible state, that he dared not go near the graves to read the burial-service. An instance is mentioned by Mr. Rees, which illustrates the mental sufferings of many who, however willing to endure suffering themselves, were almost crushed by the contemplation of the miseries around them. "One of the officers," he says, "had at first told me of his wife being feverish, and quite overcome with the abominable life she had to lead. And then he talked to me of his boy, Herbert; how he was attacked with cholera, and feared he was very ill; and how, instead of being able to watch by his bedside, he had been all night digging at Captain Fulton's mine; and then, how his child, next night, was convulsed, and what little hope of his darling being spared to them; how heartrending the boy's sufferings were to his parents' feelings; how even his (the father's) iron constitution was at last giving way; how he had neither medicine nor attendance, nor proper food for the child; and how the blowing-up of the mine so close to his sick child had frightened him. And then to-day he told me, with tears in his eyes, that yesterday—the anniversary of his birthday—his poor child was called away. 'God's will be done,' said he; 'but it is terrible to think of. At night we dug a hole in the garden; and there, wrapped in a blanket, we laid him.'" This case, says the narrator, is not singular: many another poor parent's heart was similarly torn in this terrible ordeal.

The necessary supply of provision for the garrison was naturally a constant source of anxiety to Brigadier Inglis and the other officers, and the distribution of food became a work of some difficulty, as the store rapidly diminished, and no prospect appeared of replenishing it. Fresh meat could be obtained for the garrison as long as any healthy bullocks remained; but in other articles of food, the deficiency grew serious as the month advanced. An immense store of attah (the coarse meal from which chupatties, or cakes, were made) had been provided by Sir Henry Lawrence; but this was now nearly exhausted, and the garrison had to grind corn daily from the store kept in the impromptu granaries. The women and elder children were much employed in this work by means of hand-mills. The store of *bhoosa*, or animal food, was also diminishing; and the commissariat officers saw clearly before them the approach of a time when the poor bullocks must die for want of food. The tea and sugar were exhausted, except a little store kept for invalids. The tobacco was all gone; and the soldiers, yearning for a pipe after a hard day's work, smoked dry leaves, as the only substitute they could obtain. A few casks of porter still remained, to be guarded as a precious treasure. Once now and then, when an officer was struck down to death, an auction would be held of the few trifling comforts he had been able to bring with him into the enclosure, and then the prices given by those who possessed means, plainly told how eager was the desire for some little change in the poor and insufficient daily food. A few effects left by Sir Henry Lawrence were sold: among them £16 was given for a dozen bottles of brandy; £7 for a dozen of beer; the same amount for a dozen of sherry; £7 for a ham; £4 for a quart bottle of honey; £5 for two small tins of preserved soup; and £3 for a cake of chocolate. And these prices were moderate, compared with those given towards the close of the siege.

September brought with it the commencement of the tenth week of the captivity. New mines were everywhere discovered, and the officers and men attended sedulously to the underground "listening galleries" before mentioned, and there obtained unmistakable evidence that the enemy were running mines towards Sago's house, the brigade mess, the Bailey Guard, and other buildings, with the intent of blowing them up, and making a forcible entry into the enclosure. Unceasing exertions at countermining alone prevented this catastrophe, and its attendant horrors. On one day the upper part of the brigade mess was smashed in by a shot; on another, a breach was made in the wall of the Martinière temporary school, requiring instant barricading to prevent the entrance of the enemy; on another, a few engineers made a gallant sortie from Innes's house,

and succeeded in blowing up a building from which the enemy had kept up an incessant fire of musketry; and on one occasion, an officer had the curiosity to count the cannon-balls, varying from three to twenty-four pounds each, which had fallen on the roof of one building alone (the brigade mess-house), and they amounted to the incredible number of 280 in *one* day!

On the 5th of September, the enemy appeared, by their activity, to be determined upon the accomplishment of some extraordinary object. Five thousand of them advanced towards the residency, and having formed a battery on the opposite side of the river, they exploded two mines near the Bailey Guard and the mess-house. They then rushed forward to Gubbins' house and to the Sikh Square, bringing with them long ladders to effect an escalade. In short, they seemed determined to carry their point on this occasion: but their efforts were vain. The garrison, though worked almost to death, gallantly rushed to every endangered spot, and repelled the enemy, hastily reconstructing such defence-works as had been destroyed or damaged; and the two mines, being short of their intended distance, fortunately wrought but little mischief.

At length, vague rumours reached the residency that General Havelock had a second time defeated the troops of Nana Sahib at Cawnpore, or Bithoor; and, as much unusual marching and activity were occasionally visible among the troops in the city, apprehension became painfully excited as to the effect such intelligence might have upon the passions of the enemy, who had been continually receiving reinforcements, and appeared resolutely determined to possess themselves of the enclosure, if not by hand-to-hand fighting, by the utter exhaustion of its defenders. Thus, the nights now became to the residents more terrible than even the days; for the rebels, as if to destroy all chance of sleep for the wearied garrison, kept up an unceasing torrent of musketry close to the walls, accompanied by the most unearthly yells and shouts, the very sound of which was enough to strike dismay into the hearts of the women and children, who vainly sought to shut their ears against the hellish din.

The peril of the garrison had, as may be supposed, increased as time wore on; and, by the beginning of the eleventh week, wounds and fatigue had weakened the physical energies of the strongest among them. Still the spirits of all were buoyant; they knew that their extremity would have a triumphant end—that help would come; and, although still left in uncertainty as to the movements of the force under Havelock, not a doubt was felt that its approach would be sudden, and their deliverance sure. Still they did not rely with blind confidence upon the efforts of friends without the enclosure; while instant and increasing effort was indispensable for the safety of those within it. In short, there was no time for reflection upon the probabilities of what others might do for them, since every moment was necessarily devoted to the bare preservation of existence. The officers, who had from the first been driven from place to place for their scant opportunities of repose and food, had for some time messed in one of the buildings of the Begum's kothee; and this fact appeared to be known to the rebels, who were from the first better informed of what took place within the enclosure, than the garrison were with the transactions beyond the walls: they therefore directed their shells and balls so thickly on that spot, that access to it became exceedingly difficult and dangerous. Two sides of Innes's house were blown in, and the whole structure made little else than a heap of ruins. The residency proper had become so much shattered by the continual firing to which it had been exposed, that great caution was necessary on the part of those as yet sheltered within its walls. New mines were also discovered, directed to points underneath the various buildings; and the enemy sought to increase their means of annoyance, by throwing shells filled with abominable and filthy compositions.

One of the most annoying perplexities, because the most constant, was the uncertainty in which the men and officers were kept as to the point at which their efforts would be next required: then there was the constant anxiety as to whether they were mined or not; and they could not be sure a moment that the ground would not open under their feet, or the buildings around them fly into the air, by the explosion of a mine. Shells came smashing into their rooms, and knocked the furniture, &c., into fragments; then followed round shot, and down tumbled huge blocks of masonry, while splinters of wood and bricks flew in all directions; beds were literally blown to

atoms, and trunks and boxes smashed into little pieces. Nevertheless there was still no flinching: if a mine were discovered, a countermine was speedily run out to frustrate its purpose. If a wall or a verandah were knocked down by a shot, the mine was instantly converted into a rampart, barricade, or stockade; and the persevering obstinacy of the rebel assailants was thus more than met by the indomitable spirit and energy of those assailed.

A loss was incurred on the 14th of September, which occasioned much grief to the whole garrison. Captain Fulton, who had succeeded Major Anderson as chief engineer, and whose skilful operations had justly earned for him the admiration of all, while his kindness of manner had rendered him a general favourite, was struck by a cannon-ball, which took his head completely off. His loss was severely felt by Brigadier Inglis, and mourned by everyone.

At length the period had arrived when deliverance was near. The twelfth week of the siege was the last in which the beleaguered garrison and its helpless charge were destined to suffer the perils and suspense of a cruel captivity. Its approach found them with spirits much saddened, but with determination firm as ever. They had now lost a number of valuable officers and estimable friends, and could not choose but feel the deprivation. Within the last few days Lieutenant Birch had fallen; then Mr. Deprat, a merchant, who had worked and fought most valiantly at the defences; then Captain Cunliffe; and then, most mournful loss of all, Lieutenant Graham, whose mind, over-worn by exertion and fatigue, had given way; and his own hand had sadly terminated a career of honour. As a natural consequence of these and similar losses, harder work than ever pressed on those who remained alive. Not for a moment could the look-out be neglected. At all hours of the day and night, officers were posted on the roofs of the residency and post-office, finding such shelter as they could while watching intently the river, the bridges, the roads, and the buildings in and around the city. Every fact they observed, serious in its apparent import, was at once reported to Brigadier Inglis, who made such defensive arrangements as the circumstances called for, and as his gradually lessened resources rendered possible. The enemy's batteries were now more numerous than ever: they were constructed near the iron bridge; in a piece of open ground that formerly comprised the kitchen-garden of the residency; near a mosque, by the swampy ground on the river's bank; in front of a range of buildings called the Captan Bazaar; in the Taree kothee, opposite the Bailey Guard; near the clock-tower opposite the financial office; in a garden and buildings opposite the judicial office and Anderson's house; in numerous buildings that bore upon the Cawnpore battery and the brigade mess; in fields and buildings that commanded Gubbins' house, and in positions on the north-west of the enclosure;—in short, the whole place was surrounded by batteries bristling with mortars and great guns, some or other of which were incessantly firing shot and shell into it.

The personal life of the inmates of this abode of peril, during the last three weeks of their occupancy, was fraught with wretchedness to everyone. If the men toiled and watched in sultry, dry weather, they were nearly overcome by heat and noisome odours; if they slept in the trenches in damp nights, after great heat, they suffered in their bones, for they had neither tents nor change of clothing. Such was the state to which the whole of the ground was brought by refuse of every kind, that a pool, resulting from a shower of rain, soon became an insupportable nuisance; and sanitary cleansings were unattainable by a community who had neither surplus labour or opportunity at command. Half the officers were ill at one time from disease, over-fatigue, and insufficient diet; and when thus laid prostrate, they had neither medicines nor surgeons sufficient for their need. There was not a sound roof in the whole enclosure, and provisions of every kind had at last become short. A crisis could not be distant. Such, then, was the state to which the garrison of Lucknow, and the women and children under its protection, were reduced, when the third week of September was closing upon them. Endurance, almost superhuman, had brought them thus far through suffering and peril. Deliverance was now at hand.

And here, for the present, we leave the noble band of valiant men, and high-spirited women, and confiding children, assured of their speedy emancipation from the toils that surrounded them—to trace the progress of the gallant army, led by the victorious Havelock to the rescue, and to inscribe upon future pages the record of its

trials and its triumphs. It will be remembered, that the previous detail of the operations of the force under Brigadier-general Havelock, closed with a telegraphic announcement from that officer to the commander-in-chief, on the 21st of July, that he was then "free to cross the Ganges" from Cawnpore; and that a portion of the troops, with five guns, which had already passed over, were in position at the head of the road to Lucknow.* From this date, therefore, the narrative of proceedings for the relief of the capital of Oude are properly resumed.

By a telegram from Lieutenant-colonel Tytler (assistant quartermaster-general with the force), to the commander-in-chief, on the 23rd of July, that officer reports as follows:—

"We have 1,100 men across the river. Passage most difficult on account of the breadth and strength of the stream. I hope to complete the passage in two days; but can't say for certain—all working hard at it. Sent thirty-five elephants across to-day, but fear I have lost one. Lucknow holds out bravely, and in no danger—can easily hold their own until the 5th of August, and longer, if necessary. Enemy's fire very slack. Large bodies of men who occupied the villages on the road, have abandoned them on receiving intelligence of our passing the river. It is a great pity we can't keep up our old system, seen and felt at the same moment; but this river is a fatal obstacle: all possible baggage is left behind. No one takes tents—only a change of clothes, and some food and drink, and yet we are delayed. We shall resume our old ways in three days, please God! and relieve Lucknow in six. Give us 3,000 Europeans and six horsed guns, and we will smash every rebel force one after the other; and the troops coming up in the rear can settle the country."

On the 26th of the month, Brigadier-general Neill reported to the commander-in-chief, that the whole of the force destined for the relief of Lucknow, had crossed from Cawnpore, and would be ready to move on by the 28th; on which day Brigadier-general Havelock, who had waited to collect his troops at Mungulwar (six miles from the landing-place on the left bank of the Ganges), informed the commander-in-chief that the chances of relieving Lucknow were hourly multiplying against him; that Nana Sahib had collected 3,000 men, with several guns, and was then on his left flank at Futtehpore Bhowrassee, with the avowed intention of cutting in upon the rear of the British force when it should advance. The telegram then proceeded thus:—

"The difficulties of an advance to the capital are excessive. The enemy has intrenched, and covered with guns, the long bridge across the Solee at Bunnee, and has made preparations for destroying it, if the passage is forced. I have no means of crossing the canal near Lucknow, even if successful at Bunnee. A direct attack at Bunnee might cost me one-third of my force. I might turn it by Mohan, unless the bridge there is also destroyed.

"I have this morning received a plan of Lucknow from Major Anderson, engineer in that garrison; and much valuable information in two memoranda, which escaped the enemy's out-posted troops, and were partly written in Greek characters. These communications contained much important intelligence orally derived from spies, and convince me of the extreme delicacy and difficulty of any operation to relieve Colonel Inglis, now commanding in Lucknow. It shall be attempted, however, at every risk, and the result faithfully reported.

"Our losses from cholera are becoming serious, and extend to General Neill's force as well as my own. I urgently hope that the 5th and 90th can be pushed on to me entire, and with all dispatch, and every disposable detachment of the regiments now under my command may be sent on. My whole force only amounts to 1,500 men, of whom under 1,200 are British; and ten guns imperfectly equipped and manned."

Carrying out the intention expressed in the preceding telegram, Brigadier-general Havelock, on the morning of the 29th, commenced his march towards Lucknow. The force moved off their camping-ground at Mungulwar as the day broke, aware that opposition awaited them at a village called Oonao, about three miles from their starting-point; and, consequently, they were not surprised when, on nearing the place, three guns opened upon them. Two field-pieces were immediately brought forward, and silenced them; but, as the troops moved on, a line of white puffs of smoke from the orchard and garden walls surrounding the place, indicated that the matchlockmen intended to stand their ground. On this the skirmishers rushed forward, and drove

* See vol. i., p. 388.

the enemy out of the orchard into the village, leaving the three guns in the possession of the British, who, pushing forward, attempted to clear the village, but met with a resistance they were not at the moment prepared for.

The mud-walled villages of Oude, and their fighting inhabitants, are among the peculiar features of the country. Every hamlet is at chronic feud with its neighbour; and all of them look upon open rebellion against the farmer of their taxes as a sacred duty. The consequence is, that a century of practical experience in the art of self-defence, had converted those villages into almost impregnable fortifications, and the villagers themselves into excellent garrison troops. A hundred Oude men would flee from the attack of ten English soldiers on an open plain; but if ten Oudians are placed behind a loopholed mud wall, they will hold their position without shrinking, nor consider it much of an achievement. Such was the case in the petty village of Oonao. The enemy were completely hidden behind walls: the British troops were in the place and all round it, and yet they could comparatively do nothing, and were dropping fast under the bullets of their unseen foes. Thrice did a portion of them charge a mud-walled enclosure filled with men, and thrice were they driven back with heavy loss. At length it was determined to fire the place; the artillery drew back, portfires were laid to the thatch, and the men of the light companies stood waiting around the outskirts, with eager eyes and rifles cocked, like terriers waiting for the rats to rush out.

Just at this moment, while the thatch was crackling amidst the spreading flames, the field engineer of the force, who had gone round to the front of the village by himself to reconnoitre, came spurring back in hot haste with the information that a very large force of infantry, cavalry, and guns, was rapidly advancing from the other side upon Oonao. Upon this, the task of finishing off the rebels in the burning village was left to the Sikhs; and the whole British force was ordered to turn the position by the right, and move on to the front as quickly as possible. This, however, was no easy matter as far as the artillery was concerned; for the ground was heavy, and the guns frequently stuck fast in the swamp for five minutes together, under a galling fire of matchlocks. At length the main road was reached again, and the force pushed on through the groves which encircled the place.

Beyond the trees lay a level, swampy plain, of vast extent, traversed by a main road, along which was seen approaching, a force of about 6,000 men, bearing down on our right and left flanks, with their guns in advance; the distance between the opposing columns being about 1,500 yards. The leading gun of the English troops was immediately unlimbered, and opened upon the insurgents, with a view to arrest their progress, and give the infantry time to deploy; while the other guns, as they came up one by one, went into action in line with the first. By this time the enemy's artillery had closed to within a thousand yards, and opened fire. The sun, fortunately, was at the back of the English gunners, and they could distinctly see the objects they were to fire at; and, consequently, in about ten minutes they had silenced the enemy's leading guns, and the whole of the English force moved forward, with the artillery in the centre. The immense disproportion between the attacking column and the force of the enemy, was a subject of hilarity among the troops, as their small thin line struggled forward knee-deep in swamp, with sloped arms, to encounter the vast masses of infantry and cavalry that swarmed in front of them. Not one of those grim and bearded Englishmen but felt confident of victory, and a groan ran through the line, "Oh that we had cavalry, to cut the dogs up!"

During this advance, the artillery came into action as opportunity occurred, and, still pressing forward, gun after gun was abandoned on the road; while those in the front, and on the left flank, stuck in the swamp, and were left to their fate. At last the English artillery got up near enough to tell upon the rebel infantry; while the saddles of the cavalry began to empty rapidly under the fire of the Enfield rifles. Presently the enemy's horsemen went threes about; there was a wavering among the infantry; and then, as if a sudden panic had seized them, they rushed off the field to a village in the distance, across the plain, where they were afterwards discovered huddled together like a flock of sheep, leaving the British in possession of the road and of fifteen captured guns. It was now past two o'clock P.M., and the troops halted

where they stood for a couple of hours, to cook and eat.

After this refreshment the force again marched forward about eight miles, to a large walled village named Busherut-gunge, also surrounded by swamps, to which the enemy had retired, and where they showed an intention to make a stand. On approaching this place, three more guns were found to be in position; two behind a mud wall built across the road, and one on an elevated mud bastion. The two guns on the road were quickly silenced by the fire of the English artillery; but the one on the bastion continued to give some trouble until a well-directed 9-pounder dismounted it, and prevented further annoyance from that quarter. The sepoys at this place made but a feeble defence, and were quickly driven out of the village; but the matchlockmen, on the contrary, fought boldly and well, although uselessly; for Havelock's men had now become fierce and flushed with success, and nothing could withstand their impetuosity, as house after house was stormed and carried, until the village was finally evacuated.

The pertinacity of one of the villagers at this place was remarkable. He had stationed himself in a little mud fort at the entrance of the place (which was almost the first position carried), and had contrived to hide himself, thus escaping the fate of his comrades in the general bayoneting. As soon as the main body of the English had passed on, this man emerged from his shelter, and plied his solitary matchlock with effect at the guns, the baggage, the elephants, or anything that came within range. His bravery amused the men of the rear-guard, who, as he was not a sepoy, would have spared him if possible, and they repeatedly called to him to desist; but their humanity was thrown away; and the result was, that a party of Sikhs went and smoked him out of the fort, and the poor wretch was shot through the head as he was crossing over the parapet for a last hit at his enemies.

The result of the above actions was communicated by Brigadier-general Havelock to the deputy-adjutant-general of the army, in a despatch, from which the subjoined passages are extracted.

"Camp, Busherut-gunge, July 29, 1857.

"I moved forward from the strong position of Mungulwar on the 29th instant, and soon became engaged with the enemy near the town of Oonao. It is necessary to describe the enemy's position: his right was protected by a swamp, which could neither be forced nor turned; his advance was drawn up in a garden enclosure, which, in this warlike district, had purposely, or accidentally, assumed the form of a bastion. The rest of his force was posted in and behind a village, the houses of which were loopholed. The passage between the village and the large town of Oonao is narrow. The town itself extended three-quarters of a mile to our right. The flooded state of the country precluded the possibility of turning in this direction. The swamp shut us out on the left. Thus an attack in front became unavoidable.

"It was commenced by the 78th highlanders and 1st fusiliers, with two guns, and soon became exceedingly warm. The enemy were driven out of the bastioned enclosure; but when our troops approached the village, a destructive fire was opened upon them from the loopholed houses. It became necessary to bring up the 84th, under Colonel Wilson, R.H. Here some daring feats of bravery were performed. Private Patrick Cavanagh, 64th, was cut literally in pieces by the enemy, while setting an example of distinguished gallantry. Had he lived I should have deemed him worthy of the Victoria Cross. It could never have glittered on a more gallant breast.*

"Lieutenant Boyle, 78th highlanders, in an attempt to penetrate into a house filled with desperate fanatics of the Mussulman faith, was badly wounded. The village was set on fire; still its defenders resisted obstinately. Finally the guns were captured, and the whole force was enabled to debouch by the narrow passage between the village and the town of Oonao, and formed in line. It found the enemy rallied and re-formed in great force. Infantry, guns, and cavalry were drawn up in line on the plain. They were attacked in direct *échelon*

* From this despatch, it is evident that the incident of valour recorded in vol. i., p. 373, was attributed erroneously to the brave man, now named by General Havelock; and it is to be regretted that, through the confusion of names which has frequently occurred in details of actions during the sepoy war, the identity of the individual who so gallantly acquitted himself upon the field before Cawnpore, on Thursday, the 16th of July, should have been suffered to remain doubtful, since it is hardly probable that two men of precisely the same name, regiment, and rank, could have rendered themselves so enviably conspicuous within a few days of each other, and with a like result in both cases.

of detachments and batteries, their guns taken, and the infantry and horse put to flight. During the whole of the action a large detachment of the troops of Nana Sahib threatened our left flank.

"The troops halted three hours, and then moved on towards Busherut-gunge. It is a walled town, with wet ditches. The gate is defended by a round tower, on and near which four pieces of cannon were mounted; the adjacent buildings being loopholed and otherwise strengthened. In the rear of the town is a broad and deep inundation, crossed by a narrow *chaussée* and bridge. The guns pushed on in admirable order, supported by the 1st fusiliers (skirmishing) and the 78th highlanders, and 64th regiment in line. The enemy's cannonade was well sustained, nevertheless our force continued to gain ground. The 64th were then directed to turn the town by our left, and penetrate between it and the swamp, thus cutting off the enemy from their *chaussée* and bridge. The fusiliers and highlanders precipitated themselves on the earthworks, broke through the intrenchment, and captured the town.

"The whole of the guns of the 5th company of 7th battalion artillery were taken by us, with nearly all its ammunition. It had come from Fyzabad and Lucknow. The ground on both sides the road at Oonao was so flooded that it was impossible for cavalry to act. My volunteer horse were, therefore, reduced to inactivity, though most anxious to engage.

"The loss of the enemy at Oonao is estimated, by native report, at 1,500 killed and wounded. It might, in truth, amount to 500: it was lighter at Busherut-gunge. In these two combats nineteen guns were captured from the enemy. I must praise the conduct of all my staff-officers. Lieutenant-colonel Tytler, hardly able from indisposition to sit on his horse, set throughout the day an example of daring and activity. Lieutenant Havelock, deputy assistant-adjutant-general, had a horse shot under him. Lieutenant Seton, my acting aide-de-camp, was severely wounded. Major Stephenson, at the head of the Madras fusiliers, showed, throughout the day, how the calmest forethought can be united with the utmost daring.

"The victorious troops encamped on the night of the 29th, on the causeway beyond the village of Busherut-gunge, having fought from sunrise to sunset, with an interval of three hours during the heat of the day, and captured nineteen guns; amongst which were two complete 9-pounder English batteries, new from the Cossipore foundry.

"The loss during the day's fight was heavy for the small force engaged—namely, 100 men, killed and wounded; and as the number of wounded took up nearly the whole available sick carriage of the force, considerable embarrassment might have arisen on account of the wounded in a future action, before the supply had been augmented. The contingency was, however, foreseen and guarded against."

On the 30th of July, Brigadier-general Havelock again reported to the commander-in-chief as follows:—

"Camp, Busherut-gunge, July 30, 1857.

"The loss of the enemy, in killed and wounded, has on every occasion been considerable; but as I have no cavalry, they carry off both dead and wounded. How, then, did I capture their guns? I advanced steadily on their lines, and they abandoned their guns. The horses, bullocks, and equipments generally, if not always, escaped me."

It was probably owing to the want of cavalry, and of sufficient hospital carriage, coupled with the certainty of further opposition on the road, and that a heavy fight before Lucknow awaited the force, that General Havelock was induced reluctantly to make a retrograde movement on the day after his double victory. The troops accordingly marched back to their fortified station at Mungulwar, and proceeded further to strengthen it by loopholing it, throwing up breastworks, and adopting other essential measures, until, after two days' labour, an intrenched camp was formed that might have been sufficient to defy the whole force of Oude, had it been deemed expedient to await its attack. The return of the force was announced to the commander-in-chief by the following telegram from General Havelock:—

"Camp, Mungulwar (six miles from Cawnpore), July 31st, 1857.

"My force is reduced, by sickness and repeated combats, to 1,364 rank and file, with ten ill-equipped guns. I could not, therefore, move on against Lucknow with any prospect of success, especially as I had no means of crossing the Solee, or the canal. I have therefore shortened my communications with Cawnpore by falling back two short marches, hitherto unmolested by an enemy. If I am speedily reinforced by 1,000

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more British soldiers, and Major Olphert's battery complete, I might resume my march towards Lucknow, or keep fast my foot in Oude, after securing the easier passage of the Ganges at Cawnpore by boats and two steamers, or I might recross and hold the head of the Grand Trunk-road at Cawnpore. A reinforcement of 1,000 British soldiers, from which it would be necessary to make a detachment to defend the bridge-head on this side, might yet enable me to obtain great results; but with a smaller addition to my column, little could be effected for the interests of the state."

On the same day, Lieutenant-colonel Tytler reported to the commander-in-chief as follows:—

"Mungulwar, July 31st, 1857.

"We crossed the river on the 28th; encountered the enemy at and between Oonao and Busherut-gunge on the 29th; took nineteen guns of sorts, one battery included; but only six horses were captured. We inflicted a heavier loss than usual—I should say some 400 killed and wounded; our own loss was eighty-eight, reducing us to 1,000 European infantry. We could now only place 850 in line, our numerous sick, wounded, and baggage, requiring strong guards in this country, where every village contains enemies. We were diminishing daily from cholera, diarrhœa, and fighting. The Bunnee bridge, 120 yards long, strongly intrenched, and said to be destroyed, had to be passed. We could not hope to reach Lucknow with 600 effective Europeans. We had then to pass the canal, and force one and a-half miles of street. We found we thrashed the Oude people easily in the open, but failed to force two small occupied serais: the men hung back. One of our guns was left under fire; it was some time before I could get the 64th rifles to keep down the fire: had then to dismount: called for volunteers to run it out; the artillery, on this, did the work.

"Busherut-gunge is a strong place on our line of communication; it is in rear of an extensive jheel, traversed by a narrow raised road and bridge: 150 men might hold it against us, and cut off our retreat. We had not a man to hold it with. It is absurd to see our handful of men outflanked by the numbers of the enemy. The Ganges was also in our rear. Neill says his guns command the opposite bank: its breadth is, at the lowest estimate, three-quarters of a mile. I make it more: the range of a 24-pounder is 1,400 yards. His shot would do more harm to us than to the enemy. Under these circumstances, when asked my opinion as to the probability of at once relieving Lucknow, I decided against it; for the following reasons:—if we failed (and I saw no chance of success), Lucknow was inevitably doomed, and government in a worse position than ever; while, if we waited for reinforcements, we might still be in time to save it, as the garrison say they can hold out to the 5th of August, and longer if necessary, and warn us not to approach Lucknow with less than from 2,000 to 3,000 Europeans. We retired to this place (Mungulwar, six miles from the Ganges), as the Nana threatened our rear. We are constructing a work to cover the passage when we require to pass the river. One thousand infantry for the field, and 300 to hold Busherut-gunge and the Bunnee bridge, when repaired, will enable us to bring off the garrison. Cawnpore is threatened by the 42nd from Saugor, and some rabble."

The force remained in camp at Mungulwar until the 4th of August, when it again moved towards Lucknow, having, in the meantime, received a reinforcement of about 150 men and two 24-pounder heavy guns. This augmentation to his column, is adverted to in a telegram from Brigadier-general Havelock to the commander-in-chief on the 4th, which reports as follows:—

"Camp, Mungulwar, Aug. 4th, 1857.

"I was joined this morning by the half of Major Olphert's battery, under Lieutenant Smithett. I inquired of him minutely how his detachment had behaved. He told me that the conduct of all had been very good, except his gun lascars. They had, in April last, threatened to spike the guns whenever they might be engaged with the enemy. At Benares, Major Olphert informed me that they had conducted themselves ill on the night of the mutiny.

"So far as depends on me, I cannot afford to have a single traitor in my camp. I paraded the detachment, and spoke to them all, both British and natives. I congratulated the former on having come into a camp of heroic soldiers, who had six times met the enemy, and every time defeated him and captured his cannon. The lascars at this moment were facing the detachment. I turned to them, and told them what

miscreants I had this morning discovered them to be—traitors in heart to their fostering government. I made the British soldiers disarm them, and ordered them out of the camp under a light escort, to be employed under General Neill in the labours of the intrenchment. He will look after them. If they attempt to desert, I have ordered them to be punished with death. the same if they refuse to work with the other soldiers. They shall do no other duty till I am better instructed. I have given the same orders regarding a detachment of sepoys of the 60th regiment, now on duty at Cawnpore."

General Havelock left his fortified camp at Mungulwar on the 4th, bivouacked for the night at Oonao, and, on the following morning, received intelligence that the enemy had reoccupied the town of Bushe-rut-gunge in considerable strength. He immediately commanded the advance, and, on reaching a serai about six miles distant from the bivouac, found the information correct. Two heavy guns and two 24-pounder howitzers were at once pushed forward by the road; while six guns, with the 78th highlanders and Sikhs, under Colonel Hamilton, proceeded to turn the left of the village; and the 1st Madras fusiliers and 84th foot covered the turning column with the heavy guns. By this movement the enemy was speedily expelled from the serai, but still obstinately held the villages on the other side of the street beyond it. At length they were driven out by the artillery, and the troops advanced the heavy guns, silencing some guns of the enemy, posted on the right and left of the road; which were, however, withdrawn by the rebels, who retired slowly—forced back but not beaten. The troops then passed through the village and came to the causeway, crossing the swamp, from the other side of which a hot fire of matchlocks and guns was kept up both on the causeway and on the right wing of the English force, which returned their fire across the water with interest. Taking advantage of the diversion thus made, the 84th dashed across the causeway, and began skirmishing on the other side. The heavy guns followed, and opened fire at grape-range on the enemy's cavalry, who were scattered to the winds by four volleys.

The troops were now in a richly-cultivated country, studded with hamlets, every one of which swarmed with matchlockmen. Crossing the causeway, the whole force spread out to the right and left, engaging the villagers, and driving back the sepoys in front, and thus passed through the belt of cultivation, emerging upon an extensive open plain, on which were half-a-dozen different camps crowded with troops, and as many fortified villages occupied by matchlockmen. The artillery immediately opened fire on a camp in which a large red-and-white striped tent rose above the rest, surrounded by a strong body of cavalry and infantry, with several guns; the whole of whom made a precipitate retreat the moment the 24-pounder grapeshot and shrapnel began to drop amongst them. Unfortunately the British guns were too far in advance of the infantry, and could not venture to follow without support. A halt was therefore sounded, to allow the remaining troops time to come up; and, when the whole had joined, the men were ordered to cook and eat, while a consultation was held as to the expediency of pursuing the advantage already gained, or of returning to Mungulwar. The result of the deliberation was an order to return thither without delay.

In the opinion of Lieutenant-colonel Tytler, this transaction was altogether unsatisfactory, as it resulted in the capture of two small iron guns only; and it had become painfully evident that the present force could never reach Lucknow: it had three strong positions to force, defended by fifty guns and 30,000 men. One night and a day had already cost, in sick and wounded, 104 Europeans and a fourth of the gun ammunition, besides ten men killed: the whole effective strength numbered but 1,010, and not more than 900 of those could be paraded. In short, according to the lieutenant-colonel, there was no alternative but to retire, inasmuch as he says, in a report to the commander-in-chief on the 6th of August:—"The men are cowed by the numbers opposed to them, and the endless fighting. Every village is held against us, the zemindars having risen to oppose us. All the men killed yesterday were zemindars. We know them to be all around us in bodies of 500 or 600, independent of the regular levies. I therefore had no hesitation in giving it as my opinion, that the force had no chance whatever of forcing its way into Lucknow, and that it was sacrificing it without a chance of benefiting the garrison; that Cawnpore, with 500 men (half sick), would be in great danger, and had no

chance of being reinforced. All were of the same opinion; and we retired to our position five miles from the river, to prevent Oonao and Busherut-gunge being occupied in our rear."

The report of General Havelock to the commander-in-chief, in reference to this affair and his subsequent arrangements, was as follows:—

"Camp, Mungulwar, Aug. 6th, 1857.

"I yesterday received information that the enemy had reoccupied in great force the town of Busherut-gunge. I advanced upon it, turned the position by its left, and drove the mutineers and rebels out of it with great slaughter. They had eight or ten guns beyond the causeway—two on this side of it: two of those beyond were 24-pounders. The whole were kept at such a distance, and withdrawn so rapidly, that we never got a fair sight of them; none, therefore, fell into our hands but two on the walls, which had been captured on the 29th ultimo, and dismantled by the commandant of artillery so imperfectly, however, that the enemy again fired out of them. The enemy's dead strewed the town. I estimate their loss at 300 killed and wounded. I returned to this position in the evening.

"I must prepare your excellency for my abandonment, with great grief and reluctance, of the hope of relieving Lucknow. The only three staff-officers in my force whom I ever consult confidentially, but in whom I entirely confide, are unanimously of opinion, that an advance to the walls of Lucknow involves the loss of this force. In this I concur. The only military question that remains, therefore, is, whether that, or the unaided destruction of the British garrison at Lucknow, would be the greatest calamity to the state in this crisis. The loss of this force in a fruitless attempt to relieve Colonel Inglis, would of course involve his fall. I will remain, however, till the latest moment in this position, strengthening it, and hourly improving my bridge communication with Cawnpore, in the hope that some error of the enemy may enable me to strike a blow against them, and give the garrison an opportunity of blowing up their works and cutting their way out. The enemy is in such force at Lucknow, that to encounter him five marches from his position, would be to court annihilation."*

From the evening of the 6th until the morning of the 11th of August, the troops remained in camp at Mungulwar, during which time a council was held as to the expediency of recrossing the Ganges, and falling back upon Cawnpore. That measure was ultimately decided upon, and arrangements for the purpose were made by the field engineer, who selected a spot for the embarkation, considerably lower down than the place formerly crossed by the troops. The river at this place was much narrower; but, to reach it, a succession of swamps and creeks had to be crossed. Causeways were thrown across the first; and the second was bridged with boats in an incredibly short space of time, considering the amount of work to be done, and the very inefficient means at the disposal of the engineer officers. The commissariat stores and baggage were sent down daily, and passed over; and, finally, on the morning of the 11th, an order was issued that all the bedding (the only article of baggage the troops had been allowed to keep) was to be sent across the river immediately. The troops, consequently, anticipated that they would have to follow during the night; but their astonishment may be conceived when, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the bugles sounded the "turn-out;" and they learned that they were, for the third time, to advance to the front, in consequence of information that the enemy had come down to Oonao, with the intent to attack them during their passage across the river. The troops, accordingly, marched off with their arms in their hands, and their clothes on their backs, and not another thing. When they reached Oonao it was found that the information was false, and not a single rebel was to be seen. During the halt, however, preparatory to retracing their steps, information reached the general that the enemy, under the impression that the British troops had actually crossed the Ganges two days previous, had come down in force to Busherut-gunge; and that 4,000 infantry and 500 cavalry, with one horse battery and some guns, were then lying encamped in front of that place. Having now advanced so far, it was felt to be impossible to retreat in the face of the enemy without exchanging shots; and accordingly the troops, after a scanty supper, bivouacked that night on the plain, and, with the first streak of dawn, marched to the encounter.

Meantime the enemy, having intelligence of the advance, had worked hard all night, intrenching themselves; and when the

* Parliamentary Blue Book—No. 4; p. 83.

troops arrived in front, they were found strongly posted; their right resting on the village of Boursekee Chowkee, in advance of the town, which they had strongly fortified; their left on a mound, about 400 yards distant, which they had cut down into a battery, and mounted with three guns—the interval between being connected by a ditch and breastwork, lined with infantry; having cavalry massed on their left flank, to act as opportunity might offer. To oppose the troops thus strongly posted, the British force did not consist of more than 800 effective men in the field, 200 having been left behind to guard the approaches to the river.

The plan of battle was soon formed. The 78th fusiliers, and four guns, moved off on the right, to attack the left of the enemy's position; the heavy guns on the left, supported by the 84th, went along the road to engage the enemy's right battery; and the remaining part of the force and guns took the centre. General Havelock was much retarded in bringing his battery and supporting-troops across the deep and wide morasses that protected the enemy's front; during which operation, the shot and shell of the rebels caused him severe loss; but on the right of the column the ground was good; and the men, being fresh, moved fast, and soon came into collision with the enemy's left. This movement appeared to annoy them much, and they turned the principal part of their guns in that direction. An officer writing of this engagement, says—"I certainly was never under so heavy a fire in my life. In five minutes after we came into action, every man at the gun I was laying was wounded with grape, except the sergeant and myself; and four of our gun cattle were knocked over by round shot. The other three guns suffered nearly as much, and we found our fire had little effect on the battery in front; their guns were too well protected. So we limbered up, and got away as fast as we could, taking ground more to the right, and then found it was possible to move still more forward, and take the adverse battery in flank. This was accordingly done, and then we had our revenge; for they could only bring one gun to bear on us; while we, with our four, enfiladed their whole position. At this time we were within 500 yards of the enemy's cavalry, who, if they had had one atom of pluck, could have charged and taken our guns with the most perfect ease; but a handful of fusiliers with their Enfields, lying down on our right, and the small body of volunteer horse drawn up in our rear, made us feel perfectly secure, and so we went on pounding the battery, without paying the slightest attention to the horsemen. Presently an artillery waggon was seen creeping out of the battery—that was instantly knocked over; and soon after a lucky shrapnel silenced the one gun which was firing direct at us. Our fire grew hotter than ever, and at last a swarm of men was seen rushing back in confusion from the trenches. Hereupon a cheer ran along the whole of our advancing lines. The 78th quickened their pace before breaking into one of their magnificent charges, and the fusiliers on our right dashed forward with a yell, in loose skirmishing order, at the left flank of a large grove which extended along the rear of the enemy's position, and was full of men. The 78th went straight at the battery, which still remained crowded with men, the gunners working their two remaining guns to the last, and only bolting when our men were at the foot of the slope, carrying off with them one gun, the team of which had escaped the shrapnel of our artillery. After bayoneting all they could catch, the 78th turned the two captured guns on the enemy. Some artillerymen came into the battery immediately after, and we had the intense satisfaction of giving the flying foe three rounds from each of their own guns."

The position was carried about the same time at all points, the enemy flying in headlong haste from the chastisement they had provoked. On the left of the position, as they had the advantage of the road, they managed to carry off their guns, the cavalry being unable to pursue them through the swamps, and the infantry were too much exhausted by fatigue and hunger to follow them up. Having contented themselves, therefore, with driving the enemy clear through and away from the village, the force halted for a short time to breathe, and then leisurely marched back to Oonao, where they cooked some food; and, in the cool of the evening, retraced their steps to Mungulwar. On the following morning (the 13th) the troops moved down to the river; and, owing to the excellence of the arrangements by the engineer, they were all crossed over, and housed on the Cawnpore side by nightfall of the same day.

The following official report of this affair was conveyed by telegraph, from Brigadier-general Havelock to the commander-in-chief:—

"Mungulwar, August 12th, 1857.

"I was yesterday prepared to cross over the bridge of boats equipped, which Colonel Tytler and Captain Crommelin have established; but I had determined that, if there should be any assembly of hostile troops, my front should not wait their attack in this strong position, but take the initiative, and strike a blow against them. In the course of the day, a detachment of Sikhs brought me information of about 4,000 men, with some guns, having come forward from Nuwabgunge to Busherut-gunge. I at once put my force in motion, although its baggage and spare ammunition, additional dhoolies, &c., were already on the right bank. My advanced guard pushed the enemy's parties out of Oonao, where my force bivouacked under trees. Marching at dawn, we found them for the third time prepared to defend Busherut-gunge, and thus came on our eighth combat since the 12th of July. The insurgents were about 4,000 in number, with six field guns. They had varied their mode of attack by intrenching the village Boursekee Chowkee, in advance of Busherut-gunge. My superior artillery fire would soon have crushed them; but I could only slowly bring my battery and supporting-troops across the deep and wide morasses which protected their front: meanwhile their shot and shell caused some loss in my ranks; but when these obstacles were passed, our success was speedily achieved. The highlanders, without firing a shot, precipitated themselves with a cheer upon the principal redoubt, and captured two out of the three horse-battery guns with which it was armed. The highlanders, at the same time, drove the enemy's extreme left before them, and their line was speedily in full retreat. I estimate their loss at 200 killed and wounded; my own was thirty-five. I retraced my steps leisurely to this position. A body of troops of Mausoolee Ally (a rebellious talookdar) made an effort to interrupt our progress by a demonstration on our right flank; but was compelled to retreat by our artillery fire. This action has inspired much terror amongst the enemy, and I trust will prevent his effectually opposing our embarkation at Cawnpore, which is a difficult operation.

"August 13th.—The whole force came across in the best order in six hours. Not a rebel dared to show his face. So much for the lesson of yesterday!"

A letter from the camp furnishes the following details of the incident referred to in the preceding pages. The writer, an officer attached to the Allahabad movable column under General Havelock, proceeds thus:—

"Camp, Cawnpore, head-quarters of Gen. Havelock's army, Aug. 17th, 1857.

"On the 5th of August we marched towards Lucknow, about nine miles, and then encamped on a large plain for the night. You must bear in mind that we have no tents with us; they are not allowed; so every day we were exposed to the burning hot sun, to the rain and dew by night. No baggage or beds were allowed; but every soldier wrapped his cloak around him, grasped his musket, and went to sleep, and soundly we slept too. My Arab horse served me as a pillow. I used to lie down alongside of him, with my head on his neck, and he never used to move with me, except now and then to lick my hand. Next morning (6th August, a memorable day for India) we started at a quarter-past four in the morning, and at about half-past six, A.M., came in sight of the enemy, about 10,000 strong, with lots of guns, and about 2,000 cavalry. Our little army consists of only 900 infantry, eighty-five cavalry, and fifteen guns. We were tired with a two hours' march, and the sun was getting quite hot enough to be pleasant. However, directly they saw us they opened fire, which we took no notice of, as we were too far off to give it them with good effect. The enemy had the strong town of Bushe-rut-gunge in their rear, which they had intrenched, and had lined the tops of the houses with musket-men. We soon formed line, and the infantry were ordered to lie down on their backs while we (artillery) answered their guns. It fell to my lot to have against me four 9-pounders, which I silenced after a few rounds, without losing a man. I had, however, two drivers wounded, and two of my waggons injured by the enemy's shot. After fighting till eleven o'clock, the enemy were dispersed in all directions, and we entered the village of Busherut-gunge, where we found the ground covered with the dead and wounded of the enemy; some injured most frightfully by round shot. I saw one man with his

leg at least seven yards apart from his body. We then encamped on the field of battle and had breakfast, which we did ample justice to. You cannot think how grateful you feel after the action is over, to think you have not been killed or wounded, and how jolly to see the different officers one knows come up and shake hands, and congratulate you on your escape. We found that it was impossible for us to proceed on to Lucknow on account of our army being so small; for though we are a brave little band, and could easily fight our way to Lucknow, yet we could not compel them to raise the siege when we got there, as we should have no men to do it with. So we turned back to our old quarters, where we rested for about four days."

There can be little doubt that the fact of this retreat—for such practically it was—encouraged the enemy in a very considerable degree, as they regarded it as a concession to their superior strength and resources, and as an acknowledgment that the British force was unable to penetrate to Lucknow, through the masses that could be opposed to them. Thus, while it elated them, for the same reason it chagrined the little band that already had achieved so much, and suffered so severely; and the general himself was grieved, as well for the shade that overclouded the *prestige* of the British arms, as for the increased difficulties this forced delay would throw around Brigadier Inglis and his beleaguered companions. But it was not in his nature to sit down depressed and inactive in the face of duty to be performed, and his spirit rose with the emergency that called for exertion. While fighting his way through Oude, bravely but vainly endeavouring to advance to Lucknow, the arch-traitor, Nana Sahib, had been occupied in collecting a motley assemblage of troops near Bithoor, for the purpose of re-establishing his power in that direction; and this swarm of hornets it was necessary should be destroyed or dispersed. A whole month had been available to the Nana for the purpose of collecting troops—namely, from the middle of July to the middle of August; during which time he had been strengthened by the accession of the 31st and 42nd regiments of native infantry from Saugor; the 17th from Fyzabad; portions of the 34th, disbanded at Barrackpore; the troops of three cavalry regiments, and a vast gathering of Mahrattas; with whom he now intended to advance upon, and reoccupy Cawnpore. On the other hand, it was determined by Generals Havelock and Neill, to rest the troops on the 14th, attack the left wing of the enemy on the 15th, and, on the 16th, march to Bithoor. Pending these movements, the state of the troops (among whom cholera was making direful inroads) became a subject of intense anxiety to General Havelock, who, on the 15th of that month, reported to the commander-in-chief as follows:—

"Camp, August 15th, 1857.

"It is now that I should report to your excellency the fearful inroads cholera is making in my little force; to-day there have been eleven fatal cases. The total sick and wounded is 335. The total British strength is 1,415. I do not despond. I must march to-morrow against Bithoor; but it seems advisable to look the evil in the face, for there is no chance but between reinforcements and gradual absorption by disease. I don't halt while the enemy keeps the field; and, in truth, our health has suffered less painfully when in bivouacks than in Cawnpore. I will not return to the cantonments if I can help it, but stay either in camp at Nuwabgunge, or further from the city.

"A number of widows of Christian drummers murdered by Nana Sahib, represent that they and their children are starving. I will, if your excellency sends me the sanction of government, order them an advance from the military chest, to the amount of their regulated pension, from the day of the murder. They have no certificates of last pay, but assert their husbands were two months in arrears."

On the 15th, according to arrangement, Brigadier Neill, with a mere handful of men, went out of his intrenchment at Cawnpore, and surprised the left wing of the Nana's forces, occupying a position in the vicinity of Cawnpore; and, after a short action, drove them back in confusion to Bithoor. This being accomplished, General Havelock, on the following day, proceeded to attack the main body of the rebels.

The town of Bithoor is situated upon the Ganges, about eleven miles north of Cawnpore: it is built on a rising ground, surrounded by orchards and dense cultivation, and protected by a deep muddy creek, which runs up from the Ganges round the base of the hill. This naturally made it a strong position; but it was still further pro-

tected by a battery of guns, and a breastwork thrown up beside the bridge which crossed the creek; there were also some intrenched enclosures (quadrangles) filled with armed men, and two villages with loopholed houses and walls, also filled with troops.

On the morning of the 16th of August, 1857, Brigadier-general Havelock marched from his camping-ground at Cawnpore, for the purpose of attacking the enemy in his stronghold. The British force at the time consisted of about 1,300 men, being nearly the whole of the effective troops under the command of himself and Brigadier Neill at Cawnpore. About mid-day he arrived within sight of the enemy, whose cavalry were as usual found hovering on the flank of the advancing force. A couple of long shots were fired to make the rebels unmask their position, and those were immediately replied to by two guns from the battery in front. After surveying the ground, General Havelock sent his artillery—which consisted of Maude's battery, and Olphert's battery, recently forwarded from Allahabad—along the main road, supported by infantry on the right and left. A portion of the troops, consisting of the 78th fusiliers, and horse battery, were now ordered to deploy on the right, and advance towards the intrenchment. The guns opened at 1,000 yards, and, after firing a few shots, limbered up for the purpose of advancing to within 700 yards' range, when suddenly a severe musketry fire opened on them from a village on the right flank. Two companies of the fusiliers instantly went off to attack this place; and the guns getting again into action at 700 yards, fired with such effect, that an order was given to limber up, and fire within canister-range. This was done; and the battery quietly advanced, supported by the 78th and the fusiliers, when a regular hailstorm of musketry came from the breastwork in front. The mutineers, contrary to their usual practice, had coolly waited until the troops came within range, before they fired a shot. The consequence of this unexpected reception fell severely upon the troops, who immediately moved off to the right, where they got under cover of some sugar-cane; and, passing through it, came out at the left of the breastwork, which they stormed and entered. Then turning, they went along inside, and, after about ten minutes' hard fighting, drove the sepoys out, across the bridge, into the town and surrounding sugar-cane fields, and thus captured the battery. This was the first time the troops fairly got at the enemy with the bayonet, for the sepoys stood manfully, and fought with unflinching determination, until the steel was within an inch of their breasts, and then they fled in confusion. Had the men not been so thoroughly exhausted with their morning's march in the sun, the slaughter that ensued would have been much greater. As it was, about 300 of the enemy were killed, of whom sixty fell by the bayonet alone. While this was proceeding in one direction, the remaining portion of the British force was engaged with the enemy posted in the sugar-cane fields on the left; and, having driven them out of their cover, the whole force rushed forward in pursuit of the rebels, who retreated fighting through the town, till they finally broke on the other side of it, and fled in the direction of the Great Trunk-road to Delhi. The old residency, now used by the rajah as his palace, stood on the far-side of the town: the gardens were occupied by tents, now deserted; and the place had evidently been full of cavalry, some of whom, unmindful of the flight of their comrades on foot, were busily occupied in plundering and carrying off whatever they could lift. A fair opportunity for capturing or cutting down the whole of this party of rebels, was frustrated by the noisy impetuosity of the Sikhs, ordered to attack them; but who, by their shouts and excitement, gave an alarm before they had surrounded the gardens; and the rebels lost no time in seeking safety by flight—an object they accomplished much to the chagrin of the English troops. It was impossible for General Havelock to pursue the rebels beyond the town, as he had now scarcely a dozen European horse left him, and his infantry were utterly exhausted by their march and conflict in an intensely hot day. As soon as the fight had ended, General Havelock rode along his lines, and was vehemently cheered; but, saluting the men in return, he said, "Don't cheer me, my lads; you did it all yourselves." In this engagement, the 64th and 84th regiments, with the Ferozepore Sikhs, were prevented taking a full share, through a bend or branch of the unfordable stream that intercepted their intended line of march, and, consequently, the chief glory of the day rested with the 78th highlanders and the Madras fusiliers. Worn out with fatigue and heat, the British troops bivou-

acked that night near Bithoor, and, on the 17th, returned to Cawnpore. They had now been fighting under an Indian sun almost from the day they left Allahabad, six weeks previously, and were enfeebled by disease and overstrained excitement. Slowly and sadly they marched back from the field of their ninth victory; and, on the morrow, the general endeavoured to rally the drooping spirits of his men by the following order of the day:—

"Camp, Cawnpore, Aug. 17th, 1857.

"The brigadier-general commanding, congratulates the troops on the result of their exertions in the combat of yesterday. The enemy were driven, with the loss of 250 killed and wounded, from one of the strongest positions in India, which they resolutely defended. They were the flower of the mutinous soldiery, flushed with the successful defection at Saugor and Fyzabad; yet they stood only one short hour against a handful of soldiers of the state, whose ranks had been thinned by sickness and the sword. May the hopes of treachery and rebellion be ever thus blasted; and if conquest can now be achieved under the most trying circumstances, what will be the triumph and retribution of the time when the armies from China, from the Cape, and from England, shall sweep through the land?

"Soldiers! in that moment, your labours, your privations, your sufferings, and your valour, will not be forgotten by a grateful country. You will be acknowledged to have been the stay and prop of British India in the time of her severest trial."

The result of the action at Bithoor, was reported the same day to the deputy-adjutant-general of the army, in the following despatch:—

"Bivouac, Bithoor, Aug. 17th, 1857.

"Sir,—I have to request the favour of your informing the commander-in-chief that I marched to this place yesterday.

"The mutineers of the 31st and 42nd from Saugor, the 17th from Fyzabad, and sepoys of other regiments, with troops of the 2nd light cavalry and 3rd irregulars, united to a portion of Nana Sahib's troops, were, with two guns, in one of the strongest positions I have ever seen. They numbered 4,000 men. The plain, densely covered with thicket, and flanked by villages, has two streams flowing through it, not fordable by troops of any arm, and only to be crossed by two narrow bridges, the furthest of which was protected by an intrenchment armed with artillery. The road takes a turn after passing the second bridge, which protects defenders from direct fire, and behind are the narrow streets and brick houses of Bithoor. I must do the mutineers the justice to pronounce that they fought obstinately, otherwise they could not for a whole hour have held their own, even with such advantages of ground, against my powerful artillery fire. The streams prevented my turning them, and my troops were received, in assaulting the position, by a heavy rifle and musketry fire from the rifles and battalion companies engaged; but, after a severe struggle, the enemy were driven back, their guns captured, and infantry chased off the field in full retreat towards Seorajpore. Had I possessed cavalry, not a rebel nor a mutineer could have reached that place alive. As it is, they shall not long remain there unmolested.

"The loss of the enemy is estimated at 250 killed and wounded. Mine is forty-nine; and my numbers are further reduced by sunstroke and cholera.—I have, &c.,

"H. Havelock, Brigadier-general,
"Commanding Allahabad Movable Column."

The campaign of General Havelock, up to this time, had been most extraordinary, if not entirely unprecedented in the annals of warfare. Between the 12th of July and the 17th of August, he had fought and won three battles in the Doab, east of Cawnpore; three in the vicinity of Cawnpore and Bithoor; and four in Oude—making ten battles in thirty-seven days: and this unbroken chain of triumph was won from an enemy immensely superior in numbers, by an army which naturally became weaker with each victory, until at length its fighting power was nearly exhausted.

In this affair of Bithoor, the ill-effects of marching Europeans in India by day instead of by night was clearly manifested. The men came into action so fatigued by the heavy road and hot sun, that before half the fight was over, they were utterly powerless; but then it was also apparent that, upon this occasion, the enemy seemed to be quite as much overcome by the heat and fatigue as the European troops were; and it is recorded as a fact, that some of the rebels actually threw themselves down from sheer exhaustion, and were shot or bayoneted without resistance. The cause

of this extraordinary prostration of the native troops, was afterwards explained by one of the thanadars attached to the English force, who had been made prisoner, but managed to escape during the confusion of the fight. The day previous to the battle had been a Hindoo fast, which was strictly kept by all the sepoys, who therefore had to fight upon empty stomachs. "Had we," said the thanadar, "been able to follow up the fugitives for another four miles, we might have killed almost the whole of them, for I saw the sepoys throw themselves down on the ground by scores, utterly unable, from exhaustion, to stir another step." The condition of the British troops as they marched back from Bithoor was also described as pitiable. The 78th highlanders had left Allahabad, a few weeks previous, over 300 strong; it was then reduced to less than 100 fighting-men. The 64th regiment, that a few months before had started for Persia 1,000 strong, was then reduced to the proportion of two companies—about 140 men in all! And similar havoc had been made, by disease or wounds, in the ranks of each of the other regiments composing the Allahabad movable column.

At this juncture, the state to which General Havelock's little force had been reduced, necessitated a constant appeal for reinforcements, which could not be supplied him. On the 19th of August he had seventeen officers and 466 men on the sick-list at Cawnpore; while those who were not ill, were so worn out as to be scarcely fit for active service. Both himself and Neill desired to encourage their handful of men by some brilliant achievement; but they were now not strong enough to attempt the relief of Lucknow, however ardently they desired to do so; and the rebels, who had excellent information of their condition, were inspirited by this state of affairs, and assembled in great force on the Oude side of the Ganges, threatening to cross in three places; namely, at Cawnpore, at a spot twelve miles lower down, and at Futtehpore; while, on the other side, the small British force was threatened by the Gwalior contingent from Calpee.

In a despatch from Brigadier-general Neill to the commander-in-chief, dated "Cawnpore, August 18th," he writes of the Havelock column as follows:—"On the 16th, Havelock moved out in one column to Bithoor—carried the enemy's position; captured two guns; but men too much exhausted to follow them up. Returned on 17th. Had lost, in all three operations (besides by enemy), from sunstroke, cholera, and effect of exposure and fatigue, 324; including six wounded officers sick, and twelve soldiers killed by sunstroke on 16th. All this telling on the men severely. *Rest they must have.* Nothing can be done towards Lucknow from this until reinforced. An advance now, with reduced numbers (and those nearly used up from exposure and fatigue), would be madness. Cholera still among us, but confined to those who have been exposed."

Depressing as these circumstances certainly were, General Havelock was not unmindful of the claims of such of his officers as had specially distinguished themselves in the presence of the enemy, to the notice of government; and accordingly, on the 18th of August, the following recommendations for the Victoria Cross were forwarded by him to the commander-in-chief:—

"I recommend for the Victoria Cross, Lieutenant Crowe (78th highlanders), who was the first to enter the redoubt at Boursekee Chowkee, the intrenched village in front of Busherut-gunge, on the 12th instant.

"I also recommend for the same decoration, Lieutenant Havelock, 10th foot. In the combat at Cawnpore he was my aide-de-camp. The 64th regiment had been much under artillery fire, from which it had severely suffered. The whole of the infantry were lying down in line, when, perceiving that the enemy had brought out the last reserved gun (a 24-pounder), and were rallying round it, I called up the regiment to rise and advance. Without any other word from me, Lieutenant Havelock placed himself on his horse, in front of the centre of the 64th, opposite the muzzle of the gun. Major Stirling, commanding the regiment, was in front, dismounted; but the lieutenant continued to move steadily on in front of the regiment, at a foot-pace, on his horse. The gun discharged shot until the troops were within a short distance, when they fired grape. In went the corps, led by the lieutenant, who still steered steadily on the gun's muzzle, until it was mastered by a rush of the 64th."*

* The selection, by General Havelock, of his son for the much-coveted decoration upon the ground stated, occasioned much dissatisfaction in the 64th regiment; not because the gallantry of the young

Had the expected reinforcements from the lower provinces arrived at Cawnpore when due, General Havelock would doubtless have made another effort for the relief of Lucknow; but the mismanagement of the officer commanding at Dinapore, by which the whole plan of operations in Oude was disconcerted, and the very existence of the handful of men under the command of Havelock imperilled, had entirely prevented the desired junction, and left him for a time incapable of moving from his intrenched camp at Cawnpore.

On the following day (the 19th of August), Brigadier-general Havelock reported to the commander-in-chief as follows:—

"Cawnpore, Aug. 19th, 1857; 1.10 P.M.

"There is a combination against us, which

officer was not appreciated, but because he, being at the time totally unconnected with the corps, had availed himself of an opportunity afforded him as one of the general's staff, to usurp the position and proper duty of the officers of the regiment, who were equally competent with himself to lead their men to victory; and they naturally were annoyed at the apparently invidious selection of a stranger to the regiment for the distinction that should have properly belonged to one of its own officers. This uncomfortable feeling at length attracted the notice of the lieutenant-colonel of the gallant corps, and by him it was represented to Sir Colin Campbell, who subsequently expressed his idea of the affair in the following communication to the adjutant-general:—

"Head-quarters, Camp before Lucknow, March 30th, 1858.

"Sir,—I have the honour to bring to the knowledge of his royal highness the general commanding-in-chief, that a feeling of dissatisfaction, which has been testified in the most respectful manner, has arisen among the officers of the 64th foot, in consequence of a telegraphic despatch by the late Sir H. Havelock, K.C.B., which was published a short time back in the *London Gazette*. In the despatch alluded to, the most prominent notice was given to the fact of Lieutenant (now Captain Sir Henry) Havelock, Bart., having led the 64th foot into a redoubt, which was the object of attack, under the late Sir Henry Havelock's orders. The despatch is so worded as to make it appear, that the late Major Stirling, who afterwards became a lieutenant-colonel, was not properly leading his regiment; at least, such is the opinion of the officers of the 64th foot. Lieutenant-colonel Bingham, in the name of those officers, while he deprecates the idea of refusing just credit to Captain Sir Henry Havelock, maintains, in the most positive manner, that the late Lieutenant-colonel Stirling then commanded the 64th foot, as he did on all such occasions, most nobly and gallantly; and that he was on foot at the time, because, in consequence of a shell bursting, his horse had become unrideable. In short, he infers that it is very painful to the regiment that the memory and reputation of their late gallant commanding officer should have been so unfairly tampered with. I confess to have a strong feeling of sympathy with the officers of the 64th regiment, and it would be a matter of great satisfaction to me if you would have the goodness to move his royal highness to give a gracious expression towards the memory of the late Lieutenant-colonel Stirling, for the benefit of the 64th regiment. This instance is one of many in which, since the institution of the Victoria Cross, advantage has been taken by young aides-de-camp and other staff-officers to place themselves in prominent situations for the purpose of attracting attention. To them life is of little value, as compared with the gain of public honour; but they do not reflect, and the generals to whom they belong also do not reflect, on the cruel injustice thus done to gallant officers who, besides the excitement of the moment of action, have all the responsibility attendant on this situation. We know that the private soldier expects to be led by his regimental officers, whom he knows and recognises as the leaders to whom he is bound to look in the moments of the greatest trial and danger, and that he is utterly regardless of the accidental presence of an aide-de-camp or other staff-officer, who is an absolute stranger to him. There is another point, also, having a great importance. By such despatches as the one above alluded to, it is made to appear to the world, that a regiment would have proved wanting in courage, except for an accidental circumstance. Such a reflection is most galling to a regiment of British soldiers, indeed almost intolerable, and the fact is remembered against it by all the other corps in her majesty's service. Soldiers feel such things most keenly. I would, therefore, again beg leave to dwell on the injustice sometimes done by general officers when they give a public preference to those attached to them over old officers, who are charged with the most difficult and responsible duties.—I have, &c.

"C. CAMPBELL, Commander-in-chief.

"The Adjutant-general, Horse-guards, London."

The letter of General Campbell was laid before the Duke of Cambridge in due course, and by command of his royal highness, the following reply was transmitted to the commander-in-chief at Lucknow:—

"Horse-guards, S.W., May 17th, 1858.

"Sir,—I have had the honour to lay before his royal highness the general commanding-in-chief, your letter of the 30th of March last, referring to a telegraphic despatch of the late Major-general Sir Henry Havelock, in which it is made to appear, that Captain Havelock led the 64th regiment to the attack of a redoubt, and that the character of the late Lieutenant-colonel Stirling, who commanded the regiment and fell in the attack, had suffered accordingly. His royal highness regrets sincerely that any unfavourable imputation of the courage or conduct of the lieutenant-colonel should ever for a moment have been supposed to attach to the character of that gallant and excellent officer. His royal highness enters fully into the feelings of Lieutenant-colonel Bingham, who has, in vindication of the character of his late commanding officer and of the 64th regiment, so honourably appealed to your sense of justice, and he has much gratification in now recording his entire satisfaction with the whole conduct of Lieutenant-colonel Stirling, and of the excellent regiment which he commanded with so much credit to himself and advantage to the service.

"I have, &c.—G. A. WETHERALL A.G.

"General Sir Colin Campbell, &c."

will require our best exertions to baffle. The troops from Oude have come down to the left bank, and will threaten Cawnpore; meanwhile boats are collecting at Futtehpore, to enable a portion of their troops to cross there, and intercept the communication with Allahabad, whilst the Gwalior contingent (strong in artillery, and provided with a siege-train) passes at Calpee, and attacks my diminished force. I will do my best against them, but the risk is great.

"I have sent the steamer down to destroy the boats at Futtehpore. I should bring into the field eight good guns; but the enemy are reported to have from twenty-nine to thirty. These are great odds, and my 900 soldiers may be opposed to 5,000 organised troops. The loss of a battle would ruin everything in this part of India. I could entice the enemy at Calpee, and prevent their crossing the Jumna, or permit them to cross and drive them back into it, if my force were adequate to the effort; but it is fearfully weak, and disease daily diminishes my numbers.

"As I am told in the camp that your excellency has heard nothing of my movements since the 4th of the month, I will mention that hitherto everything has gone on prosperously. I struck a heavy blow against the Oude troops on the 12th, at Busherut-gunge (third fight there), and recrossed the Ganges that day in less than six hours, without the slightest interruption. On the 16th, I defeated the Saugor troops at Bithoor, and destroyed everything there. I will make head against this new danger with the like determination; but, without reinforcements, I do only hope for success."

It was, as yet, a novelty in this Asiatic warfare, that the steam navigation of the country should be employed for other purposes than the quiet transport of men and material; and yet such employ would at this juncture have been most important in several directions, had the means for it been available. Unfortunately they were not; and it furnished ground for serious comment, that while England could encircle the earth with a zone of floating castles, and had innumerable gun-boats, and other craft of every size and denomination, actually rotting and falling to pieces for want of use, in her harbours and ports throughout the world, there was not at this juncture, upon the Ganges or the Jumna, or any one of their tributaries, such a thing as a steamboat adapted for the purposes of war! It is true that the navigation of those rivers, supplied by mountain torrents, and flowing through immense alluvial plains, with frequent inundations and shiftings of channel, was not very easy, or, indeed, always practicable; but in the months of August and September, there was at least depth of water for vessels capable of steaming with two or three guns and a hundred or two of men. Of all the vast marine appliances of naval England, but one steamer of the kind required, could be found available by General Havelock! This one, however, he dispatched as mentioned in his report, to prevent the rebels of Oude from crossing the Ganges at Futtehpore. But he was without any means of obstructing their passage across the Jumna at Calpee, to which point the Dinapore mutineers were directing their steps, with the intention of swelling the numbers gathered against him.

Sir Colin Campbell had now arrived in India, and assumed command of the whole British forces;* but hitherto no correspondence had arisen between himself and Brigadier-general Havelock. His presence in Calcutta had, however, the effect of infusing greater energy into the movements of the executive government of India; and from this time European troops were pushed forward to Cawnpore with all possible celerity.

Further details of his operations were now forwarded by Brigadier-general Havelock, for the information of the commander-in-chief, by the following telegram:—

"Cawnpore, August 20th, 1857.

"I was appointed to the command of the Allahabad movable column in July last. Between the 12th of that month and the present date, I have been engaged with the enemy at Futtehpore, Pandoo Nuddee, Cawnpore, in Oude, at Oonao twice, at Busherut-gunge, at Boorjah Keechowkee, and Bithoor. On every occasion I have defeated him, and captured in the field forty guns, besides recovering for the state sixty more. But I am unable, for want of troops, to march on Lucknow.

"My force, which lost men in action, and has been assailed in the most awful way by cholera, is reduced to 700 in the field, exclusive of detachments which guard the intrenchments here, and keep open communication with Allahabad. I am threatened

* See vol. i., p. 600.

by a force of 5,000 men from Gwalior, with some twenty or thirty guns. I am ready to fight anything: but the above are great odds; and a battle lost here would do the interest of the state much damage. I solicit your excellency to send me reinforcements. I can then assume the initiative, and march to Agra and Delhi, or wherever my services may be required. With 2,000 British soldiers nothing could stand before me and my powerful artillery. I shall soon have equipped eighteen guns (six of siege calibre); but I want artillerymen and officers, and infantry soldiers."

The first communication direct from the new commander-in-chief (Sir Colin Campbell) to Major-general Havelock, was as follows, by telegraph, dated August 19th, 1857:—

"I have received your despatches, by telegraph, of the 6th and 12th instant, reporting the successful result of the attacks made on the enemy by the force under your command on those days respectively.

"The sustained energy, promptitude, and vigorous action by which your whole proceedings have been marked during the late difficult operations, deserve the highest praise; and it will be a most agreeable duty to me to make known to his lordship the governor-general, the sense I entertain of the able manner in which you have carried out the instructions of Sir Patrick Grant.

"I beg you to express to the officers and men of the different corps under your command, the pride and satisfaction I have experienced in reading your reports of the intrepid valour they have displayed on every occasion they have encountered the vastly superior numbers of the enemy, and how nobly they have maintained those qualities for which British soldiers have ever been distinguished—high courage and endurance.

"I entirely concur in the soundness of the view you have taken of your position in your telegraph of the 6th instant from Mungulwar, and of all the reasons which influenced you to defer, for the present, active operations.

"I esteem myself most fortunate in having the benefit of your assistance, and that I should find you in the important situation in which you are placed at the moment."

The highly gratifying communication of Sir Colin was acknowledged by the brigadier-general as follows:—

"Cawnpore, Aug. 21st, 1857; 12.30 P.M.

"I cannot express the gratification with which I have perused your excellency's telegram of the 19th instant, which has just reached me. The approbation of my operations and views, conveyed to me by so distinguished a soldier, more than repays me for the labours and responsibilities of two arduous campaigns, undertaken of necessity at a most unpropitious season: my soldiers will as highly and deeply value your excellency's commendation.

"I am for the present unable to give them shelter from the extreme inclemency of the weather, and the repose of which they stand in need; but sickness continues in our ranks. We lose men by cholera in the number of six daily. I will frankly make known to your excellency my prospects for the future. If I can receive prompt reinforcements, so as to make up my force to 2,000 or 2,500 men, I can hold this place with a high hand, protect my communications with anything that comes against me, and be ready to take a part in active operations on the cessation of the rains. I may be attacked from Gwalior by the mutinous contingent, with 5,000 men and thirty guns; or by the Ghoorkas who are assembling at Furruckabad, under rebellious nabobs, and have a formidable artillery; but as they can only partly unite, I can defeat either or both in fights; still if regiments cannot be sent me, I see no alternative but abandoning for a time the advantages I have gained in this part of India, and retiring upon Allahabad, where everything will be organised for a triumphant advance in the cold season.

"It is painful to repeat that, in the latter event, Cawnpore and the surrounding countries, in fact the whole of the Doab, would be abandoned to rapine and misery, and Agra will fall unsupported. I do not consider that our force would be compromised; for, in truth, the case* of the operation is, strange to say, like the Punjab. I have endeavoured briefly to state my case, and must leave the decision of the important question involved in it to your excellency.

"I do most earnestly hope that you will be able to provide prompt reinforcements. My communications with Allahabad will be quite safe as soon as detachments begin to pass upwards. I had sufficiently explained the danger to which I am exposed, should the enemy at Gwalior take the initiative, and move on Calpee with his imposing

* *Sic* in original.

force: it is to my left rear; and a force would at the same time endeavour to cross from Oude to Futtehpore. This would cut in my rear, and prevent even the advance of my reinforcements. I have sent a steamer to destroy his boats; but have no news of its success. The Furruckabad force would also assail me; and this column, hitherto triumphant, would be destroyed. The Gwalior force on the Jumna is 5,000 strong, with thirteen guns. The forces threatening Lucknow swell to 20,000, with all the disposable artillery of the province. The Furruckabad force is 12,000 men, with twelve guns. If I do not get any promise of reinforcement from your excellency by return of telegraph, I will retire at once towards Allahabad. I can no longer bear a defenceless intrenchment; that on the river being taken in the rear by the enemy assembling on the right bank of the Ganges."

It is to be presumed that the promise of reinforcements so urgently requested, was made, as the retrograde march to Allahabad did not occur; and the remainder of the month of August was spent by Havelock hopefully, though inactively. Although he was at this time almost surrounded at Cawnpore by gathering hosts of rebel forces, who looked upon his diminished band as certain prey, his communication by telegraph with Allahabad, Benares, and Calcutta was still open, and enabled him to learn that every possible effort was being made by the governor-general and the commander-in-chief to push forward the aid he so much wanted; and he now wrote repeatedly to Brigadier Inglis at Lucknow, urging him to remain firm to the last, in full confidence that succour would reach him before the pressure of despair should compel him to surrender to the enemy by which he was surrounded. He also learned, that some 2,000 men, belonging to the 5th, 64th, 78th, 84th, and 90th regiments, the Madras fusiliers, and the artillery, were either on their way from Calcutta, or would speedily be so; and that the naval brigade, consisting of 500 blue-jackets, under Captain Peel, of her majesty's steam-frigate *Shannon*, had left Calcutta on the 20th of the month, for the purpose of co-operating with his land force. It was known at the time, at the seat of government, that the public treasure at Lucknow, in charge of Brigadier Inglis, amounted to about a quarter of a million sterling; and telegrams were forwarded, by command of the governor-general in council, to Havelock and Neill, directing both to convey, if possible, instructions to Inglis not to care about the money, but rather to use it in any way that might best contribute to the liberation of his heroic and suffering companions.

On the 18th of August, just two days after General Havelock had completed an unbroken series of ten successive victories, Major-general Sir James Outram—who, after his successful termination of the Persian war, had been appointed to the military command of the Cawnpore and Dinapore divisions—arrived at the latter place to assume the delegated authority, which placed under his control the whole of the British troops engaged in the various struggles at Lucknow, Cawnpore, Allahabad, Benares, &c., &c. Sir Colin Campbell, who still remained at Calcutta, maturing his plans, and organising his forces for the ensuing campaign, immediately arranged with Outram the necessary measures for reinforcing Havelock, that no longer delay might take place in an effort to relieve Lucknow; and with this view, on the 22nd of August, the commander-in-chief telegraphed to Major-general Outram as follows:—

"I am rejoiced to hear of your arrival at Dinapore. The force under General Havelock is reduced by casualties on service, and by cholera (which has been and still rages in his camp), to 700 men in the field, exclusive of detachments which guard the intrenchment, and keep open the communication with Allahabad. He is threatened by a force of some 5,000 men, with twenty or thirty guns, from Gwalior, besides the Oude force. He says he 'is ready to fight anything; but the above are great odds, and a battle lost here would do the interest of the state infinite damage: I solicit reinforcements.' His applications for assistance have been frequent; and deeming his situation to demand immediate aid, I ordered the 90th regiment to be sent to him with all possible speed, as also the detachment of the 5th regiment, which was on board the *Benares* steamer, if it could be spared. Pray send the 90th regiment at once to his aid. I will write to you again on this subject to-morrow."

On the 24th of the month, Sir Colin Campbell further communicated with Major-general Sir James Outram, by the following despatch:—

"*The Commander-in-chief to Major-general Sir J. Outram.*

"Calcutta, August 24th, 1857.

"Sir,—I am extremely happy, and deem myself most fortunate, to find myself associated with you on service, and to have the advantage of your able assistance in carrying on the duty in which we are now engaged. I send you, herewith, the different telegraphs received from General Havelock since my arrival: they will make you fully acquainted with his operations in Oude; his reasons for recrossing the Ganges; his subsequent operations in the neighbourhood of Cawnpore, with account of his loss by sickness and casualties in the field; his present numbers, and their condition as to health and efficiency. I have been favoured by the governor-general with a perusal of yours to his lordship of the 19th instant, in which you propose to collect a force of about 1,000 infantry and eight guns at Benares, with a view to march to the relief of our garrison in Lucknow, by the most direct route from thence, and that the force under General Havelock at Cawnpore should co-operate with you in this movement, by crossing the Ganges at Futtehpore and the Saye, subsequently (with your assistance) at Rye Bareilly, and forming a junction with you beyond that place.

"General Havelock states, in his telegraph of the 20th instant, that his force is reduced to 700 men in the field, exclusive of the detachments required to guard his intrenchments and keep open his communication with Allahabad; and so inadequate does he consider his force to be for the defence of his post, that he states, in his telegraph dated August 21, 12.30 P.M., that, if not assured of reinforcements by return of telegraph, he will retire to Allahabad. Hope of co-operation from General Havelock (by a force equal to accomplish the movement you propose, by crossing the Ganges at Futtehpore) is not to be entertained. The march from Benares, by the most direct route, to Lucknow, is a long one—some 150 miles—and the population through which you would have to pass, hostile. Its great recommendation I presume to be that you (by that route) turn, or rather come in rear of, the many nullahs which, I am told, interpose between Cawnpore and Lucknow, and this would be an important advantage. But if the force you propose to collect at Benares were to be moved by the river to Cawnpore, and united with Havelock's reduced numbers, do you think it would be equal to force its way over the numerous nullahs (necessarily full of water at this season) which are to be found on the road from the latter place to Lucknow? By this route all incumbrances, such as sick, &c., would be left at the different stations or posts along the road, and the troops, on being conveyed by steam, would suffer less than if obliged to march, and Havelock's anxiety about his post would be removed.

"In offering these remarks or suggestions to you, who are acquainted with the country, people, and difficulties attending the movements you propose, it is not with any view to fetter your judgment and perfect freedom of action; but I mention these as they occur to me in writing to you; and I think I may venture to say, that the measures you may deem most advisable to pursue, will receive the approval of the governor-general. I hope to have the pleasure of hearing from you.—COLIN CAMPBELL."

It will be observed by the above communication, that Sir James Outram, as superior in military rank to Brigadier-general Havelock, had himself arranged a plan for advancing on Lucknow, entirely different from that on which the latter proposed to act. Sir James intended to advance from Benares direct to the besieged residency, by way of Jounpore, a route which would take him north-east of the Ganges and the Doab, leaving it to Havelock to join him on the march, provided he could overcome the difficulties likely to impede his progress; but when it became apparent that Brigadier Inglis could not cut his way out of Lucknow, and that Havelock was himself endangered at Cawnpore, a reconsideration of Outram's plan became imperative, inasmuch as it was obvious that the advance of 189 miles from Benares to Lucknow, through a country almost entirely in the hands of the enemy, must, under any circumstances, be very perilous; while a march by Allahabad to Cawnpore would be less open to difficulty. The latter route was therefore adopted, and instantly acted upon. On the 1st of September, having made the necessary military arrangements for the safety of the Dinapore district, Major-general Outram arrived at Allahabad, making a brief sojourn at Benares on his way. On the 7th of September he left that city, taking with him *en route* for Cawnpore, the 5th fusiliers and 90th regiment, with detachments of the

64th, 78th, and 84th regiments, and some companies of artillery, which had arrived at Allahabad since Havelock took his departure from that place some two months before; the whole amounting to about 1,700 men.

While rapidly progressing on his march up the country, Sir James received information that a party of rebels from Oude were crossing the Ganges into the Doab, at Koondhun Puttee, between Allahabad and Futtehpore, and about twenty miles from the last-named town. The importance of frustrating this movement was evident; and, on the 9th of September, an expedition from his main body, consisting of 150 men, with two guns, was entrusted to the charge of Major Vincent Eyre, R.A., whose instructions were to pursue the rebel troops and destroy them. The major arrived at Hutgong—where he was joined by forty troopers of the 12th irregular horse, under Captain Johnson—by dusk on the 10th; and, after resting his men, made a moonlight march to Koondhun Puttee, where he arrived at daybreak on the 11th. The enemy, taken by surprise, fled precipitately to their boats, about half a mile off, and endeavoured to escape punishment by recrossing the river into Oude, but were quickly pursued by the cavalry, who intercepted them before they could reach their boats, and kept up a galling fire of musketry on them. The infantry coming up soon after, caused great havoc among the crowded boats; but the insurgents, now at bay, stood their ground until the two guns opened upon them; when, no longer able to endure the chastisement they had provoked, the now panic-stricken wretches threw themselves madly into the river. Showers of grape were poured upon them; and the sword and rifle brought them down in numbers, and completed their destruction; only a few scattered survivors, out of a body of 300, escaping with life. Considerable importance was attached to this service by General Havelock, who, in a subsequent despatch, said—"I now consider my communications secure, which otherwise must have been entirely cut off during our operations in Oude; and a general insurrection, I am assured, would have followed throughout the Doab, had the enemy not been destroyed, they being but the advanced guard of more formidable invaders."

The following is a copy of the despatch from Major Vincent Eyre to the military secretary of Major-general Outram, K.C.B.:—

"Camp, Koondhun Puttee, Sept. 11th.

"Sir,—I am happy to have it in my power to report, for the information of Major-general Sir James Outram, K.C.B., that the expedition he did me the honour of entrusting to my command has been attended with entire success, and the daring invasion of this territory from Oude has been signally punished. I arrived at Hutgong last evening at dusk, where I was joined by Captain Johnson's troop of the 12th irregular horse (forty in number.) As they had marched twenty-four miles, and were in need of rest, I halted until about half-past 1 A.M., when we had the advantage of moonlight to pursue our march to Koondhun Puttee, where we arrived at daybreak.

"The Oude rebels, having been apprised a little previously of our advance, had fled precipitately to their boats, about half a mile off. I ordered the cavalry, under Captain Johnson and Lieutenant Havelock, to pursue them, and followed up myself with all practicable speed with the infantry and guns. We found the cavalry had driven the enemy into their boats, which were fastened to the shore, and were maintaining a brisk fire on them from the bank above. On the arrival of the detachments of her majesty's 5th fusiliers and 64th foot, under Captains Johnson and Turner, the fire of our musketry into the densely-crowded boats was most telling; but the enemy still defended themselves to the utmost, until the guns under Lieutenant Gordon opened fire, when the rebels instantly threw themselves, panic-stricken, into the river. Grape was now showered upon them, and a terrific fusilade from the infantry and cavalry maintained until only a few scattered survivors escaped. Their number appeared to be about 300. Previously to their plunging into the river they threw their guns overboard, and blew up one of their boats, which had been boarded by a party of infantry, whereby, I regret to say, one man of her majesty's 5th was killed, and ten more or less injured (of whom five were Europeans and five natives.) All the officers mentioned above distinguished themselves highly, and the conduct of the men was all that could be desired.

"Lieutenant Impey, of the engineers, and Mr. Volunteer Tarby, have likewise, by their zeal and usefulness, merited my thanks and commendation.—VINCENT EYRE,

"Major, commanding Field Force."

While the force under General Outram is proceeding on its route to Cawnpore, it

will not be uninteresting to refer to the following letter from that place, as descriptive of circumstances that prevailed there at the beginning of September.

"Cawnpore, September 12th, 1857.

"In the course of the past week we have had augmentations to our army from the lower provinces, and more are daily expected. General Sir J. Outram, with 700 bayonets and one horse field battery, is to come in to-morrow from Allahabad; and it is said that we await the arrival of some 800 more, ere a move to Lucknow will or can be effected. Morning and evening parades and roll-calls are quite the order of the day, together with the training of the volunteer cavalry in the use of the sword, &c., as also our new horse battery, which has made wonderful progress. This morning, the battery was out manœuvring the guns, firing blank to see the effect of the shock on the young horses. I am told they stood the fire well, and with a few more exercises will be deemed efficient for the field. The enemy are working incessantly on the other side of the river, erecting breastworks, batteries, and mining the roads. A few days since, they had an experimental explosion of one of these mines; but the simpletons had the train set on the wrong way, and when a great mob had congregated to witness the *burra tamasha*—tamasha in truth!—for it sent some three to four hundred kicking in the air. Yesterday we sent a reconnoitring party of one hundred men on board the Hon. Company's steamer *Berhampootra*; but the vessel, on crossing the Ganges, got foul of a sand-bank and stuck fast. No sooner did the rebels notice this mishap, than they thought it a good chance to sink the vessel, which they considered a great bore, and blazed away their guns at her. On hearing and seeing this, we replied to them by the 24-pounders from our intrenched camp, and several of the insurgents were floored, together with one elephant, the whole of its hind quarters being carried clean off with a round shot. This proved sufficient for the enemy; and they were seen scampering off in search of the road home. Last evening they again assembled close to the river-side in thousands, and fired off a few of their 9-pounders. We again returned the compliment by our monsters, and a few shots sufficed to scatter them. Boats were sent for the unsuccessful reconnoitring party, and the steamer soon afterwards floated, and is now safe at the bank-side, having received no damage. The bank on this side of the river is much higher than that on the other, and we therefore command a better view and range than they do. Their shot drop far short of the land on this side; ours, though of the same calibre, carry well across. It is contemplated to leave the whole of the sick, with 400 effective men, in the intrenchment, the main body of the army going on to the relief of the garrison at Lucknow. After this is effected, our gallant boys return here, and, should we be required, will move on to Delhi; but this can scarcely be, as Delhi must soon be in our hands. The fort has been for some days surrounded by our troops, and several sorties were made by the besieged, but were repulsed with immense loss, our killed and wounded amounting to about forty of all ranks. It is, I believe, the wish of government to save, if possible, the fort and town of Delhi from total destruction. Were it otherwise, the whole would long since have been levelled. The men of our small army are in most excellent health and spirits, and wish impatiently to have Lucknow in possession. Only two casualties occurred during the week, and the prevailing disease now is fever of the common type. Cholera has totally disappeared; but it was, indeed, the bane of our little army. Our heroic general is in excellent health and spirits, and goes his rounds morning and evening. Mighty preparations are being made for the crossing of the army. We have about 1,500 bayonets, and twenty guns go on to Lucknow. We shall get across in less time than we did before, as lots of boats are moored along the bank of the Ganges. I trust we may come off as scot-free this time as we did the last. Is it not strange that this force, since its formation in Allahabad, has never had either a protestant minister or Roman catholic chaplain?"

Resuming the narrative, we find that, in the early part of September, a telegraphic message from Brigadier Inglis reached General Havelock, with the following information:—

"Lucknow, September 1st, 1857.

"Your letter of the 22nd has duly reached me, in reply to mine of the 16th ultimo. I regret your inability to advance at present to our relief; but, in consequence of your letter, I have reduced the rations; and with this arrangement, and our great diminution

in numbers from casualties, I hope to be able to hold on to the 20th or the 21st instant. Some stores we have been out of for the last fifteen days, and many others will be expended before the same date. I must be frank, and tell you that my force is daily diminishing from the enemy's musketry fire, and our defences grow weaker daily. Should the enemy make any very determined efforts to storm this place, I shall find it difficult to repulse them, owing to my paucity in numbers, and the weak and harassed state of the force. Our loss, since the commencement of hostilities here, has been, in Europeans alone, upwards of 300. We are continually harassed in countermining the enemy, who have above twenty guns in position, many of them heavy ones. Any advance of you towards this place will act beneficially in our favour, and greatly inspirit the native part of my garrison, who hitherto have behaved like faithful and good soldiers. If you can possibly give me any intimation of your intended advance, pray do so by letter. Give the bearer the pass-word, "Agra," and ask him to give it me in person; and oblige me by forwarding a copy of this to the governor-general.

"Copy sent to General Havelock from commanding officer, Allahabad, for information and guidance, with the further remark that Maun Sing, who was promised a jagheer of two lacs conditionally on his affording us assistance, is reported to be still holding on; therefore it is by no means improbable that, if [the following line is entirely wanting, the paper being torn], that Sir H. Lawrence's promise shall be confirmed by government, he may be induced to afford us active help. His followers are estimated to be 6,000 in number."

A copy of this important letter was forwarded to the governor-general as requested, and its receipt was acknowledged by the following telegraphic message from his excellency in council to Major-general Sir James Outram:—

"Calcutta, September 12th, 1857.

"I have received this morning Brigadier Inglis's letter of the 1st of September. Maun Sing may be assured that if he continues to give to the governor-general effective proof of his fidelity and good-will, his position in Oude will be at least as good as it was before the British government assumed the administration of the country; whilst the proprietors in Oude, who have deserted the government, will lose their possessions. The same assurance may be given to any other chiefs, who will be rewarded in proportion to the support they may afford.

"Whatever promises may have been made to Maun Sing, or to others, by Sir Henry Lawrence, are confirmed, and shall be fully redeemed. None, however, have been reported to me.

"I send the above message to Mr. Grant, as well as to yourself. He will endeavour to convey the assurance to Maun Sing by a sure route, in case your communication with Oude should be interrupted.

"I hope you will be able to send a reply to Brigadier Inglis; and to inform him of the exertions which have been made for the relief of his brave little band, and of the anxious sympathy which is felt for them."*

* The state of the pent-up garrison at Lucknow had now become a source of most painful apprehension throughout British India. Among other remarks upon the subject, the following extract from the *Bombay Guardian*, will not be found devoid of interest to the English reader:—"There is something inexpressibly affecting, and tragical even we may say, about the position of the little band at Lucknow, as it is presented to our conceptions by the last advices from the neighbourhood. Encompassed by an immense force in what is now the heart of the enemy's country, cut off from communication with their countrymen elsewhere, they have nothing (under heaven) to sustain them but the hope, so long deferred, of the arrival of a British force to save them from a frightful death, and restore them to liberty. Weeks and months pass by. They feel that all Britain will be stirred with profound sympathy, and nerved with determination to suffer no obstacles to hinder the prompt dispatch of succours. They know how impossible it is that their countrymen should be for a moment indifferent to their fate; and they know the incomparable command of resources, the all-conquering might of England; and they say to one another, 'We have but to hold out a few days, and an irresistible force shall appear.' They learn even that a force is on its way. They fix a day when they are confident that it will make its appearance. That day arrives, and brings no help. They fix another day, and encourage one another to wait for it. It, too, comes in vain. Perhaps some reproachful thoughts of their long-tarrying friends arise. When they heard (as possibly they did) that General Havelock had crossed the Ganges, and was on the direct road to Lucknow—less than forty miles off; then less than thirty-five; less than thirty, twenty-five, twenty—hope must have waxed strong; they must have felt that now assuredly the hour of deliverance was at hand. Perhaps already a spirit of praise began to mingle with their prayers. But the days come and go; no succour yet; the force has been obliged to retreat. Twice they pass through this agony of suspense; twice the expected troops come so near that

At length, on the 15th of September, 1857, the three generals (Outram, Havelock, and Neill, each in himself a host) met at Cawnpore, and immediately proceeded to arrange the plan for future operations. It was now that an instance of chivalrous self-denial, and generous sacrifice of personal feeling, was exhibited by Sir James Outram, that won for him more enduring admiration than even his brilliant military career had ensured him among his brother-soldiers, who best could appreciate the value of the magnanimous concession. Being of higher military rank, as well as chief commissioner of Oude, the command of the forces under Havelock and Neill properly devolved upon Sir James Outram; but he, with a soldier's pride, had traced the arduous career of a brother-warrior, and was determined not to snatch from his grasp the well-won laurels that were to spring from the relief of Lucknow. In accordance with this resolution, the following "divisional orders by Major-general Sir J. Outram, K.C.B., commanding the Dinapore and Cawnpore divisions of the army," were issued on the day following his arrival at head-quarters:—

"Cawnpore, Sept. 16th, 1857.

"All Cawnpore divisional reports to be made for the information of Sir James Outram, K.C.B., commanding.

"The force selected by General Havelock, which will march to relieve the garrison at Lucknow, will be constituted and composed as follows:—

"*First Infantry Brigade.*—The 5th fusiliers; 84th regiment; detachments 64th foot and 1st Madras fusiliers: Brigadier-general Neill commanding, and nominating his own brigade staff.

"*Second Infantry Brigade.*—Her majesty's 78th highlanders; her majesty's 90th light infantry, and the Sikh regiment of Ferozepore: Brigadier Hamilton commanding, and nominating his own brigade staff.

"*Third (Artillery) Brigade.*—Captain Maude's battery; Captain Olphert's battery; Brevet-major Eyre's battery: Major Cope to command, and to appoint his own staff.

"*Cavalry.*—Volunteer cavalry to the left; irregular cavalry to the right: Captain Barrow to command.

"*Engineer Department.*—Chief engineer, Captain Crowling; assistant engineers, Lieutenants Leonard and Judge: Major-general H. Havelock, C.B., to command the force.

"The important duty of first relieving the garrison of Lucknow has been intrusted to Major-general Havelock, C.B.; and Major-general Outram feels that it is due to this distinguished officer, and the strenuous and noble exertions which he has already made to effect that object, that to him should accrue the honour of the achievement. Major-general Outram is confident that the great end for which General Havelock and his brave troops have so long and so gloriously fought, will now, under the blessing of Providence, be accomplished.

"The major-general therefore, in gratitude for, and admiration of, the brilliant deeds in arms achieved by General Havelock and his gallant troops, will cheerfully waive his rank on the occasion, and will accompany the force to Lucknow in his civil capacity as chief commissioner of Oude, tendering his military services to General Havelock as a volunteer. On the relief of Lucknow the major-general will resume his position at the head of the forces."

The following order was also issued, on the same evening, by General Havelock to the force about to proceed to the relief of Lucknow, under his command:—

"Cawnpore, Sept. 16th.

"Brigadier-general Havelock, in making known to the column the kind and generous determination of General Sir James Outram, K.C.B., to leave to him the task of relieving Lucknow and rescuing its gallant and enduring garrison, has only to express his hope that the troops will strive, by their exemplary and gallant conduct in the field, to justify the confidence thus reposed in them."

The chivalrous arrangement between the rival heroes was subsequently confirmed by the commander-in-chief, Sir Colin Campbell, in the following general order:—

they can distinguish the sound of their guns; twice they are obliged to fall back. Their own commanders have fallen one after another. Whither shall they now look for help? How tragical their position! All India knows about them; all England even knows about them; the whole civilised world sympathises with them, and would spare no pains, no sacrifices to deliver them. Yet there they are—there they remain—help reaches them not—their enemies laugh them to scorn, and prepare to consummate their destruction. How agonising! how humiliating to us! what a satire upon our imagined command of resources, and superiority to circumstances! How little can we do! how utterly baffled and foiled do we seem! how necessary, after all, is God! Oh that this lesson might now be learned by those who have so often disdained to recognise the truth set forth by it."

"Head-quarters, Calcutta, Sept. 28th.

"Seldom, perhaps never, has it occurred to a commander-in-chief to publish and confirm such an order as the following one, proceeding from Major-general Sir James Outram, K.C.B. With such a reputation as Major-general Sir James Outram has won for himself, he can well afford to share glory and honour with others. But that does not lessen the value of the sacrifice he has made, with such disinterested generosity, in favour of Brigadier-general Havelock, C.B., commanding the field force in Oude. Concurring as the commander-in-chief does in everything stated in the just eulogy of the latter by Sir James Outram, his excellency takes this opportunity of publicly testifying to the army his admiration for an act of self-sacrifice and generosity, on a point of all others which is dear to a real soldier. The confidence of Major-general Sir James Outram in Brigadier-general Havelock is indeed well justified. The energy, perseverance, and constancy of the brigadier-general have never relaxed throughout a long series of arduous operations, in spite of scanty means, a numerous and trained enemy, and sickness in his camp. Never have troops shown greater or more enduring courage than those under the orders of Brigadier-general Havelock.

"The force and the service at large are under the greatest obligations to Sir James Outram, for the manner in which he has pressed up the reinforcements to join Brigadier-general Havelock, in the face of much difficulty."

As it was of the utmost importance that the general in command of the force destined for the relief of Lucknow, should be well-informed of the intentions of the governor-general and the commander-in-chief, with regard to the future disposal of that city, Major-general Outram, on the 17th, telegraphed to the governor-general in council as follows:—

"Cawnpore, Sept. 17th, 1857; 1.30 A.M.

"If I find that a brigade of three regiments can surely hold Lucknow, placed in an invulnerable position commanding the city and its resources, shall Lucknow be retained or abandoned? A larger body of troops will be expended in watching Oude than in holding Lucknow in security, the communication from Benares to Allahabad, and along the line of Ganges to Furruckabad. The moral effect of abandoning Lucknow will be very serious against us; the many well-disposed chiefs in Oude and Rohilcund, who are now watching the turn of affairs, would regard the loss of Lucknow as the forerunner of the end of our rule. Such a blow to our *prestige* may extend its influence to Nepaul, and will be felt all over India. The civil government of the city may be maintained without interfering with the province at present."

The reply of the governor-general to this inquiry was as follows:—

"Calcutta, Sept. 18th, 1857; 9.30 P.M.

"Lucknow may be retained, if you can hold it securely and without depending upon early reinforcements. But the one paramount object is the rescue of the garrison; and whatever will most surely conduce to this will be best. If the safety of the garrison can be more thoroughly secured by retiring, pray do not hesitate to do so. We will recover our *prestige* before long.

"As to reinforcements, the China regiments are very slow in arriving. The head-quarters of the 23rd regiment (350 strong) arrived to-day, but it is not known where the rest are; therefore you must not count upon any addition to your Europeans at present."

All necessary preparations having been completed by the 18th of September, the British force, under the command of Major-general Havelock, consisting of about 2,700 men, with seventeen guns and a small party of volunteer cavalry, crossed the Ganges on the 19th, *en route* for Lucknow, General Outram accompanying the troops in his civil capacity only, as chief commissioner of Oude. The passage of the river was effected without loss, under fire of some 24-pounders; the enemy, after a mere nominal resistance, retiring to his fortified position at Mungulwar. On the 20th, the heavy guns and baggage were got over; and, on the following day, the general stormed the position of the rebels, defeating them with the loss of four guns and some regimental colours. The enemy fled with precipitation from the field; and the result of this initiatory affair was communicated by Brigadier-general Havelock to General Mansfield (chief of the staff), by the following despatch:—

"Busherut-gunge, September 21st.

"I have to request that you will inform his excellency the commander-in-chief, that I was joined by my reinforcements on the 15th and 16th instant. On the 19th I

crossed first to the island on the Ganges, and then to its left bank by a bridge of boats, which had been laboriously constructed by Captain Crommelin, field engineer. The enemy retired, after a very feeble (in fact a nominal) resistance, to his position at Mungulwar. The two brigades of my force occupied an alignement with the right centre behind sand-hills, the centre and left on a plain, extending to the road from the Lucknow Ghaut to Mungulwar. My heavy guns and baggage were passed over on the 20th. This morning I attacked the enemy, turned his right, and drove him from his position, with the loss of four guns, two of which and the regimental colours of the first Bengal native infantry, were captured by the volunteer cavalry in a charge headed by Sir James Outram. The loss on our side was trifling. The enemy suffered severely; about 120 were sabred by the cavalry."

From this point until near Lucknow, no opposition was offered to the march of the column, the enemy flying before it as it advanced, throwing their guns into wells; and, in their hot haste, even neglecting to break down a bridge over the river Saye, which, had it been destroyed, would have materially retarded the progress of the liberating force.

The following extracts from private correspondence, afford some interesting details of incidents connected with the advance of the troops:—

"Cawnpore, September 18th.

"We are now all bivouacked on the bank of the river, waiting the completion of the bridge of boats to an island in the centre of the river, on which our guns and skirmishers are now engaged with the enemy, who have two guns firing upon us in our front. Their camp is visible at a village some two or three miles further in. We hope to cross this evening or to-morrow morning. Major Haliburton, of the 78th highlanders, is in command of the advanced troops on the island, where the advanced skirmishers of the rebels fired upon us during the evening, killing one of our Sikhs. After dark, the advanced troops and guns, under Major Haliburton, retired for the night to the sand-bank and the bridge of boats.

"September 19th.—Before daylight this morning, the advanced troops, commanded as yesterday, pushed on again, feeling their way up the Lucknow-road, where they remained in skirmishing order, covering the advance of the main force; partial musketry firing during this time on both sides, the enemy mainly occupying a ridge of sand-hills on the right. After a time two guns of the enemy, posted in a village on the right front, commenced playing upon us; their shot fell close amongst the advance, and at times even passing over the column forming in rear; but no casualties occurred. After about an hour of this amusement, a sufficient force having crossed, the advance was ordered, diverging towards the right along two ridges of sand-hills, behind which the rebels were posted. They made a show of endeavouring to maintain themselves, sending detachments of cavalry out to their left and to the farthest removed point from the line of retreat. The advance of our skirmishers, however, supported by the column and the Enfield rifles of the former, were too much for their courage. A strong attempt was made by the leading men of the rebels on horseback to induce their men to advance on our skirmishers—Sikhs and highlanders—between the two lines of sand-hills; a simultaneous cheer passed along their line; Jack sepoy advanced with a shout—about twenty yards, and no more! and then went to the rightabout, keeping up a smart, spirited, but harmless fire. Our troops occupied the sand-hills, where they encamped for the day to enable the stores, baggage, and heavy guns to join them.

"One mile from Cawnpore, on the Oude side: September 20th.—Just a few lines to tell you we crossed yesterday over a bridge of boats—a very good one, erected by the engineers in a very short time. We had a brush with the enemy after crossing. All their shot fell wide or went over our heads; their shells did not burst. Not a man of ours touched; about twenty on their side killed by our skirmishers and artillery. We drove in their skirmishers and guns; they appeared to have one heavy gun and some 9-pounders horsed. All the struggle was over by about 10 A.M. They were popping away at us all day yesterday, and to-day they opened with their guns on the cavalry reconnoitring party, but did no harm. We shall commence our movement to Lucknow in real earnest to-morrow, when I hope all baggage and heavy guns will be over. It has been awful work getting the heavy guns and ammunition across. A cossid has just arrived to say they can hold out at Lucknow easily till the 1st of October."

Another letter of the 20th, says—"We crossed the river yesterday by a bridge of boats, constructed *pour l'occasion* by Messrs. Crommelin, Watson, and other engineers. One of our cavalry, who was acting as orderly to the general, was drowned. His horse jumped off the bridge, and he and horse were drawn down by an eddy, and nothing more was seen of them. Previous to the main body crossing, the Sikhs and two companies of the 78th highlanders had taken up a position on an island; the enemy fired upon them with their guns, but our 24-pounders seemed no favourites with them, as they became more respectful, notwithstanding they continued at intervals taking pops with their matchlocks, sheltered from sight by the long grass. No one, fortunately, was killed, beyond one Sikh, who was shot through the head. On the main body crossing, or rather after having crossed, a horse gun opened fire, but that was soon silenced. The enemy occupy a village named Mungulwar, which by to-morrow will be in our hands. It is my opinion we shall not have over-much fighting till we reach Nuwabgunge; report says they are strongly intrenched there. They are said to have a monster gun of fabulous size, 'reaching to the sun:' whatever it is it will be our property before long. I think two days or so will see us in Lucknow. What a pleasurable moment that will be when we have relieved so many of our countrymen!"

Having crossed the Saye without opposition, General Havelock found himself, on the 23rd of September, in the presence of the enemy, who had taken up a strong position in front of Lucknow, their left wing being posted in the enclosure of the Alumbagh (Garden of Beauty), a country-seat of one of the princes of Oude, distant about three miles from the city; and their centre and right upon some slight eminences in the vicinity. The Alumbagh comprised several extensive buildings, including a palace, a mosque, and an emambarra, or private temple; enclosed by a beautiful garden, which was surrounded by a park—the park itself being bounded by a wall, with strongly-fortified towers at the angles. In this important position there was abundant space for the accommodation of a large military force; and it was capable of being converted into a formidable stronghold, if the defences were well maintained. Here, then, a vigorous effort was made by the enemy's troops to obstruct the passage of the English; and the head of the column suffered severely from the enemy's guns, as it advanced along the Trunk-road towards the important post, between heavy morasses on either side: as soon, however, as it could deploy along the front, and its left wing enveloped the right flank of the rebel force, a terrific volley from the heavy guns of the British, announced to the besieged that their deliverance was at hand; and, after a sharp and severe contest, another triumph was added to the list of Havelock's victories, and the Alumbagh was in possession of his troops!—the enemy retiring before them, and abandoning in their flight five pieces of ordnance. The routed insurgents were pursued by a portion of the force led by Major-general Sir James Outram (as a volunteer), to the bridge of the Charbagh, crossing the canal which bounded the south side of the city. Beyond this post, however, the rebel force seemed determined to make a stand; and as their field artillery and the guns from the city were concentrated upon this point, it was considered impossible to hold it at the moment, and the column accordingly retired to the Alumbagh, where it sustained an incessant cannonade during several hours; the enemy's cavalry, some 1,500 strong, meanwhile making an attempt upon the baggage of the English force, by a sweep through some high cultivation that skirted it. The attempt was, however, frustrated by the gallantry of the 90th regiment, which formed the baggage guard, and received the charge with much firmness, but not without the loss of several officers and men. The enemy was finally put to flight with the loss of twenty-five men.

As the troops had now been marching three days under a perfect deluge of rain, irregularly fed, and badly sheltered in the villages on their route, General Havelock determined to allow them a day's rest to recruit their strength. The tents were accordingly pitched at the Alumbagh, which was by far too important to be abandoned when once obtained; and here, therefore, on the following day, General Havelock left his baggage, ammunition, the sick and wounded of his force, and an immense array of elephants, camels, horses, camp-followers, and laden carts, with 300 men to protect the whole, and four guns to aid in the defence.

On the morning of the 25th, the troops

moved forward. The first brigade, led by Sir James Outram (as a volunteer), drove the enemy from a succession of gardens and walled enclosures; while the other divisions, under General Havelock, supported the advance. From the bridge of the Charbagh, over the canal, the direct road to the residency was nearly two miles in length, and this interval was cut up by trenches, crossed by palisades, and intersected by loopholed houses; and the progress of the troops being thus obstructed, it was determined to deploy along a narrow road that skirted the left bank of the canal. By this route, the advance was not seriously interrupted until the force came opposite the king's palace, or Kaiserbagh, where two guns and a strong body of the insurgents were in position, and from whence the fire poured upon the advancing columns was so tremendous, that nothing could withstand it: for a short distance the British artillery and troops had, however, to pass a bridge partially under its range, but were then sheltered by buildings belonging to the palace of Fhureed Buksh, which adjoined the outer wall of the residency.

By this time darkness approached, and it was proposed to halt the troops for the night within the court of the palace; but General Havelock considered it to be too important that the beleaguered garrison should be at once relieved, to admit of any delay that could be avoided; and he accordingly ordered the main body of the 78th highlanders, and the regiment of Ferozepore, to take the lead in a desperate hand-to-hand fight through the narrow streets and loopholed passages in front of them. It was a desperate enterprise; but it succeeded, and the garrison was relieved. In a few hours such relief would have been too late: two mines had been driven under the chief works, which, if loaded and sprung, would have placed the diminished garrison and its precious charge wholly at the mercy of the rebels; and, in all probability, the atrocities of Delhi and Cawnpore would have been repeated. Happily this terrible calamity was averted; but, on that day, all within the residency endured an age of agonised suspense—knowing that the conflict raged fiercely around them, yet unable to assist in working out their own deliverance. But when, at length, the advanced column of the English force, surrounded by smoke and flame, had reached a street visible from the battered defences of the enclosure, a cheer broke forth to welcome their deliverers, that must have sounded to the despairing hearts of the discomfited rebels as the knell of their destiny.

Throughout the night of the 24th, great agitation and alarm had prevailed in the city; and, as morning advanced, increased and rapid movements of men and horses, gave evidence of the excited state of the rebel force. At noon, increasing noise proclaimed that street-fighting was growing more fierce in the distance; but, from the residency, nought but the smoke from the fire of the combatants could be discerned. As the afternoon advanced, the sounds came nearer and nearer, and then was heard the sharp crack of rifles, mingled with the flash of musketry: the well-known uniforms of British soldiers were next discerned, as the generals, Outram and Havelock, fought their way with their gallant band through a continuous line of streets to the Bailey Guard entrance of the residency enclosure; where, on the evening of the 25th of September, the two heroes clasped hands with Inglis, and listened to the outpouring of the full hearts that surrounded them with blessings and welcome.

The author of *A Personal Narrative of the Siege*, describing this scene, says—"The immense enthusiasm with which they were greeted, defies description. As their hurrah and ours rung in my ears, I was nigh bursting with joy. We felt not only happy—happy beyond imagination, and grateful to that God of mercy who, by our noble deliverers (Havelock and Outram) and their gallant troops, had thus snatched us from imminent death; but we also felt proud of the defence we had made, and the success with which, with such fearful odds to contend against, we had preserved not only our own lives, but the honour and lives of the women and children intrusted to our keeping. As our deliverers poured in, they continued to greet us with loud hurrahs. We ran up to them, officers and men without distinction, and shook them by the hands—how cordially, who can describe? And those brave men themselves, many of them bloody and exhausted, forgot the loss of their comrades—the pain of their wounds—the fatigue of overcoming the fearful obstacles they had encountered for our sakes, in the pleasure of having accomplished our relief."

Another eye-witness of the event (autho-

ress of the *Ladies' Diary of the Siege*), says—"Never shall I forget the moment to the latest day I live. We had no idea they were so near, and were breathing air in the portico as usual at that hour, speculating when they might be in—not expecting they could reach us for several days longer; when suddenly, just at dark, we heard a very sharp fire of musketry close by, and then a tremendous cheering. An instant after, the sound of bagpipes—then soldiers running up the road—our compound and verandah filled with our deliverers, and all of us shaking hands franticly, and exchanging fervent 'God bless you's!' with the gallant men and officers of the 78th highlanders. Sir James Outram and staff were the next to come in, and the state of joyful confusion and excitement was beyond all description. The big, rough-bearded soldiers, were seizing the little children out of our arms, kissing them, with tears rolling down their cheeks, and thanking God they had come in time to save them from the fate of those at Cawnpore. We were all rushing about to give the poor fellows drinks of water, for they were perfectly exhausted; and tea was made down in the Tye-khana; of which a large party of tired, thirsty officers partook, without milk or sugar. We had nothing to give them to eat. Everyone's tongue seemed going at once, with so much to ask and to tell; and the faces of utter strangers beamed upon each other like those of dearest friends and brothers."

The triumph of that day was not gained but with cost of noble blood. Upwards of 400 had fallen in the conflict; and among the slain were Brigadier-general Neill, Major Cooper of the artillery, Lieutenant-colonel Bazeley, Captain Pakenham, and Lieutenants Crump, Warren, Bateman, Webster, Kirby, Poole, and Moultrie. The whole list of casualties comprised 119 officers and men killed, 339 wounded, and 77 missing—wounded prisoners in the hands of a ruthless enemy. Thus was the force, in one day, reduced by 535 fighting-men.

On the evening of this eventful day, Major-general Havelock surrendered to Sir James Outram, within the residency at Lucknow, the command he had so generously left in his hands at Cawnpore, and now became second in command to his senior officer; who had, since the 16th of the month, fought chivalrously under his orders as a volunteer! On the 30th of September, the following report from Major-general Havelock, announced the relief of the garrison of Lucknow, and the termination of his independent command in the province of Oude:—

"Lucknow Residency, Sept. 30, 1857.

"Major-general Sir James Outram having, with characteristic generosity of feeling, declared that the command of the force should remain in my hands, and that he would accompany it as civil commissioner only, until a junction could be effected with the gallant and enduring garrison of this place, I have to request that you will inform his excellency the commander-in-chief that this purpose was effected on the evening of the 25th instant; but I must first refer to antecedent events. I crossed the Saye on the 22nd instant, the bridge at Bunnee not having been broken. On the 23rd I found myself in the presence of the enemy, who had taken a strong position, his left posted in the enclosure of the Alumbagh, and his centre and right on low heights.

"The head of my column at first suffered from the fire of his guns, as it was compelled to pass along the Trunk-road between morasses; but as soon as my regiment could be deployed along his front, and his right enveloped by my left, victory decided for us, and we captured five guns. Sir J. Outram, with his accustomed gallantry, pressed our advance close down to the canal; but as the enemy fired with his artillery, and with guns from the city, it was not possible to maintain this, or a less advanced position, for a time, and it became necessary to throw our right in the Alumbagh, and retire our left; and even then we were incessantly cannonaded throughout the twenty-four hours; while their cavalry, 1,500 strong, swept round through lofty cultivation, and made a sudden irruption upon the baggage massed in our rear.

"The soldiers of the 90th regiment, forming the baggage guard, received the charge with gallantry, and lost some brave officers and men; shooting down, however, twenty-five of the troopers, and putting the whole body to flight. They were finally driven off by two guns of Captain Olphert's battery.

"As the troops had been marching three days under a perfect deluge of rain, irregularly fed, and badly housed in villages, it was thought necessary to pitch tents, and permit them to halt on the 24th; and the assault on the city was deferred until the 25th. On that morning our baggage and

tents were deposited in the Alumbagh, under an escort, and we advanced. The first brigade, under Sir J. Outram's personal leading, drove the enemy from a succession of gardens and walled enclosures, supported by the two brigades which I accompanied. Both brigades were established on the canal at the bridge of the Charbagh. From this point, the direct road to the residency is a little less than two miles, but it was known to have been cut by trenches, and crossed by palisades at short intervals, the houses, also, being all loopholed. Progress in this direction was opposed; so the united column pushed and deployed along the narrow road which skirts the left bank of the canal. Its advance was not seriously interrupted until it came opposite the king's palace, or Kaiserbagh, where two guns and a body of mercenary troops were intrenched. From this intrenchment a fire of grape and musketry was poured, under which nothing could live; the artillery and troops had to pass a bridge partially under its influence, but were then shrouded by the buildings adjacent to the palace of Fhureed Buksh.

"Darkness was coming on, and it was proposed to halt within the court of this mehal for the night; but I esteemed it to be of much importance not to leave this beleaguered garrison without succour close at hand, and I ordered the main body of the 78th highlanders, and the regiment of Ferozepore, to advance. This column rushed on with a desperate resolve, followed by Sir J. Outram and myself, with Lieutenants Hudson and Hargood, of my staff; and, overcoming every obstacle, it established itself within the enclosure of the residency. The state of the garrison may be more easily conceived than described; but it was not until the next evening that the whole of my troops, guns, tumbrils, and sick and wounded, continually exposed to the attack of the enemy, could be brought, step by step, within this enclosure, and the adjacent palace of Fhureed Buksh. To form a notion of the obstacles overcome, a reference must be made to the events that are known to have occurred at Buenos Ayres and Saragossa. Our advance was through streets of flat-roofed and loopholed houses, each forming a separate fortress. I am filled with surprise at the success of operations which demanded the efforts of 10,000 good troops: but the advantage has cost us dearly.

"The killed, wounded, and missing—the latter being wounded soldiers, who, I regret to say, have fallen into the hands of a merciless foe—amount to 464 officers and men. Brigadier-general Neill,* commanding 1st brigade; Major Cooper, commanding artillery; and Lieutenant-colonel Bazeley, a volunteer with the force, are killed. Colonel Campbell, commanding 90th infantry; Lieutenant-colonel Tytler, my deputy assistant-quartermaster-general; and Lieutenant Havelock, my deputy assistant-adjutant-general—are severely, but not dangerously, wounded. Sir James Outram received a flesh-wound in the arm in the early part of the action, near the Charbagh, but nothing could subdue his spirit; and, though faint from loss of blood, he continued, to the end of the operation, to sit on his horse, which he only dismounted at the gate of the residency. As he has now assumed the command, I leave to him the narration of all events subsequent to the 25th instant."

* Brigadier-general James George Smith Neill, of the Madras fusiliers, was a native of Ayrshire, N.B.; and was the eldest son of Lieutenant-colonel Smith Neill, of Barnweill and Swindridgemuir, in that shire. He was born about the year 1810, and entered the 1st European fusiliers (Madras) in 1826. His first active service was in the Burmese war, during the administration of Lord Amherst; but he was compelled to return to Europe on furlough, on account of the inroad made upon his constitution by exposure while on field service. Returning to India, he held the command of the escort of the resident at the court of the rajah of Nagpore, in the years 1835 and 1836; and about the same time married Isabella, daughter of Colonel Warde. In the second Burmese war, under Lord Dalhousie, he was also employed; and, on the outbreak of the war with Russia, in 1854, he volunteered for active service in Turkey, and commanded a brigade of the Turkish contingent. He subsequently took the command of the 1st European fusiliers, one of the most gallant and distinguished regiments in the Indian service; and on the outbreak of the mutiny, being sent up from Calcutta with his regiment, he first relieved Benares, and then pressed on, by forced marches, to Cawnpore, where his practice with the high-caste Brahmin murderers will not be soon effaced from the memory of the natives, having compelled them to inflict their own degradation by washing, with their own hands, the blood-stained floor that formed the scene of their atrocities. Brigadier-general Neill held the command of Cawnpore on the departure of Havelock for Lucknow, and is represented as a strict disciplinarian, but at the same time, as one who never spared himself, and always shared with his men in danger, difficulty, and privation. From the time he left his native home in Ayrshire (a stripling of sixteen), he had passed thirty years of his life in the service of his country; and his honourable career was terminated by a soldier's death at Lucknow, on the 25th of September, 1857.

The government of India evinced its high appreciation of the services rendered by Major-general Havelock, and the force under his command, by the relief of Lucknow, in the following notification:—

"Fort William, Oct. 2nd.

"The governor-general in council rejoices to announce, that information has been this day received from Major-general Sir James Outram, K.C.B., showing that the residency at Lucknow was in the possession of Major-general Havelock's force, on the 25th ultimo, and that the garrison is saved. Rarely has a commander been so fortunate as to relieve by his success so many aching hearts, or to reap so rich a reward of gratitude as will deservedly be offered to Major-general Havelock and his gallant band wherever their triumph shall become known. The governor-general in council tenders to Sir James Outram and to Major-general Havelock his earnest thanks and congratulations upon the joyful result of which a merciful Providence has made them the chief instrument. The governor-general in council forbears to observe further upon information which is necessarily imperfect; but he cannot refrain from expressing the deep regret with which he hears of the death of Brigadier-general Neill, of the 1st Madras European fusiliers, of which it is to be feared that no doubt exists. Brigadier-general Neill, during his short but active career in Bengal, had won the respect and confidence of the government of India; he had made himself conspicuous as an intelligent, prompt, self-reliant soldier, ready of resource and stout of heart; and the governor-general in council offers to the government and to the army of Madras, his sincere condolence upon the loss of one who was an honour to the service of their presidency.—By order of the governor-general of India in council.

"R. J. H. Birch, Colonel,
"Secretary to the Government of India, in the Military Department."

The mere possession of the residency, with its shattered defences and worn-out garrison, by no means involved the occupation of the city of Lucknow, which is, or rather was at the time, about six miles in length, in a direction from S.E. to N.W., the residency being situated nearly at the north-western extremity. Nearly two miles, in the centre of this distance, were occupied by the old native town; while more to the north-west, about the same space was occupied by native buildings of a superior class, through which ran a broad straight street. A similar street also extended from the old native town, past the palace of the ex-king of Oude, and in the direction of the residency: and it would seem that it was only out of this south-eastern portion of the city that the troops had succeeded in expelling the enemy; the old town, by far the most favourable locality for the cover-fighting that the rebels preferred, being still in their possession, and occupying the space directly between the residency and the Alumbagh.

The isolated position of the little garrison at this post, became of course a subject for grave consideration as soon as the junction with Brigadier Inglis had been accomplished. After the first outburst of thankfulness at the arrival of their welcome deliverers, the occupants of the residency enclosure began to question how far in reality their deliverance had been effected: and they soon became convinced that, in fact, they were as close prisoners as ever. General Havelock had lost nearly one-third of his small original force during the desperate encounters of the past few days; and those who survived of his gallant band, were now too weak for any important military operation. The result of the fighting on the 25th and 26th of September, had certainly given him the command of a larger portion of the city than the mere area comprised within the enclosure of the residency; but he could not gain another foot of ground without struggling for it, nor could he hope to retain that he had already acquired, without incessant watchfulness and exertion. The enemy was in immense strength between himself at the residency, and his detachment and stores at the Alumbagh; and it was beyond his means to remove them and unite the two positions by any communication, seeing that his troops were closely besieged in both places. Neither could he remove the women and children, and wounded men, to a place remote from the scene of strife, because the escort he could have spared would have been so small as to be perfectly unavailing for their protection, in the face of the overwhelming numbers of insurgent troops that swarmed in every direction around him. The whole of the immediate benefit, therefore, consisted in an increase in the number of British soldiers for the defences; but, as these brought with them

no supplies except those left at the Alumbagh, there was an increase in the number to be fed, without any augmentation of the means of feeding them; and thus, with the prospect of prolonged captivity and increased privations before them, the disappointment of the garrison was most severe. Many councils were held to deliberate as to the measures to be pursued, and parties of volunteers occasionally rushed out, with the intention of cutting their way through to the Alumbagh, or even to Cawnpore, to seek reinforcements and supplies; but they were invariably driven back by dense masses of the rebel force, that it was impossible to cut through or resist. Sir James Outram, finding the sword powerless for emancipation, now sought, by confidential emissaries, to ascertain if any of the wealthy and influential natives in the city, could be induced, by liberal offers, to render him and his companions aid in their difficulties; but none would listen to his overtures: and nothing therefore remained but to emulate the patient endurance, the heroic daring, and the unshaken determination that had been already exemplified in the defence of the residency by Brigadier Inglis and his glorious companions.

The first official details of this memorable and protracted defence, were published in a notification of the governor-general in council, embracing a report from Brigadier Inglis; without which important documents, and the general order of the government of India, in reference to the death of Sir Henry Lawrence, this chapter of the relief of Lucknow would be incomplete.

"Fort William, 8th December, 1857.

"The right honourable the governor-general in council has received from Brigadier Inglis, of her majesty's 32nd regiment, lately commanding the garrison in Lucknow, the subjoined report of the defence of the residency in that city, from the first threatened attack upon it, on the 29th of June, to the arrival of the force under Major-general Sir J. Outram, K.C.B., and the lamented Major-general Sir H. Havelock, K.C.B., on the 25th of September. The governor-general in council believes that never has a tale been told which will so stir the hearts of Englishmen and Englishwomen as the simple, earnest narrative of Brigadier Inglis. It rightfully commences with a soldier's testimony, touchingly borne, to the chivalrous character and high deserts of Sir Henry Lawrence, the sad details of whose death are now made known.

"There does not stand recorded in the annals of war an achievement more truly heroic than the defence of the residency at Lucknow, described in the narrative which follows. That defence has not only called forth all the energy and daring which belong to Englishmen in the hour of active conflict; but it has exhibited, continuously, and in the highest degree, that noble and sustained courage which, against enormous odds and fearful disadvantages, against hope deferred, and through unceasing toil and wear of body and mind, still holds on day after day, and triumphs. The heavy guns of the assailants, posted, almost in security, within fifty yards of the intrenchments—so near, indeed, that the solicitations, and threats, and taunts, which the rebels addressed to the native defenders of the garrison were easily heard by those true-hearted men; the fire of the enemy's musketry, so searching that it penetrated the innermost retreat of the women and children, and of the wounded; their desperate attempts, repeatedly made, to force an entry after blowing-in the defences, the perpetual mining of the works, the weary night-watching for the expected signal of relief, and the steady waste of precious lives until the number of English gunners was reduced below that of the guns to be worked;—all these constitute features in a history which the fellow-countrymen of the heroes of Lucknow will read with swelling hearts, and which will endure for ever as a lesson to those who shall hope, by treachery, numbers, or boldness in their treason, to overcome the indomitable spirit of Englishmen.

"A complete list of the brave men who have fallen has not yet reached the governor-general in council; but the names mentioned in Brigadier Inglis's report are, in themselves, a long and sad one. Amongst those who have nobly perished in this protracted struggle, Sir Henry Lawrence will occupy the first place in the thoughts of his fellow-countrymen. The governor-general in council has already given expression to the deep sorrow with which he mourns the loss of that distinguished man. But the name of Sir Henry Lawrence can never rise up without calling forth a tribute of honour and admiration from all who knew him.

"The governor-general in council has also to deplore the loss of Major Banks, an

officer high in the confidence of the government of India, and who, with the full approval of the governor-general in council, had succeeded to the charge of chief commissioner upon Sir Henry Lawrence's death; of Lieutenant-colonel Case, her majesty's 32nd regiment, who was mortally wounded while leading on his men at Chinhut on the 29th of June; of Captain Radcliffe, whose conspicuous bravery attracted the attention of Sir Henry Lawrence on that occasion; of Captain Francis, who was also especially noticed by Sir Henry Lawrence for his gallant conduct while in command of the Muchee Bhowun; of Captain Fulton, of the engineers, whose indefatigable exertions are thankfully recorded by Brigadier Inglis; of Major Anderson, the chief engineer, who, contending against deadly sickness, did not cease to give his valuable aid to his commander; of Captain Simons, artillery, mortally wounded at Chinhut; of Lieutenants Shepherd and Archer, 7th light cavalry, killed at their posts; of Captain McCabe, her majesty's 32nd, who fell while leading his fourth sortie; of Captain Mansfield, of the same corps, who fell a victim to cholera.

"The governor-general in council laments also to find in this melancholy record the names of Mr. Lucas, a traveller in India, and of Mr. Boyson. These two gentlemen, acting as volunteers, received charge of one of the most dangerous outposts, and held it at the cost of their lives. The good services of her majesty's 32nd regiment throughout this struggle have been remarkable. To the watchful courage and sound judgment of its commander, Brigadier Inglis, the British government owes a heavy debt of gratitude; and Major Lowe, Captain Bassano, Lieutenants Edmonstoune, Foster, Harmar, Lawrence, Clery, Cook, Browne, and Charlton, and Quartermaster Stribbling, of this corps, and Captain O'Brien, of her majesty's 84th regiment, are praised by their superior as having severally distinguished themselves. Of the 7th light cavalry, Colonel Master, to whom was entrusted the command of a most exposed post. Captain Boileau, and Lieutenant Warner, are entitled to the thanks of the governor-general in council.

"The governor-general in council recognises, with pleasure, the distinction accorded to Major Apthorp, Captains Kemble and Saunders, Lieutenants Barwell and Kier, of the 41st native infantry, as well as to Captain Gernon and Lieutenant Aitken, of the 13th native infantry, the latter of whom commanded an important position in the defences with signal courage and success; to Captain Anderson, of the 25th, and to Lieutenant Graydon, of the 44th native infantry. His lordship in council desires to acknowledge the excellent service of Captain Dinning and Lieutenant Sewell, of the 71st native infantry; and of Lieutenant Langmore, of the same regiment, who held continuously a post open to attack, and entirely without shelter for himself or for his men by night or by day; as well as of Lieutenant Worsley, of the same corps; of Lieutenant Tullock, 58th native infantry; of Lieutenant Hay, 48th native infantry, who was placed under the engineers to assist in the arduous duties of that department; and of Ensign Ward, of the same regiment, who, when the officers of artillery were mostly disabled, worked the mortars with good effect; also of Lieutenant Graham, of the 11th native infantry, and of Lieutenant Mecham, of the 4th Oude irregulars. Of the native officers and men of the 13th, 48th, and 71st regiments of native infantry, who have been amongst the defenders of the residency, it is difficult to speak too highly. Their courageous constancy under the severest trials is worthy of all honour.

"The medical officers of the garrison are well entitled to the cordial thanks of the government of India. The attention, skill, and energy evinced by Superintending-surgeon Scott; Assistant-surgeon Boyd, her majesty's 32nd foot; Assistant-surgeon Bird, of the artillery; Surgeon Campbell, 7th light cavalry; Surgeon Brydon, 71st native infantry; Surgeon Ogilvie, sanitary commissioner; Assistant-surgeon Fayrer; Assistant-surgeon Partridge, 2nd Oude irregulars; Assistant-surgeons Greenhow and Darby, and of Mr. Apothecary Thompson, are spoken of in high terms by Brigadier Inglis. To Dr. Brydon especially the governor-general in council would address his hearty congratulations. This officer, after passing through the Cabul campaign of 1841-'42, was included in the illustrious garrison who maintained their position in Jellalabad. He may now, as one of the heroes of Lucknow, claim to have witnessed, and taken part in, an achievement even more conspicuous as an example of the invincible energy and enduring courage of British soldiers. The labours of the offi-

cers of engineers—Lieutenants Anderson, Hutchinson, and Innes; and of the artillery—Lieutenant Thomas (Madras), and Lieutenants Macfarlane and Bonham—receive, as they deserve, honourable mention, which the governor-general in council is glad to confirm by his cordial approval. The services rendered by Mr. McRae, civil engineer; Mr. Schilling, principal of the Martinière; and by Mr. Cameron, a gentleman who had visited Oude for commercial purposes, merit the especial thanks of the government of India.

"The governor-general in council has read with great satisfaction the testimony borne by Brigadier Inglis to the sedulous attention given to the spiritual comforts of his comrades by the Rev. Mr. Polehampton and the Rev. Mr. Harris. The first, unhappily, has not survived his labours. The officers of the staff have rendered excellent service. That of Lieutenant James, sub-assistant-commissary-general, calls for the especial thanks of the government of India. This officer, although severely wounded at Chinhut, resolutely continued to give valuable aid to the brigadier; and it is mainly owing to his forethought and care that supplies of the garrison have sufficed through the hardships of the siege. Captain Wilson, 13th native infantry (deputy assistant-adjutant-general), has evinced courage, activity, and sound judgment in a very high degree. Lieutenant Hardinge, officiating as deputy quartermaster-general, as well as commanding the Sikh cavalry of the garrison, has proved himself worthy to bear his soldier's name. Lieutenant Barwell, 71st native infantry (fort-adjutant), is honourably mentioned; and Lieutenant Birch, of the 71st native infantry, who acted as aide-de-camp to Brigadier Inglis throughout the siege, has discharged his duties in a manner which has called forth emphatic praise from his commander.

"The officers of the civil service have not been behind their military brethren in courage and zeal. The assistance rendered by Mr. Couper to Brigadier Inglis, as previously to Sir Henry Lawrence, has been most valuable. Messrs. Thornhill and Capper were wounded during the siege; and Mr. Martin, deputy-commissioner, and Captain Carnegie, assistant-commissioner, have earned the special thanks of Brigadier Inglis. To all these brave men, and to their brother-officers and comrades of every rank and degree, European and native, who have shared the same dangers and toils with the same heroic spirit, the governor-general in council tenders his warmest thanks.

"The officers and men of her majesty's regiments must receive their full measure of acknowledgment from a higher authority than that of the governor-general in council; but it will be the pleasing duty of his lordship in council to express to her majesty's government, and to the Hon. Court of Directors of the East India Company, in the strongest terms, the recommendation of them to that favour for which Major-general Sir James Outram so justly pleads.

"Meanwhile it is a gratification to the governor-general in council to direct, in a general order of this day, that the rewards and honours therein specified shall be at once awarded to the officers and men of the two services and to the civilians respectively. This notice must not be closed without mention of those noble women who, little fitted to take part in such scenes, have assumed so cheerfully, and discharged so earnestly, their task of charity in ministering to sickness and pain. It is likely that, to themselves, the notoriety of praise publicly given may be distasteful; yet the governor-general in council cannot forego the pleasure of doing justice to the names of Birch, Polehampton, Barbor, and Gall, and of offering to those whose acts have so adorned them, his tribute of respectful admiration and gratitude.

"The history of the defence of the residency of Lucknow does not end with the narrative of Brigadier Inglis. But no full reports of the course of events at Lucknow, subsequently to the junction of Sir Henry Havelock's force with the defenders, or of the final and effectual relief by the advance of the commander-in-chief, have yet been received. It is known, however, that the success which has carried joy to so many aching hearts has been clouded by the death, within the last few days, of one of the first soldiers of India—Major-general Sir Henry Havelock.

"The governor-general in council deeply deplores the loss of this able leader and truly brave man, who has been taken from the service of his country at a time when he can least be spared, though not before he had won for himself lasting renown, and had received at the hands of his sovereign

the gracious and prompt recognition of his merits.—R. J. H. BIRCH, Colonel,

"Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department."

"*From Brigadier Inglis, commanding Garrison of Lucknow, to the Secretary to Government, Military Department, Calcutta.*

"Lucknow, Sept. 26th, 1857.

"Sir,—In consequence of the very deeply-to-be-lamented death of Brigadier-general Sir H. M. Lawrence, K.C.B., late in command of the Oude field force, the duty of narrating the military events which have occurred at Lucknow since the 29th of June last, has devolved upon myself.

"On the evening of that day, several reports reached Sir Henry Lawrence that the rebel army, in no very considerable force, would march from Chinhut (a small village about eight miles distant, on the road to Fyzabad) on Lucknow on the following morning; and the late brigadier-general therefore determined to make a strong *reconnaissance* in that direction, with the view, if possible, of meeting the force at a disadvantage, either at its entrance into the suburbs of the city, or at the bridge across the Gokral, which is a small stream intersecting Fyzabad-road, mid-way between Lucknow and Chinhut.

"The force destined for this service, and which was composed as follows, moved out at 6 A.M. on the morning of the 30th of June:—

"*Artillery.*—Four guns of No. — horse light field battery, four guns of No. 2 Oude field battery, two guns of No. 3 Oude field battery, and an 8-inch howitzer.

"*Cavalry.*—Troop of volunteer cavalry, and 120 troopers of detachments belonging to the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd regiments of Oude irregular cavalry.

"*Infantry.*—300 of her majesty's 32nd, 150 of the 13th native infantry, 60 of the 48th native infantry, and 20 of the 71st native infantry (Sikhs.)

"The troops, misled by the reports of wayfarers—who stated that there were few or no men between Lucknow and Chinhut—proceeded somewhat further than had been originally intended, and suddenly fell in with the enemy, who had up to that time eluded the vigilance of the advanced guard, by concealing themselves behind a long line of trees in overwhelming numbers. The European force and the howitzer, with the native infantry, held the foe in check for some time; and had the six guns of the Oude artillery been faithful, and the Sikh cavalry shown a better front, the day would have been won in spite of an immense disparity in numbers. But the Oude artillerymen and drivers were traitors. They overturned the guns into ditches, cut the traces of their horses, and abandoned them, regardless of the remonstrances and exertions of their own officers, and of those of Sir Henry Lawrence's staff, headed by the brigadier-general in person, who himself drew his sword upon these rebels. Every effort to induce them to stand having proved ineffectual, the force, exposed to a vastly superior fire of artillery, and completely outflanked on both sides by an overpowering body of infantry and cavalry, which actually got into our rear, was compelled to retire with the loss of three pieces of artillery, which fell into the hands of the enemy, in consequence of the rank treachery of the Oude gunners, and with a very grievous list of killed and wounded. The heat was dreadful, the gun ammunition was expended, and the almost total want of cavalry to protect our rear made our retreat most disastrous.

"All the officers behaved well, and the exertions of the small body of volunteer cavalry—only forty in number—under Captain Radcliffe, 7th light cavalry, were most praiseworthy. Sir Henry Lawrence subsequently conveyed his thanks to myself, who had, at his request, accompanied him upon this occasion (Colonel Case being in command of her majesty's 32nd.) He also expressed his approbation of the way in which his staff—Captain Wilson, officiating deputy assistant-adjutant-general; Lieutenant James, sub-assistant-commissary-general; Captain Edgell, officiating military secretary; and Mr. Couper, C.S.—the last of whom had acted as Sir Henry Lawrence's A.D.C. from the commencement of the disturbances—had conducted themselves throughout this arduous day. Sir Henry further particularly mentioned that he would bring the gallant conduct of Captain Radcliffe and of Lieutenant Bonham, of the artillery (who worked the howitzer successfully until incapacitated by a wound), to the prominent notice of the government of India. The manner in which Lieutenant Birch, 71st native infantry, cleared a village with a party of Sikh skirmishers, also elicited the admiration of the brigadier-general. The conduct of Lieutenant Har-

dinge, who, with his handful of horse, covered the retreat of the rear-guard, was extolled by Sir Henry, who expressed his intention of mentioning the services of this gallant officer to his lordship in council. Lieutenant-colonel Case, who commanded her majesty's 32nd regiment, was mortally wounded whilst gallantly leading on his men. The service had not a more deserving officer. The command devolved on Captain Steevens, who also received a death-wound shortly afterwards. The command then fell to Captain Mansfield, who has since died of cholera.

"It will be in the recollection of his lordship in council that it was the original intention of Sir Henry Lawrence to occupy not only the residency, but also the fort called Muchee Bhowun—an old dilapidated edifice, which had been hastily repaired for the occasion, though the defences were, even at the last moment, very far from complete, and were, moreover, commanded by many houses in the city. The situation of the Muchee Bhowun, with regard to the residency, has already been described to the government of India.

"The untoward event of June the 30th so far diminished the whole available force, that we had not a sufficient number of men remaining to occupy both positions. The brigadier-general, therefore, on the evening of July the 1st, signalled to the garrison of the Muchee Bhowun to evacuate and blow up that fortress in the course of the night. The orders were ably carried out, and at 12 P.M. the force marched into the residency with their guns and treasure, without the loss of a man; and, shortly afterwards, the explosion of 240 barrels of gunpowder, and 6,000,000 ball cartridges, which were lying in the magazine, announced to Sir Henry Lawrence and his officers, who were anxiously waiting the report, the complete destruction of that post and all that it contained. If it had not been for this wise and strategic measure, no member of the Lucknow garrison, in all probability, would have survived to tell the tale; for, as has already been stated, the Muchee Bhowun was commanded from other parts of the town, and was, moreover, indifferently provided with heavy artillery ammunition; while the difficulty, suffering, and loss, which the residency garrison, even with the reinforcement thus obtained from the Muchee Bhowun, has undergone in holding the position, is sufficient to show that, if the original intention of holding both posts had been adhered to, both would have inevitably fallen.

"It is now my very painful duty to relate the calamity which befel us at the commencement of the siege. On the 1st of July an 8-inch shell burst in the room in the residency in which Sir H. Lawrence was sitting. The missile burst between him and Mr. Couper—close to both; but without injury to either. The whole of his staff implored Sir Henry to take up other quarters, as the residency had then become the special target for the round shot and shell of the enemy. This, however, he jestingly declined to do, observing that another shell would certainly never be pitched into that small room. But Providence had ordained otherwise; for on the very next day he was mortally wounded by the fragment of another shell which burst in the same room, exactly at the same spot. Captain Wilson, deputy assistant-adjutant-general, received a contusion at the same time.

"The late lamented Sir H. Lawrence, knowing that his last hour was rapidly approaching, directed me to assume command of the troops, and appointed Major Banks to succeed him in the office of chief commissioner. He lingered in great agony till the morning of the 4th of July, when he expired; and the government was thereby deprived, if I may venture to say so, of the services of a distinguished statesman and a most gallant soldier. Few men have ever possessed, to the same extent, the power which he enjoyed of winning the hearts of all those with whom he came in contact, and thus ensuring the warmest and most zealous devotion for himself and for the government which he served. The successful defence of the position has been, under Providence, solely attributable to the foresight which he evinced in the timely commencement of the necessary operations, and the great skill and untiring personal activity which he exhibited in carrying them into effect. All ranks possessed such confidence in his judgment and his fertility of resource, that the news of his fall was received throughout the garrison with feelings of consternation only second to the grief which was inspired in the hearts of all by the loss of a public benefactor and a warm personal friend. Feeling as keenly and as gratefully as I do the obligations that the whole of us are under to this great and good man, I trust the government of

India will pardon me for having attempted, however imperfectly, to pourtray them. In him every good and deserving soldier lost a friend and a chief capable of discriminating, and ever on the alert to reward merit, no matter how humble the sphere in which it was exhibited.

"The garrison had scarcely recovered the shock which it had sustained in the loss of its revered and beloved general, when it had to mourn the death of that able and respected officer, Major Banks, the officiating chief commissioner, who received a bullet through his head while examining a critical outpost on the 21st of July, and died without a groan. The description of our position, and the state of our defences when the siege began, are so fully set forth in the memorandum furnished by the garrison engineer, that I shall content myself with bringing to the notice of his lordship in council the fact, that when the blockade was commenced, only two of our batteries were completed, part of the defences were yet in an unfinished condition, and the buildings in the immediate vicinity, which gave cover to the enemy, were only very partially cleared away. Indeed, our heaviest losses have been caused by the fire from the enemy's sharpshooters stationed in the adjoining mosques and houses of the native nobility, the necessity of destroying which had been repeatedly drawn to the attention of Sir Henry by the staff of engineers. But his invariable reply was, 'Spare the holy places, and private property too, as far as possible;' and we have consequently suffered severely from our very tenderness to the religious prejudices and respect to the rights of our rebellious citizens and soldiery. As soon as the enemy had thoroughly completed the investment of the residency, they occupied these houses—some of which were within easy pistol-shot of our barricades—in immense force, and rapidly made loopholes on those sides which bore on our post, from which they kept up a terrific and incessant fire day and night, which caused many daily casualties, as there could not have been less than 8,000 men firing at one time into our position. Moreover, there was no place in the whole of our works that could be considered safe; for several of the sick and wounded who were lying in the banqueting-hall, which had been turned into an hospital, were killed in the very centre of the building; and the widow of Lieutenant Dorin, and other women and children, were shot dead in rooms, into which it had not been previously deemed possible that a bullet could penetrate. Neither were the enemy idle in erecting batteries. They soon had from twenty to twenty-five guns in position, some of them of very large calibre. These were planted all round our post at small distances, some being actually within fifty yards of our defences, but in places where our own heavy guns could not reply to them; while the perseverance and ingenuity of the enemy in erecting barricades in front of, and around their guns in a very short time, rendered all attempts to silence them by musketry entirely unavailing. Neither could they be effectually silenced by shells, by reason of their extreme proximity to our position, and because, moreover, the enemy had recourse to digging very narrow trenches, about eight feet in depth, in rear of each gun; in which the men lay while our shells were flying, and which so effectually concealed them, even while working the gun, that our baffled sharpshooters could only see their hands while in the act of loading.

"The enemy contented themselves with keeping up this incessant fire of cannon and musketry until the 20th of July, on which day, at 10 A.M., they assembled in very great force all round our position, and exploded a heavy mine inside our outer line of defences at the Water gate. The mine, however, which was close to the Redan, and apparently sprung with the intention of destroying that battery, did no harm. But as soon as the smoke had cleared away, the enemy boldly advanced under cover of a tremendous fire of cannon and musketry, with the object of storming the Redan. But they were received with such a heavy fire, that after a short struggle they fell back with much loss. A strong column advanced at the same time to attack Innes' post, and came on to within ten yards of the palisades, affording to Lieutenant Loughnan, 13th native infantry, who commanded the position, and his brave garrison (composed of gentlemen of the uncovenanted service, a few of her majesty's 32nd foot, and the 13th native infantry), an opportunity of distinguishing themselves, which they were not slow to avail themselves of, and the enemy were driven back with great slaughter. The insurgents made minor attacks at almost every outpost, but were invariably defeated; and at 2 P.M. they

ceased their attempts to storm the place, although their musketry fire and cannonading continued to harass us unceasingly as usual. Matters proceeded in this manner until the 10th of August, when the enemy made another assault, having previously sprung a mine close to the brigade mess, which entirely destroyed our defences for the space of twenty feet, and blew in a great portion of the outside wall of the house occupied by Mr. Schilling's garrison. On the dust clearing away, a breach appeared, through which a regiment could have advanced in perfect order, and a few of the enemy came on with the utmost determination, but were met with such a withering flank fire of musketry from the officers and men holding the top of the brigade mess, that they beat a speedy retreat, leaving the more adventurous of their numbers lying on the crest of the breach. While this operation was going on, another large body advanced on the Cawnpore battery, and succeeded in locating themselves for a few minutes in the ditch. They were, however, dislodged by hand-grenades. At Captain Anderson's post they also came boldly forward with scaling-ladders, which they planted against the wall; but here, as elsewhere, they were met with the most indomitable resolution; and the leaders being slain, the rest fled, leaving the ladders, and retreated to their batteries and loopholed defences, from whence they kept up, for the rest of the day, an unusually heavy cannonade and musketry fire. On the 18th of August the enemy sprung another mine in front of the Sikh lines with very fatal effect. Captain Orr (unattached), Lieutenants Mecham and Soppitt, who commanded the small body of drummers composing the garrison, were blown into the air; but providentially returned to earth with no further injury than a severe shaking. The garrison, however, were not so fortunate. No less than eleven men were buried alive under the ruins, from whence it was impossible to extricate them, owing to the tremendous fire kept up by the enemy from houses situated not ten yards in front of the breach. The explosion was followed by a general assault of a less determined nature than the two former efforts, and the enemy were consequently repulsed without much difficulty. But they succeeded, under cover of the breach, in establishing themselves in one of the houses in our position, from which they were driven in the evening by the bayonets of her majesty's 32nd and 84th foot. On the 5th of September the enemy made their last serious assault. Having exploded a large mine, a few feet short of the bastion of the 18-pounder gun, in Major Apthorp's post, they advanced with large heavy scaling-ladders, which they planted against the wall, and mounted, thereby gaining for an instant the embrasure of a gun. They were, however, speedily driven back with loss by hand-grenades and musketry. A few minutes subsequently they sprung another mine close to the brigade mess, and advanced boldly; but soon the corpses strewed in the garden in front of the post bore testimony to the fatal accuracy of the rifle and musketry fire of the gallant members of that garrison, and the enemy fled ignominiously, leaving their leader—a fine-looking old native officer—among the slain. At other posts they made similar attacks, but with less resolution, and everywhere with the same want of success. Their loss upon this day must have been very heavy, as they came on with much determination, and at night they were seen bearing large numbers of their killed and wounded over the bridges, in the direction of cantonments. The above is a faint attempt at a description of the four great struggles which have occurred during this protracted season of exertion, exposure, and suffering. His lordship in council will perceive that the enemy invariably commenced his attacks by the explosion of a mine, a species of offensive warfare, for the exercise of which our position was unfortunately peculiarly situated; and had it not been for the most untiring vigilance on our part, in watching and blowing up their mines before they were completed, the assaults would probably have been much more numerous, and might, perhaps, have ended in the capture of the place. But by countermining in all directions, we succeeded in detecting and destroying no less than four of the enemy's subterraneous advances towards important positions, two of which operations were eminently successful, as on one occasion not less than eighty of them were blown into the air, and twenty suffered a similar fate on the second explosion. The labour, however, which devolved upon us in making these countermines, in the absence of a body of skilled miners, was very heavy. The right honourable the governor-general in council will feel that it would be impos-

sible to crowd within the limits of a despatch, even the principal events, much more the individual acts of gallantry which have marked this protracted struggle. But I can conscientiously declare my conviction, that few troops have ever undergone greater hardships, exposed as they have been to a never-ceasing musketry fire and cannonade. They have also experienced the alternate vicissitudes of extreme wet and of intense heat, and that, too, with very insufficient shelter from either, and in many places without any shelter at all. In addition to having had to repel real attacks, they have been exposed night and day to the hardly less harassing false alarms which the enemy have been constantly raising. The insurgents have frequently fired very heavily, sounded the advance, and shouted for several hours together, though not a man could be seen; with the view, of course, of harassing our small and exhausted force—in which object they succeeded; for no part has been strong enough to allow of a portion only of the garrison being prepared in the event of a false attack being turned into a real one. All, therefore, had to stand to their arms, and to remain at their posts until the demonstration had ceased; and such attacks were of almost nightly occurrence. The whole of the officers and men have been on duty night and day during the eighty-seven days which the siege had lasted, up to the arrival of Sir J. Outram, K.C.B. In addition to this incessant military duty, the force has been nightly employed in repairing defences, in moving guns, in burying dead animals, in conveying ammunition and commissariat stores from one place to another, and in other fatigue duties too numerous and too trivial to enumerate here. I feel, however, that any words of mine will fail to convey any adequate idea of what our fatigue and labours have been—labours in which all ranks and all classes, civilians, officers, and soldiers, have all borne an equally noble part. All have together descended into the mine; all have together handled the shovel for the interment of the putrid bullock; and all, accoutred with musket and bayonet, have relieved each other on sentry, without regard to the distinctions of rank, civil or military. Notwithstanding all these hardships, the garrison has made no less than five sorties, in which they spiked two of the enemy's heaviest guns, and blew up several of the houses from which they had kept up their most harassing fire. Owing to the extreme paucity of our numbers, each man was taught to feel that on his own individual efforts alone depended in no small measure the safety of the entire position. This consciousness incited every officer, soldier, and man, to defend the post assigned to him with such desperate tenacity, and to fight for the lives which Providence had intrusted to his care with such dauntless determination, that the enemy, despite their constant attacks, their heavy mines, their overwhelming numbers, and their incessant fire, could never succeed in gaining one single inch of ground within the bounds of this straggling position, which was so feebly fortified, that had they once obtained a footing in any of the outposts, the whole place must inevitably have fallen.

"If further proof be wanting of the desperate nature of the struggle which we have, under God's blessing, so long and so successfully waged, I would point to the roofless and ruined houses, to the crumbled walls, to the exploded mines, to the open breaches, to the shattered and disabled guns and defences; and, lastly, to the long and melancholy list of the brave and devoted officers and men who have fallen. These silent witnesses bear sad and solemn testimony to the way in which this feeble position has been defended. During the early part of these vicissitudes, we were left without any information whatever regarding the posture of affairs outside. An occasional spy did indeed come in with the object of inducing our sepoys and servants to desert; but the intelligence derived from such sources was, of course, entirely untrustworthy. We sent our messengers, daily calling for aid and asking for information, none of whom ever returned until the 26th day of the siege, when a pensioner named Ungud came back with a letter from General Havelock's camp, informing us that they were advancing with a force sufficient to bear down all opposition, and would be with us in five or six days. A messenger was immediately dispatched, requesting that, on the evening of their arrival on the outskirts of the city, two rockets might be sent up, in order that we might take the necessary measures for assisting them while forcing their way in. The sixth day, however, expired, and they came not; but for many evenings after, officers and men watched for the ascension of the expected rockets, with hopes such as make the

heart sick. We knew not then, nor did we learn until the 29th of August—or thirty-five days later—that the relieving force, after having fought most nobly to effect our deliverance, had been obliged to fall back for reinforcements; and this was the last communication we received until two days before the arrival of Sir James Outram on September the 25th.

"Besides heavy visitations of cholera and smallpox, we have also had to contend against a sickness which has almost universally pervaded the garrison. Commencing with a very painful eruption, it has merged into a low fever, combined with diarrhœa; and although few or no men have actually died from its effects, it leaves behind a weakness and lassitude which, in the absence of all material sustenance, save coarse beef and still coarser flour, none have been able entirely to get over. The mortality among the women and children, and especially among the latter, from these diseases and from other causes, has been perhaps the most characteristic of the siege. The want of native servants has also been a source of much privation. Owing to the suddenness with which we were besieged, many of these people who might perhaps have otherwise proved faithful to their employers, but who were outside of the defences at the time, were altogether excluded. Very many more deserted, and several families were consequently left without the services of a single domestic. Several ladies have had to tend their children, and even to wash their own clothes, as well as to cook their scanty meals, entirely unaided. Combined with the absence of servants, the want of proper accommodation has probably been the cause of much of the disease with which we have been afflicted. I cannot refrain from bringing to the prominent notice of his lordship in council, the patient endurance and the Christian resignation which have been evinced by the women of this garrison. They have animated us by their example. Many, alas! have been made widows, and their children fatherless, in this cruel struggle. But all such seem resigned to the will of Providence; and many, among whom may be mentioned the honoured names of Birch, of Polehampton, of Barbor, and of Gall, have, after the example of Miss Nightingale, constituted themselves the tender and solicitous nurses of the wounded and dying soldiers in the hospital.

"It only remains for me to bring to the favourable notice of his lordship in council the names of those officers who have most distinguished themselves, and afforded me the most valuable assistance in these operations. Many of the best and bravest of these now rest from their labours. Among them are Lieutenant-colonel Case and Captain Radcliffe, whose services have already been narrated; Captain Francis, 13th native infantry—who was killed by a round shot—had particularly attracted the attention of Sir H. Lawrence for his conduct while in command of the Muchee Bhowun; Captain Fulton, of the engineers, who also was struck by a round shot, had, up to the time of his early and lamented death, afforded me the most invaluable aid; he was indeed indefatigable; Major Anderson, the chief engineer, though, from the commencement of the siege, incapable of physical exertion from the effects of the disease under which he eventually sank, merited my warm acknowledgments for his able council; Captain Simons, commandant of artillery, distinguished himself at Chinhut, where he received the two wounds which ended in his death; Lieutenants Shepherd and Archer, 7th light cavalry, who were killed at their posts; Captain Hughes, 57th native infantry, who was mortally wounded at the capture of a house which formed one of the enemy's outposts; Captain McCabe, of the 32nd foot, who was killed at the head of his men while leading his fourth sortie, as well as Captain Mansfield, of the same corps, who died of cholera—were all officers who had distinguished themselves highly. Mr. Lucas, too, a gentleman volunteer, and Mr. Boyson, of the uncovenanted service—who fell when on the look-out at one of the most perilous outposts—had earned themselves reputations for coolness and gallantry.

"The officers who commanded outposts—Lieutenant-colonel Master, 7th light cavalry; Major Apthorp, and Captain Saunders, 41st native infantry; Captain Boileau, 7th light cavalry; Captain Germon, 13th native infantry; Lieutenant Aitken, and Lieutenant Loughnan, of the same corps; Captain Anderson, 25th native infantry; Lieutenant Graydon, 44th native infantry; Lieutenant Langmore, 71st native infantry; and Mr. Schilling, principal of the Martinière college—have all conducted ably the duties of their onerous position. No further proof of this is necessary than the fact which I

have before mentioned, that throughout the whole duration of the siege, the enemy were not only unable to take, but they could not even succeed in gaining one inch of the posts commanded by these gallant gentlemen. Colonel Master commanded the critical and important post of the brigade mess, on either side of which was an open breach, only flanked by his handful of riflemen and musketeers. Lieutenant Aitken, with the whole of the 13th native infantry, which remained to us with the exception of their Sikhs, commanded the Bayley Guard—perhaps the most important position in the whole of the defences; and Lieutenant Langmore, with the remnant of his regiment (the 71st), held a very exposed position between the hospital and the Water gate. This gallant and deserving young soldier and his men were entirely without shelter from the weather, both by night and by day.

"My thanks are also due to Lieutenants Anderson, Hutchinson, and Innes, of the engineers, as well as Lieutenant Tulloch, 58th native infantry, and Lieutenant Hay, 48th native infantry, who were placed under them to aid in the arduous duties devolving upon that department. Lieutenant Thomas, Madras artillery, who commanded that arm of the service for some weeks, and Lieutenants Macfarlane and Bonham, rendered me the most effectual assistance. I was, however, deprived of the services of the two latter, who were wounded, Lieutenant Bonham no less than three times, early in the siege. Captain Evans, 17th Bengal native infantry, who, owing to the scarcity of artillery officers, was put in charge of some guns, was ever to be found at his post.

"Major Lowe, commanding her majesty's 32nd regiment; Captain Bassano, Lieutenants Lawrence, Edmonstoune, Foster, Harmar, Cooke, Clery, Browne, and Charlton, of that corps, have all nobly performed their duty. Every one of these officers, with the exception of Lieutenants Lawrence and Clery, have received one or more wounds of more or less severity. Quartermaster Stribbling, of the same corps, also conducted himself to my satisfaction. Captain O'Brien, her majesty's 84th foot; Captain Kemble, 41st native infantry; Captain Edgell, 53rd native infantry; Captain Dinning, Lieutenant Sewell, and Lieutenant Worsley, of the 71st native infantry; Lieutenant Warner, 7th light cavalry; Ensign Ward, 48th native infantry (who, when most of our artillery officers were killed or disabled, worked the mortars with excellent effect); Lieutenant Graham, 11th native infantry; Lieutenant Mecham, 4th Oude locals; and Lieutenant Kier, 41st native infantry, have all done good and willing service throughout the siege, and I trust that they will receive the favourable notice of his lordship in council.

"I beg particularly to call the attention of the government of India to the untiring industry, the extreme devotion, and great skill which have been evinced by Surgeon Scott (superintending surgeon), and Assistant-surgeon Boyd, of her majesty's 32nd foot; Assistant-surgeon Bird, of the artillery; Surgeon Campbell, 7th light cavalry; Surgeon Brydon, 71st native infantry; Surgeon Ogilvie, sanitary commissioner; Assistant-surgeon Fayrer, civil surgeon; Assistant-surgeon Partridge, 2nd Oude irregular cavalry; Assistant-surgeon Greenhow; Assistant-surgeon Darby, and by Mr. Apothecary Thompson, in the discharge of their onerous and most important duties.

"Messrs. Thornhill and Capper, of the civil service, have been both wounded; and the way in which they, as well as Mr. Martin, the deputy-commissioner of Lucknow, conducted themselves, entitles them to a place in this despatch. Captain Carnegie, the special assistant-commissioner, whose invaluable services previous to the commencement of the siege I have frequently heard warmly dilated upon, both by Sir H. Lawrence and by Major Banks, and whose exertions will probably be more amply brought to notice by the civil authorities on some future occasion, has conducted the office of provost-marshal to my satisfaction. The Rev. Mr. Harris and the Rev. Mr. Polehampton, assistant chaplains, vied with each other in their untiring care and attention to the suffering men. The latter gentleman was wounded in the hospital, and subsequently unhappily died of cholera. Mr. McCrae, of the civil engineers, did excellent service at the guns, until he was severely wounded. Mr. Cameron, also, a gentleman who had come to Oude to inquire into the resources of the country, acquired the whole mystery of mortar practice, and was of the most signal service until incapacitated by sickness. Mr. Marshall, of the road department, and other members of the uncovenanted service, whose names will, on a subsequent occasion, be laid before the government of India, conducted themselves

bravely and steadily. Indeed, the entire body of these gentlemen have borne themselves well, and have evinced great coolness under fire.

"I have now only to bring to the notice of the right honourable the governor-general in council the conduct of the several officers who composed my staff:—Lieutenant James, sub-assistant-commissary-general, was severely wounded by a shot through the knee at Chinhut, notwithstanding which he refused to go upon the sick-list, and carried on his most trying duties throughout the entire siege. It is not too much to say that the garrison owe their lives to the exertions and firmness of this officer. Before the struggle commenced, he was ever in the saddle, getting in supplies; and his untiring vigilance in their distribution after our difficulties had begun, prevented a waste which otherwise, long before the expiration of the eighty-seven days, might have annihilated the force by the slow process of starvation.

"Captain Wilson, 13th native infantry, officiating deputy assistant-adjutant-general, was ever to be found where shot was flying thickest; and I am at a loss to decide whether his services were most invaluable owing to the untiring physical endurance and bravery which he displayed, or to his ever-ready and pertinent counsel and advice in moments of difficulty and danger. Lieutenant Hardinge—an officer whose achievements and antecedents are well-known to the government of India—has earned fresh laurels by his conduct throughout the siege. He was officiating as deputy assistant-quartermaster-general, and also commanded the Sikh portion of the cavalry of the garrison. In both capacities his services have been invaluable, especially in the latter; for it was owing alone to his tact, vigilance, and bravery, that the Sikh horsemen were induced to persevere in holding a very unprotected post under a heavy fire. Lieutenant Barwell, 71st native infantry, the fort-adjutant and officiating major of brigade, has proved himself to be an efficient officer. Lieutenant Birch, of the 71st native infantry, has been my aide-de-camp throughout the siege. I firmly believe there never was a better aide-de-camp. He has been indefatigable, and ever ready to lead a sortie, or to convey an order to a threatened outpost under the heaviest fire. On one of these occasions he received a slight wound on the head. I beg to bring the services of this most promising and intelligent young officer to the favourable consideration of his lordship in council.

"I am also much indebted to Mr. Cooper, civil service, for the assistance he has on many occasions afforded me by his judicious advice. I have, moreover, ever found him most ready and willing in the performance of the military duties assigned to him, however exposed the post or arduous the undertaking. He commenced his career in her majesty's service, and consequently had had some previous experience of military matters. If the road to Cawnpore had been made clear by the advent of our troops, it was my intention to have deputed this officer to Calcutta, to detail in person the occurrences which have taken place, for the information of the government of India. I still hope, that when our communications shall be once more unopposed, he may be summoned to Calcutta for this purpose.

"Lastly, I have the pleasure of bringing the splendid behaviour of the soldiers—viz., the men of her majesty's 32nd foot, the small detachment of her majesty's 84th foot, the European and native artillery, the 13th, 48th, and 71st regiments of native infantry, and the Sikhs of the respective corps, to the notice of the government of India. The losses sustained by her majesty's 32nd, which is now barely 300 strong; by her majesty's 84th, and by the European artillery, show at least they knew how to die in the cause of their countrymen. Their conduct under the fire, the exposure, and the privations which they had to undergo, has been throughout most admirable and praiseworthy.

"As another instance of the desperate character of our defence, and the difficulties we have had to contend with, I may mention that the number of our artillerymen was so reduced, that on the occasion of an attack, the gunners, aided as they were by men of her majesty's 32nd foot, and by volunteers of all classes, had to run from one battery to another, wherever the fire of the enemy was hottest, there not being nearly enough men to serve half the number of guns at the same time. In short, at last, the number of European gunners was only twenty-four; while we had, including mortars, no less than thirty guns in position.

"With respect to the native troops, I am of opinion that their loyalty has never been surpassed. They were indifferently fed and

worse housed. They were exposed—especially the 13th regiment, under the gallant Lieutenant Aitken—to a most galling fire of round shot and musketry, which materially decreased their numbers. They were so near the enemy that conversation could be carried on between them; and every effort, persuasion, promise, and threat was alternately resorted to, in vain, to seduce them from their allegiance to the handful of Europeans, who, in all probability, would have been sacrificed by their desertion. All the troops behaved nobly; and the names of those men of the native force who have particularly distinguished themselves, have been laid before Major-general Sir James Outram, K.C.B., who has promised to promote them. Those of the European force will be transmitted in due course for the orders of his royal highness the general commanding-in-chief.

"In conclusion, I beg leave to express, on the part of myself and the members of this garrison, our deep and grateful sense of the conduct of Major-general Sir J. Outram, K.C.B., of Brigadier-general Havelock, C.B., and of the troops under those officers who so devotedly came to our relief at so heavy a sacrifice of life. We are also repaid for much suffering and privation by the sympathy which our brave deliverers say our perilous and unfortunate position has excited for us in the hearts of our countrymen throughout the length and breadth of her majesty's dominions.—I have, &c.,

"(Signed) T. INGLIS,

"Colonel, her Majesty's 32nd, Brigadier."

The following minute was issued by the governor-general of India, dated "Fort William, September 8th:"—

"Although intelligence of Sir H. Lawrence's death reached the government long ago, no official announcement of this sad event, and none of the particulars connected with it, were received until some time after the first reports; and the details are not even now very fully known. A wound received while leading an attack, on the 2nd of July, against the insurgents, and believed to have been slight in itself, but acting doubtless on a constitution impaired by protracted labours in an exhausting climate, and on a frame weakened by the unusual fatigues, anxieties, and responsibilities of the preceding month, sufficed to close the career of one of the most valued and best-loved men whom India has counted among her servants and benefactors. In the course of his service, extending over thirty-five years, in Burmah, in Affghanistan, in Nepaul, in the Punjab, and in Rajpootana, Sir Henry Lawrence was distinguished for eminent ability, devoted zeal, and generous and self-denying exertions for the welfare of the people among whom he was placed. As a soldier, an administrator, and a statesman, he has deservedly earned an exalted reputation among the foremost, and has been an honour to the government he served.

"Impressed with a sense of his qualifications, I selected him to be chief commissioner in the province of Oude. In that position, from the first appearance of disaffection among the troops quartered in the province, his conduct of affairs was marked by foresight, calm judgment, and courage. If anything could have averted the calamitous outbreak which has been followed by the temporary subversion of our authority in Oude, I believe that the measures which were taken by Sir Henry Lawrence, and the confidence which all men, high and low, native and European, felt in his energy, his wisdom, and his spirit of justice and kindliness, would have accomplished that end. As long as there was any hope of restraining the wavering soldiery by appeals to their sense of duty and honour, he left no becoming means untried to conciliate them. When violent and open mutiny called for stern retribution, he did not shrink from the (to him) uncongenial task of inflicting severe punishment. When general disorder and armed rebellion threatened, he was undaunted, and completed rapidly and effectively the precautionary preparations which, from the beginning, he had had in view; and, though he had been prematurely removed from the scene, it is due mainly to his exertions, judgment, and professional skill, that the Lucknow garrison has been able to defy the assaults of its assailants, and still maintains its ground. There is not, I am sure, an Englishman in India, who does not regard the loss of Sir Henry Lawrence, in the present circumstances of the country, as one of the heaviest of public calamities. There is not, I believe, a native of the provinces where he has held authority, who will not remember his name as that of a friend and generous benefactor to the races of India.

"For myself, short as has been my personal intercourse with that distinguished man, it is a grateful, though a mournful duty, to record my appreciation of his eminent services to this government, my admiration of his high character, and my affectionate respect for his memory.—CANNING."

The honours deservedly conferred upon the garrison of Lucknow, and its valiant commandant, were prompt and appropriate. The latter had, a few months previously, entered the rebel city a lieutenant-colonel, but he left it as Major-general Sir John Eardley Wilmot Inglis, K.C.B. Promotion, in various grades, awaited other of the officers; but the immediate recognition, by the governor-general, of the services of the entire garrison, was expressed in a general order, which declared, that "Every officer and soldier, European and native, who has formed part of the garrison of the residency, between the 29th of June and the 25th of September, 1857, shall receive six months' batta. Every civilian in the covenanted service of the East India Company, who has taken part in the defence of the residency within the above-named dates, shall

receive six months' batta, at a rate calculated according to the military rank with which his standing corresponds. Every uncovenanted civil officer, or volunteer, who has taken a like part, shall receive six months' batta, at a rate to be fixed according to the functions and position which may have been assigned to him. Every native commissioned and non-commissioned officer and soldier, who has formed part of the garrison, shall receive the 'Order of Merit,' with the increase of pay attached thereto, and shall be permitted to count three years of additional service. The soldiers of the 13th, 48th, and 71st regiments of native infantry, who have been part of the garrison, shall be formed into a regiment of the line, to be called 'The Regiment of Lucknow;' the further constitution of which, as regards officers and men, will be notified hereafter."

Throughout the whole course of this remarkable siege, so pregnant with extraordinary facts, nothing perhaps was more truly astonishing than the conduct of some men within the residency enclosure, belonging to the native regiments that had mutinied, or were dismissed to their homes in the early part of the troubles at Lucknow. It will be recollected, that when, on the 30th of May, the three native corps mutinied at the cantonment, some of the sepoys in each remained faithful, and would not take part with their misguided comrades.* These exceptions to a bad rule shared all the labours, and perils, and privations of the siege with the British garrison and residents; and despite scanty food, little and broken rest, harassing exertions, and daily fightings, they remained steadfast to the last. Though sorely tempted by the mutineers, who would frequently hold converse with them over the palisades of the intrenchment, these men never wavered in their loyalty, or flinched from their duty. What they were in the proudest days of the Company's ascendancy, such they were in the gloomiest period of its shattered power; and the honour that stood firm on the 30th of May, came from the fiery ordeal untarnished on the 25th of September. It was right such men should be specially rewarded; and it was politic that such reward should not be deferred.

CHAPTER II.

DEPARTURE OF MOVABLE COLUMNS FROM DELHI, UNDER BRIGADIER SHORT AND LIEUTENANT-COLONEL GREATHED; CAPTURE OF TWO PRINCES AT THE TOMB OF HUMAYOON; THEIR EXECUTION; DESTRUCTION OF SEKUNDERABAD; JHANSIE REBELS AT BOLUNDSHUHUR; BATTLES OF ALLYGURH AND AGRA; DESPATCHES AND CORRESPONDENCE; DEATH OF MR. COLVIN, LIEUT.-GOVERNOR OF THE NORTH-WEST PROVINCES; GOVERNMENT NOTIFICATION; DIFFICULTIES AS TO THE COMMAND OF TROOPS; LIEUTENANT-COLONEL GREATHED SUPERSEDED BY BRIGADIER GRANT; MEMORANDUM OF CHIEF COMMISSIONER OF AGRA; PROGRESS OF GRANT'S COLUMN; DESTRUCTION OF THE FORT AT MYNPOORIE; CONCENTRATION OF TROOPS AT CAWNPORE PREPARATORY TO ADVANCE ON LUCKNOW; THE NAVAL BRIGADE; PROGRESS FROM CALCUTTA; ARRIVAL AT ALLAHABAD; DEPARTURE FOR CAWNPORE; JUNCTION WITH COLONEL POWELL'S FORCE; BATTLE OF KUDJWA; DEATH OF COLONEL POWELL; MILITARY DESPATCHES; THE NAVAL BRIGADE LEAVES CAWNPORE FOR ALUMBAGH.

BEFORE proceeding with the details immediately connected with the operations of Sir Colin Campbell for the relief of the garrison at Lucknow, it is necessary, for the continuity of the narrative, that we should previously refer to the movements of troops under other officers, having the same object in view.

Many of the principal incidents connected with the recapture of Delhi have already been fully recorded;† and we therefore resume the subject from the time Lieutenant-colonel Greathed, of the 32nd regiment, was dispatched by General Wilson in pursuit of the bands of rebels who had fled the city, with an intent to cross the Jumna at Muttra, and thence, if possible, make their way to join the rebel host at Lucknow.

But few weeks had elapsed prior to this ignominious flight, since the last of the kings of Delhi had proclaimed himself the imperial ruler of millions, and acknow-

* See vol. i., p. 182. † *Ibid.*, pp. 497—513.

ledged chief of the warriors of Hindostan, whose hearts were burning with fanatic hatred against the Christian race, by whom they had been trained to arms, and from whose too indulgent rule they had madly turned aside to rush upon destruction. Surrounded by tens of thousands of the recreant soldiers of the army of Bengal, he beheld the outstretched arm of British vengeance in the few battalions that clustered on the heights before his stronghold, and trembled in his state as the retributive thunders of the resistless power whose anger he had provoked, echoed through the halls of his palace, and with every crash proclaimed the advent of his ruin.

From the date of the occupation of the city by General Wilson, on the 20th of September, everything remained quiet and orderly around Delhi. Deserted as it was by its mutinous garrison, and by a vast majority of its inhabitants—its king a miserable captive, and three of the princes of his race in their untimely graves—it was considered unnecessary to detain the whole British force within the city, while revolt had yet to be trampled down in other places, and bands of armed plunderers were ravaging the country, and revenging their defeat by rapine and slaughter. On the 23rd of September, therefore, two columns of the victorious troops started in pursuit of the insurgents—the one under Brigadier Showers taking the right bank of the Jumna; the other, under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Greathed, commencing its operations on the left. The party commanded by the former officer was, at first, but a small one, and was employed for a special purpose. Moving out of the camp on or about the 26th of September, it proceeded to the tomb of the emperor Humayoon, where Captain Hodgson had previously captured and shot three of the princes of the house of Delhi; and to the neighbourhood of the Cuttub Minar, which was now swarming with the loose disorderly rabble that had managed to escape from the city. At the tomb, Brigadier Showers was fortunate enough to capture two more sons of the king—the Mirza Mendoo and Mirza Bukhtowar Shah, both of whom were conveyed into Delhi, tried by a military commission, and sentenced to be shot—a fate they met on the 13th of October; after which their bodies were exposed at the Khotwal for three days, and were then cast into the Ganges. Shortly after this first successful raid, a larger force, consisting of the 2nd fusiliers, 1st Punjab infantry and Kumaon battalion, with the carabiniers, guides, and other irregular horse, and a field battery, was assembled for service under the brigadier; and on the 1st of October, this force marched out of camp, for the districts east and west of Delhi. At Goorgaon—a small fortified town, about twenty miles west from the city—a leader of the rebels, named Buktar Sing, was captured, and forthwith hanged out of the way of further mischief; and the same process was adopted wherever fortune threw the insurgent leaders into the hands of the troops, although not actually in the field.

The following extract from a letter of an officer attached to the column under Brigadier Short, dated "Bullumghur, November 7th," will afford some idea of the operations of this division of the Delhi army. The writer says—"I wrote to you last from Kanoond: from that place we returned to Rewaree, where we found a subahdar and a company of the guides in charge of the town. Some report about the Jodhpore legion being at Naud was current in camp, and this was the reason assigned for our looking-up Rewaree. Thence to Goorgaon, twenty miles from Delhi. We were there sent off with the carabiniers, leaving the column halted, to Furrucknuggur. Twenty of the nawab's sowars were shot. After this we entered quite a new style of country. Instead of skirting the hills, we entered them; indeed, crossed a tract of hills running without order and at a range from 200 to 300 feet high, with here and there a peak of 500, until we quitted them again at Sonah. Our object was to punish the wild devils of Mewattees who inhabit these hills, and whose natural trade is plunder. Marwar, the district after which they are called, is far away to the west and southwest; but these people cling to this irregular range of hills in all its length and breadth. As we found every town had been burnt and gutted by these scamps, we returned the compliment by setting their villages on fire; and at Taroo, as I sat smoking my weed in the evening, I counted no less than five huge bonfires, whose lights stretched almost round the horizon. At Taroo, among the ruins of what was a substantial stone-built town, only seven months ago, and which we were ordered to clear, we found and shot thirty fair-skinned Delhi fellows. One day was spent between Taroo

and Sonah (five miles) in hunting the hills for Mewattees; we were fired upon by one village—less, I believe, because those gentlemen like fighting, than because they were anxious to cover the removal of their cattle. Here is the only point at which they are vulnerable; catch them you cannot; burn their villages you may; and in a week they are re-thatched. All this is idle; seize their cows and goats, if you want to bring them to their senses. The guides—such active fellows!—beat for Mewattees up the khuds, down the khuds, and over the most dangerous ground, just as we should for chikore, in a way which Europeans could not have done. About sixty of our friends were killed. A hand-to-hand fight took place, which excited a good deal of fun. A Mewattee, a huge fellow, armed with shield and sword, was put up half-way down the khud at our feet. Twenty shots were fired; but no, the bold fellow held steadily on, springing from rock to rock, descending to the bottom of the dell, and then mounting the opposite face. He was so close that we could distinguish the rope fastened round his body, which these people use in climbing about the ravines in which they live. Just as he was reaching the crest of the khud, a man of the guides suddenly came round an elbow of the ravine, and five words explained to him the proximity of the Mewattee. There was not four yards between them when they met. The guide fired—down ducked his friend, the shot missed, and then followed the sweep of the Mewattee's sword upon the guide's head—at the same moment the guide giving him the bayonet. A second flash of the sword, and down went the guide, as we thought—a howl of rage rose from the lookers-on. In another minute the guide was seen standing over his foe. His head had been saved by a thick puggree; and the second cut was, thanks to his lunge of the bayonet, of no great strength: when he stooped it was to pick up his puggree. From Sonah we had another day's hunt; such hard work I have never had in the hills. Falls I had at least a dozen. At Sonah we left the Ghoorkas to keep the district quiet, and then came on here. The rajah of this place has been sent a prisoner into Delhi. The fort here is full of sepoy uniforms: uniforms, too, of the poor fellows of the 32nd foot, and officers of the 6th native infantry, have been found. Bullumghur could not hold out against the force, which kept us at bay for months, it is true; but the rajah, with his men and money, ought to have joined us when the outbreak first took place. Twenty fellows, some of them Pandies, some of them Delhi court men, were shot yesterday. The villagers tell us, that when they asked the retreating Pandies where they were going, they answered, 'We have killed all the Feringhees in the north, leaving only one lame man and two boys, and now we are going to *safkur* them in the south.' The word 'attention!' takes our Pandies in most curiously. A fellow, a poor villager apparently, without whisker or moustache, is brought up, and that mystic trisyllable uttered sharply and suddenly, behold the fellow's heels brought smartly together, the hands pressed to the side, and—the individual is taken out—and shot. At Taroo, a Mohammedan padra offered off hand, in the most handsome way, to change his religion: it was changed—he was shot through the head."

The columns sent out east and west of Delhi, to settle the country, were as successful in their operations as that led by Lieutenant-colonel Greathed. The Meerut force, which had for some time occupied Haupper, being no longer necessary there, moved northward on the 21st of September, to Jhauna Bowun, a Mohammedan city, in the Moozuffernuggur district; but, on its arrival, the column found the place evacuated, and learnt that the English officials at Shamlee had been murdered by the rebels of Jhanna Bowun, as they passed on their way towards Rohilcund. Jhanna, a city almost as large as Meerut, was consequently, for two days, given up to be plundered, and then burnt; as were several villages round it, one of which had been rendered specially notorious by the violence of its inhabitants. Of this den of iniquity, a Meerut letter says—"The inhabitants had committed upwards of 200 robberies and murders. They had broken the dyke of a canal, and, by this means, swamped the road. Every traveller was compelled to pass through the village, and was there garotted. If he paid the price of redemption (*taut mieux*), he escaped with life; if not (*taut pis*), he was lynched. We caught the villains napping, with their arms under their heads; and they slept the sleep which knows no waking. But why give a daily account of our doings? Suffice it to say, we harried all the rebellious villages, and taught them the might and majesty of British retributive justice. A large amount of

revenue was collected from villages which, since the outbreak, had completely disowned their allegiance, and our force returned to Meerut on the 5th of October."

The second movable column, under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Greathed, consisted of 1,600 infantry and 500 cavalry, with three troops of horse artillery and eighteen guns. This force, also, on the 23rd of September, moved out of camp, and crossing to the left bank of the river, took the direction of Allygurh—a strong fort, situated in the midst of swamps and marshes, equidistant about fifty miles from Agra and from Delhi. For the first three marches nothing particular occurred, with the exception of burning the notorious Goojur town of Sekunderabad, where a vast amount of English property was found, amongst which ladies' wearing apparel was conspicuous. The fourth march brought the column to the stronghold of the nawab Maludad, of Malaghur—a relative of the ex-king of Delhi; who, on the strength of a mud fort and some few guns (the reward of his grandfather's good service to the government in former days), had insanely made common cause with the insurgents. This chief had recently been joined by the mutineers from Jhansie, consisting of the 12th native infantry, the 14th irregular cavalry, and three 9-pounder guns; the whole concentrated in a strong position near the town of Bolundshuhur, which they seemed inclined to defend, until the artillery of the English troops opened upon them, when they almost immediately abandoned their intrenchments, and fled. The cavalry hastened in pursuit; and some of their horse having formed a line, to cover the retreat and receive the attack of Watson's irregulars, were quickly dispersed. The 9th lancers then made a brilliant charge, and, dashing down the street amidst a shower of bullets from loopholed houses, by which they sustained severe loss, drove the enemy through and beyond the town. In this affair, it was observed that the rebels appeared to select the officers for attack, in preference to a general engagement; and thus, in the advance of the troops, several of them were severely wounded in consequence. About a hundred of the enemy were left dead upon the field; seven light guns, with shot (all of hammered iron), were captured, with twenty-five boxes of powder, and large quantities of musket ammunition.

On the morning of the 29th, the force marched on Malaghur (the fort belonging to the nawab), which was found to be abandoned; and as it was useless to the advancing column, it was at once destroyed, but, unfortunately, not without the sacrifice of a valuable life—Lieutenant Home, of the engineers, who had assisted Lieutenant Salkeld in the destruction of the Cashmere gate at Delhi, being killed by the premature explosion of a mine.* At this place the column halted for a couple of days, near the junction, and in command of four cross-roads, by which it could pursue the mutineers in whatever direction they appeared; and from thence Colonel Greathed sent the wounded officers and men, with such camp-followers as could be spared, to Meerut. On the 2nd of October the force was once more in motion, and on the following day reached Koorga, a distance of twelve miles. The enemy had passed through this place only two days previous, and not more than about a dozen stragglers from their body were found in the village; but these were immediately captured and shot. On the 4th of the month the column encamped at Soomlah, and on the 5th it reached Allygurh, where it was opposed by some Mohammedan fanatics and the rabble of the town, by whom Ghobind Sing and his followers had shortly before been expelled. They were quickly dispersed in all directions, the cavalry cutting up about 400; and here two 5-pounder guns became the spoil of the British troops. Captain Bourchier's battery, with the cavalry, then made a circuit of the town, and, scouring the corn-fields and gardens, pushed on by the Cawnpore-road to the 87th milestone from Delhi. Here they opened out for skirmishing, and then swept back again, clearing the villages, and cutting down the enemy hid amongst the high crops of millet and maize; and thus, of some four or five hundred troopers of the Gwalior contingent found in the neighbourhood, very few, if any, escaped the sabre or the bullet. On the 6th, the force marched on to Akbarabad, another stronghold of fanaticism and revolt, the cavalry moving rapidly in advance. Upon this occasion two distinguished rebel chiefs, named Mongul Sing and Methab Sing, with about a hundred of their followers, were put to the sword; and several guns, with a large quantity of powder and shot, were cap-

* See vol. i., p. 500.

tured. The town was then plundered, and afterwards destroyed.

While engaged in these operations, a rumour spread that a large body of mutineers from various distant places, but principally from Indore, had congregated at Dholepore, a town about thirty-six miles from Agra, on the Gwalior-road; and, on the 7th, it was ascertained that the rebels were pushing on rapidly, with an intention of surprising the little pent-up garrison at Agra.* The enemy's force consisted of 5,000 disciplined troops, with about 10,000 rabble followers, three siege guns, and twelve or fifteen light field-pieces. On the 9th, it had crossed the Kharee river, about twelve miles north of Agra; and at noon on that day, their advanced guard was within four miles of the cantonments, where they fired upon the militia cavalry sent out to watch their movements. The force under Lieutenant-colonel Greathed had, on the same date, reached Hattras, on the western side of the river, where the above intelligence met him. He accordingly set forward with all speed for Agra, where he arrived on the 10th, after a fatiguing night march of twenty-four miles. His advanced guard, consisting of 500 cavalry and two batteries of artillery, crossed the pontoon bridge into the city shortly after daybreak; and, by eight o'clock on the morning of the 10th of October, the entire column had assembled on the brigade parade-ground at Agra.

An extraordinary circumstance is related in connection with the arrival of this force; namely, that "portions of the rebel troops were actually in Agra, concealed in ice-pits and houses, at the very moment of Colonel Greathed's arrival, and that the officer in command of the fort was unaware of the fact, although it was well known the enemy was in the immediate neighbourhood." It was also known that parties of strange horsemen had been seen prowling about the cantonments during the evening of the 8th and 9th: yet, it is alleged, no pains were taken to reconnoitre the movements of the enemy, or to ascertain his exact position; and the result of such neglect was as might have been anticipated. Thus, about half-past ten o'clock, the wearied soldiers having then breakfasted, were quietly resting themselves after their long night march, the horses being unsaddled, and the camp in all the confusion of pitching tents, when, to their utter amazement, a battery of guns in the rear of the burial-ground opened upon the right flank of the camp, and, at the same time, a numerous body of horse galloped into the midst of it, and cut down several of the men. Never was a surprise more complete, and never did soldiers rally with more rapidity, and prepare for resistance with greater coolness and courage, than did our gallant fellows on this occasion.

Simultaneously with this sudden attack, four Ghazees with tom-toms entered the camp, and cut down an officer and a sergeant-major, the one while he was washing, and the other asleep. In five minutes, the lancers and Sikhs were in their saddles, and after the fifth shot had been fired by the enemy, our horse artillery guns were ready, and replied to them with splendid effect. In a very short time the enemy began to retreat; and Lieutenant-colonel Cotton, who happened to be on the ground at the time, and assumed command as senior officer, immediately ordered the advance. For a short distance the enemy showed fight, and seemed disposed to dispute the ground with us; but on the cavalry and artillery approaching nearer and nearer, they changed their mind, and what at first was an orderly retreat, soon became a most disorderly flight. They scoured down the Gwalior-road, and scattered themselves amidst the fields on either hand, in hopes of being concealed by the lofty jowar and bajrah cultivation (as high, strong, and nearly as thick as sugar-cane) with which all the surrounding country is covered; but the 9th lancers and Sikh cavalry kept at their heels, and cut them down right and left; while the horse artillery, always in front, mowed them down with grape. In the fields, too, they were well followed by her majesty's 8th and 75th regiments, and the 2nd and 4th Punjab infantry; so there was no escape for them on either side: whichever way they attempted to flee, the avenger was always behind them; and the road and the fields between the ice-pits and the Kharee Nuddee—a distance of ten miles—tell, in letters of blood, of the slaughter that ensued. The tired horses of the artillery and cavalry seemed to acquire strength from the excitement of the chase, and the mutineers were followed up to the Kharee Nuddee at full speed with tremendous effect. Every gun the enemy possessed—fourteen in number

* See vol. i., p. 552.

—was captured; and their tents, after being stripped of the plunder the robbers had amassed, were burnt. The troops also recovered treasure to the value of about a lac and sixty thousand rupees; while several of the European soldiers, and almost all the Sikhs, obtained more or less money and other valuables from the bodies of the slain, in some instances as much as two hundred rupees being found on the person of a dead sepoy, and very rarely less than thirty or forty.

When the firing was heard in the fort, the 3rd European regiment (which early in the morning had been warned to hold itself in readiness for service at two o'clock) immediately got under arms, and into their red cloth jacket, the rest of the force being attired in drab Holland; and shortly after eleven, it marched at a rapid pace to the assistance of their comrades in cantonments, cheering enthusiastically. The regiment was delayed for a minute at the Ummer Sing gate, in consequence of its advance being checked by a crowd of panic-stricken fugitives from cantonments. It is said, that a small party of the enemy's horse, dressed in light cavalry uniform, pursued them to within a very short distance of the fort. Every officer and gentleman who had horses, and could get ready in time, rushed out of the fort to accompany the 3rd Europeans; and had not an order been issued to stop the egress, the fort might have been left solely under the charge of the ladies and children.

The men of the 3rd were so anxious to get into action, that, of their own accord, they went at the "double," which had the effect of soon knocking many of them up; and by the time they had advanced five miles, the stragglers were very numerous. Many preceding days had been tolerably cool and cloudy; but on this day the sun shone in its full glory, and there was hardly a breath of air stirring, so that the men suffered exceedingly, and many poor fellows, unable to move from the effects of the sun, were obliged to be left on the road-sides.

The 3rd, about 550 strong, accompanied by some Sikh cavalry and infantry, and by the new militia rifle company, were led by Lieutenant-colonel Cotton seven or eight miles out; but although they prevented the enemy escaping to the left, they had no opportunity of encountering them, or of performing any deeds of daring entitled to special notice.

It is difficult to estimate the number slain; but when it is considered that the enemy numbered at least 7,000 men in action, and that they were pursued and slaughtered for more than ten miles, it is not unreasonable to estimate their loss at 1,000 men; for it must be recollected, that no prisoners were taken, and, as far as could be ascertained, none were merely wounded.

Thus, then, terminated the action fought at Agra on Saturday the 10th of October, which resulted in the total rout of the enemy, and the complete restoration, for a time, of British influence in the district around Agra.

One of the individuals engaged in this dangerous but exciting *mêlée,* writes thus of the event:—"Early in the morning, Colonel Greathed's column was seen, from the walls of Agra, crossing the bridge of boats on the Jumna, and streaming into the town. No more gratifying sight had greeted the eyes of the occupants of the fort for many days, than that of the bayonets and red uniforms of our men as they marched across the river. The soldiers of the 3rd Europeans and artillery knew that, after a short rest, the column would proceed against the enemy. They had been ordered for parade that day at one o'clock in the afternoon; and their hearts beat high, you may be sure, at the prospect of meeting the rebels. About ten, the wearied soldiers in cantonments had breakfasted; the horses of the artillery and cavalry, about 1,000 in number, were picketed in cantonments; tents were pitched, or in the act of being pitched; some men were asleep, wearied with the night's exertion—all were more or less in undress, when suddenly the booming of cannon was heard. Round after round of balls came bowling amongst the men from a battery on the edge of the parade, and in rear of the burial-ground. A body of rebel cavalry was rushing about the camp, and beating up our quarters. Fanatics with tom-toms were in the midst of the men, killing some asleep, others whilst performing ablutions. Artillery guns, unlimbered, were partially in the hands of the enemy. Never was surprise more complete. But, on the other hand, never was rally so swift. The artillery was harnessed, horses saddled, and the 9th lancers started to charge in their shirts in less than five minutes. The first effort made was for the recapture of a gun remaining in possession of the rebels.

Lieutenant-colonel Cotton (then on the ground) drew up his men, ordered the advance, and the 9th lancers charged. The attack was fierce; resistance for a time equally so. Captain French fell mortally wounded; Lieutenant Jones severely hit; Lieutenant J. S. P. Younghusband, in command of the 5th Punjab irregulars, dropped into a well as he dashed headlong forward. Several men at the same time came to the earth; but the gun was retaken with speed unrivalled. The rebels had been held at bay, meanwhile, in other places, by our infantry, which soon advanced; and now the enemy began to yield. As they retired, the artillery moved forward—the cavalry made rapid successive charges at them; gun after gun was abandoned in a flight which gradually became more precipitate, until at last it ended in a complete rout. The rebels fled along the Gwalior-road to the Kharee river, flinging themselves into the high vegetation that covered the ground on each side, and seeking shelter where they could find it, falling ultimately under the bayonets of the 8th and 75th, and the 2nd and 4th Punjab infantry. The main body having abandoned all its guns (fourteen in number), unfortunately overmatched even our cavalry at running; the horses feeling the want of rest necessary after many long marches. Accordingly, the pursuit ended at the passage of the Kharee, which the rebels succeeded in crossing. Each side had leisure now to count its losses. We had lost, in all, sixty-seven killed and wounded; amongst the latter, besides Jones and Younghusband, Lieutenant A. Pearson, of the artillery, and Lieutenant C. S. Maclean, of the 3rd Europeans, attached to the 1st Punjab cavalry, and twenty-two Europeans. Five hundred of the rebels were killed; fourteen guns taken; a standing camp and innumerable tents were plundered and burnt. Such was the fortunate termination of an affair which might have ended in a disaster of no ordinary magnitude."

An official report of this extraordinary engagement, and its fortunate result, is contained in the following despatch from Lieutenant-colonel Greathed to the adjutant-general's department at Delhi; and in the letter of Colonel Cotton, commanding at Agra,* to the secretary to the government of the North-West Provinces:—

"Camp, Agra, October 11th, 1857.

"Sir,—I have the honour to acquaint you, for the information of the major-general commanding, that in consequence of urgent letters from Agra, I marched from Hattras at 6 P.M. on the 9th, carrying the European infantry on elephants and carts, and encamped on the brigade parade-ground at this place, about 8 A.M. yesterday. At half-past ten o'clock, my camp was suddenly attacked on the front and right flank. I galloped to the front, and found the artillery getting into action, and her majesty's 9th lancers in the saddle. I proceeded myself with her majesty's 8th regiment and the 4th Punjab infantry to the right flank, for the purpose of dislodging the enemy and taking their guns, which were raking our camp. On the way I took with me the 1st, 2nd, and 5th Punjab cavalry, extending the infantry in skirmishing order, with their supports. I took the cavalry to the open space near the European infantry barracks, with directions to move as circumstances would permit. The 9-pounder, Agra battery, had by this time come up; I advanced them in support of the infantry, on the road leading from the artillery parade-ground to the Dholepore road, and the skirmishers advanced and cleared the compounds to their front; the Punjab cavalry, under Lieutenant Watson, had then the opportunity of making a most gallant charge, driving off the enemy's sowars and capturing four guns. After this, the rebels made no stand on the right, but the left continued to be hotly engaged, and the enemy's sowars advanced, with great determination, on the guns, one of which was disabled, from its gunners having been cut down, and, for the moment, in the possession of the enemy; it was, however, instantly recaptured, and the 9th lancers charged the sowars and drove them from the field. I regret to say, that two most excellent officers, Captain French and Lieutenant Jones, were wounded, the former mortally, and I fear that little hope can be entertained of the recovery of the latter. I advanced during this time on the Dholepore-road, capturing guns as we went on; and the 9th lancers and artillery, supported by the 75th and 2nd Punjab infantry, advanced on the left, taking four guns on their way. The whole line now moved to the front, the Punjab cavalry, as usual, performing most excellent service on the flanks, till we reached a village three miles from hence, where we halted for a short time, the whole of the enemy being then in full flight: we were now joined by the 3rd Europeans; and Colonel Cotton, commanding at Agra, came up and took the command of the whole of the troops. The enemy's camp was descried about two miles in advance, and we marched upon it, the road strewed in all directions with baggage and carts. The infantry was ordered to halt at the camp, and the cavalry and artillery pursued the enemy to the Kharee Nuddee, ten miles and a-half from Agra. The enemy had crossed the river before we reached it, leaving behind him all his guns. The artillery fired grape and round shot at the retreating enemy across the river, with good effect. The country all round was covered with fugitives, of whom a large number were cut up. They have all now crossed the Kharee Nuddee. After a short halt we returned to camp, and the captured guns were all brought in during the night. I have not been able to estimate the enemy's number, as, in addition to the Indore force, and the Neemuch and Nusseerabad

* This officer superseded Brigadier Polwhele in the command of Agra, after the battle of Futtehpore Sikree, on the 5th of July. See vol. i., p. 552.

brigades, sepoys were found killed belonging to the 16th grenadiers, Hurreeana light infantry, Gwalior contingent, and several others. The whole country, as far as one could see, was covered with fugitives, but of these many were probably camp-followers and rabble. I have never seen such a rout; and had our artillery and cavalry been fresh, few would have crossed the Kharee Nuddee; but they had marched forty-one miles in less than thirty hours before arriving at Agra. It is impossible to say too much of the excellent conduct of the whole of the troops, officers and men, and I trust it will meet with the approbation of the major-general commanding the field force at Delhi.

"It is my intention, as soon as I have been joined by the detachment now on its way from Delhi, to proceed towards Futteghur, with the view of effecting a junction with General Havelock's force, subject to the approbation of General Penny.—I have, &c.

"E. H. GREATHED, Lieutenant-colonel,
"Commanding Movable Column."

"Fort, Agra, October 13th, 1857.

"Sir,—I have the honour to forward, for the information of the chief commissioner, and transmission to government, the following account of the action which took place at this station, on the 10th instant, with the mutinous troops from Mhow (23rd native infantry and 1st light cavalry), increased by part of the fugitive forces from Delhi, and malcontents from Dholepore and the neighbourhood, and which resulted in the most complete rout of the enemy, with the loss of all their guns, camp equipage, baggage and plunder. The chief commissioner is aware of the very imperfect information we have from time to time received of the movements of this body, and that it was not until about ten o'clock on Saturday morning, when I was arranging with him for moving out the troops to the Kharee river, that intelligence was brought in that a sudden attack had been made on the camp of the movable column under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Greathed, which had arrived that morning.

"I lost no time in repairing to the camp, when I took command, and found that the enemy, who were now completely hidden by the high standing crops, had opened a heavy fire from a strong battery in the centre, supported by several guns on each flank, and were sweeping our position with a powerful cross-fire. Our troops had been drawn up by Colonel Greathed in a most judicious manner; a flank attack made by a large body of cavalry, under cover of the Khelatee Ghilzie lines, had been effectually repulsed, with great loss to them, by a brilliant charge of the picket of her majesty's 9th lancers, led by Captain French and Lieutenant Jones. Their attack was then soon overpowered and turned into a complete rout, notwithstanding several ineffectual attempts to make a stand; our guns following them up steadily, and the cavalry cutting up all within their reach on both sides of the road. The pursuit was continued during the rest of the day, for a distance of eleven miles, until the enemy had been driven across the Kharee, and thoroughly dispersed with the loss of all their guns, twelve in number, camp equipage, baggage and plunder.

"Considering that the attack was made before the camp was pitched, and after the troops (with the exception of the 3rd European regiment, and Lieutenant Pearson's battery) had performed a long and harassing forced march, and been under arms for fully twenty-six hours, too much praise cannot be bestowed in this brilliant affair; but especially is praise due to the detachment of her majesty's 9th lancers, whose charge I have noticed above, and who, in addition to several of their men disabled, and to Lieutenant Jones, who was very severely wounded, had the misfortune to lose their commanding officer, Captain French, whose untimely death is a great loss to the service."

After enumerating the officers who had particularly distinguished themselves in this affair, the despatch of Lieutenant-colonel Cotton concludes thus:—"To Colonel Greathed, commanding the movable column, who apparently was not aware of my being on the field until I had ordered the advance, my thanks are due for the assistance rendered in the pursuit."

The officiating secretary to the government of the North-West Provinces, in transmitting the foregoing details to the governor-general in council, expressed the high opinion of his government in reference to the chief actors in the affair as follows:—

"The chief commissioner would observe, that to Colonel Cotton's high personal qualifications, both as a soldier and commander, we owe the completeness of this success. Led by him, the tired troops were inspirited to continue the pursuit of the flying enemy, until the capture of all his guns, camp, and plunder, deprived him of the means of further aggression, and rendered the dissolution of his army inevitable.

"Lieutenant-colonel Greathed, commanding the movable column, brought his men into action with a rapidity and precision that entitle him to the highest praise; and when it is remembered that the column had only just come off a long and harassing forced march, the steadiness of the men and the coolness of the officers entitle all to the warmest commendation."*

* Of Colonel Greathed's successful campaign, the following high eulogium was passed by an eminent authority:—"Colonel Greathed has again distinguished himself. He has passed like a flame of fire from Delhi to the borders of Oude, smiting the rebel armies wherever he encountered them; laying open the ramparts of immense fortifications at a blow; accelerating his pace almost daily; and at Agra gaining a battle which was a miniature Waterloo. The English were breakfasting in the cantonments when the powerful Mahratta army came upon them: scarcely a horse was saddled, not a dragoon was under arms; but before the enemy had fired the sixth shot the artillery was in position: in five minutes the squadrons had mustered, and in another the great fight of Agra had begun. Two hours did the rebel hordes maintain their position; but at length the volleying lines, the deadly batteries, the wheeling troops of horse broke through the living rampart; and then, upon Greathed's signal, a gen-

The following extract from the letter of a civilian acting with the troops, affords a graphic view of the circumstances attending the spirited affair of the 10th of October. After noticing some unsuccessful movements of the enemy about the district of Allygurh, the writer continues his narrative thus:—

"Meantime the main body of the beaten mutinous army from Delhi, which had made some stay at Muttra and set up a bridge of boats there, had crossed into the Doab, and consequent on the delay in our progress, we found that they were here two long marches ahead of us. They had twenty-two guns; but (as we are told) very little ammunition and a vast quantity of plunder. They were in a very confused and undisciplined state, though their numbers were undoubtedly very large. They were understood to be going, part of them to Bareilly and part into Oude—to Lucknow and Cawnpore, they said. They showed no disposition whatever to fight us; on the contrary, the direct road to Bareilly was given up, and they hurried down the Grand Trunk-road in a body. There remained of the regiments which retreated from Delhi only the Neemuch brigade (which had formerly attacked Agra.) These, under one Beera Sing, declined to join the others, and they marched to meet the Mhow brigade, which had never seen at Delhi, but, after some stay at Gwalior, had separated from the Gwalior contingent and crossed the Chumbul to Dholepore, where they had obtained or taken from the rajah three large brass guns to add to their own field-pieces. The two brigades uniting, formed a considerable force, with much cavalry and thirteen guns, and they threatened Agra with a second attack. The movable column was therefore urgently called for, and, making a very long forced march, it wound under the fort—a gallant spectacle, gladdening the eyes of the long-isolated garrison, amid their hearty plaudits. The troops bivouacked on the cantonment parade-ground, awaiting the gradual arrival of their tents and baggage, on the morning of the 10th of October, and the greater portion of the officers dispersed to see and breakfast with their friends in the fort. Now Agra, the head-quarters of the civil government and of a crowd of refugees, was full of purveyors of intelligence, official and non-official. There was nothing that happened for a long way round, of which fifty say people had not their own particular and circumstantial intelligence. The military arrangements for guarding against surprises, stratagems, and treacherous enemies, were also the most perfect ever known. The authorities managed to make the lives of their friends thoroughly miserable by the excess of their precautions. It was impossible to go anywhere or do anything without being harassed out of one's patience.

"Well, on this morning of the 10th, for the first time in the history of beleaguered Agra, *all* the newsmongers were of one accord—they had all certain intelligence that the mutineers, after threatening to cross the small Kharee river (ten miles distant), had failed to do so, and retreated, and were then six miles on the other side. It was also found that they were unable to get the big guns over the river. They were clearly making off on hearing of the approach of the column. So, friends arrived, enemies flying, an impassable stream between, and military precautions unrivalled, it well might be that all Agra breakfasted that morning in peace and security, with relieved minds and grateful hearts. But suddenly, while breakfast was in every man's mouth, a big gun was heard, and another, and another, and many more: people started—'Oh, no; it must be a salute, though rather irregular.' Still more guns; then people were seen hurrying from cantonment—the camp was attacked. Yes, so it was. Among their many ingenious precautions, the Agra authorities had neglected one very simple one—viz., to send some one with his eyes open to look down the road; and the enemy had quietly marched in, big guns and all; and there was not one signal of alarm till they actually opened fire on our disordered camp, and

eral advance took place, and for the space of ten miles the earth was dinted by the troops of cavalry, strewn with dead, and encumbered with abandoned guns and plunder. Nothing more glorious has taken place since the rebellion began. The carnage was such as to spread panic through the enemy's ranks: as an army they were utterly destroyed. Some of them fled to Bhurtpore, but in vain; for the gates of that celebrated fortress were closed against them: others sought shelter at Bareilly and Mynpoorie, but were instantly repelled. A sepoy camp in the neighbourhood to which they brought the news, was so precipitately broken up and deserted, that not even the treasure was carried away: in a word, the victory was complete, and must have taught the mutineers how feeble are their arms in comparison with the English, and how hopeless is their cause."

knocked down several men and horses. Then there was, of course, a scene of wild confusion. There was no command, and no anything, and camp-followers and horses fled in all directions. If the enemy's cavalry and infantry had then pushed on, the result might have been most disastrous; but, native like, they first waited to see the effect of their big guns. That delay was fatal to them. Our guns got into action, our cavalry mounted, and when I galloped up to the ground we were returning their fire. Then their cavalry did charge right into the parade in a great 'gol.' But they were too late. They took a detached and disabled gun for a moment; and they were so completely among us that the artillery could not fire on them. But the tired Sikhs sitting on the ground formed square with the utmost coolness, and fired well into them. The lancers were ready, and charged at them as the lancers can charge. They were broken and defeated; yet some of them did actually sweep right round the camp and cantonments, and created such a panic among the general population as scarce was seen—every one riding over every one else in the most indiscriminate manner; in fact, there never was, and never will be, so complete a surprise. But by this time commanding officers had come on the field, and every arm was in action. Our artillery fought nobly—in fact, all did; and though it was some time before we could find exactly where we were and where the enemy was (and they attacked on three sides at once), eventually they were repulsed, and began to retreat. In fact, I think it must be, that in surprising us they surprised themselves. They could hardly have known what they were attacking, or surely they would have made a better stand. Once they were repulsed it was all over with them. After the charge their cavalry never showed but in the distance. As soon as they were clearly in retreat we followed; and before we had gone very far they had abandoned their three big guns, and their retreat approached to a flight. Here was enough for a moderate man. Our troops, it might be fairly said, had had enough of it; a halt was ordered. But another sort of men came into play in the right place. In Agra, the command was taken by Brigadier Cotton, called 'Gun Cotton.' He would not halt, and pushed on with fortunate dash. Speedily the enemy were completely dispersed and routed, and they hardly returned our fire. Their infantry merely showed at the edges of the fields, and then fled through them. Soon we found and took their camp; then we came on their baggage, which they gradually abandoned. Our horse artillery, from time to time, galloped up and opened fire; then that became unnecessary, and small bodies of cavalry continued the chase. Eventually, ten or twelve well-mounted officers made everything fly from the road; while the cavalry hunted up the fugitives on either side. Never was dispersion more complete. All the guns (thirteen) and baggage were taken, and no six of the infantry went away together. Those who saved themselves did so by hiding in the high fields, and they were no doubt numerous. There was, in fact, an end of the Mhow and Neemuch brigades, excepting the fugitive cavalry; and, after a ten-mile chase, the troops returned to relieve Agra."

A short time previous to the events above recorded, the North-Western Provinces of Bengal had sustained a severe and irreparable loss by the death of their most able and indefatigable chief commissioner, the Hon. John Russell Colvin, lieutenant-governor of the province of Agra. In the exalted sphere of action occupied by this valuable public officer, he had ever exhibited a spirit of industry, and a mastery of the details of government, that were perfectly astonishing; and his efforts for the advantage of the people under his charge, were the constant theme of eulogy by those best qualified to judge of his administration. Of the unfortunate collision between himself and the governor-general, on the subject of his proclamation of conditional pardon to the mutinous sepoys, the details have already been given.* That proclamation, however unpopular at Calcutta, was universally approved at Agra, the seat of his government; for there the vast extent of the danger that menaced European society, and the thorough delusion which possessed the mass of the sepoys as to the intentions of government, were well understood. At the time that proclamation was issued by Mr. Colvin, upon his own authority, the native regiments were falling into revolt in all directions; and to prevent the fatal mischief from further spreading, it seemed to him that the wisest thing which could be done, was to make known that the government desired to be

* See vol. i., p. 137.

just, to discriminate between the wilfully guilty and the mere victims of a delusion, by offering the means of retreat to those not already desperately committed; to those especially who had been betrayed into the rebel ranks by their apprehensions about religion, or by the impossibility of separating themselves, at the moment, from the corps to which they belonged; and thus, through them, to appeal to the loyal feelings of the regiments yet in obedience. But his views were either not appreciated, or were objectionable on individual grounds; and the most mortifying result followed that could have been desired by his worst enemy—namely, the peremptory recall of his proclamation, and the substitution of another from the supreme government in its stead.* But the new proclamation, issued by the governor-general, was found utterly unavailing to stem the progress of disaffection and revolt. The crush of regiments advanced so fast, that a new idea—that of entire mastery and expulsion of all Europeans from India—seized all minds, and, spreading like wildfire through the ranks of the native army, terms of accommodation were no longer listened to.

Mr. Colvin, it will be remembered, earnestly protested against his proclamation being interpreted as offering pardon to those who had murdered or injured their officers;† but his efforts to convince the government of his actual meaning were fruitless; and he at length ceased to remonstrate against the arbitrary and offensive act by which his influence, as lieutenant-governor of the disturbed province, was fatally assailed. To the *brusque* message of the governor-general, of the 31st of May,‡ he offered no reply; but to his own family he wrote, that "although the proclamation remained a mere trifling incident in the great series of events, and he would give no further trouble to others on the subject, he wished his own relatives to understand the grounds of his conduct." "That those," he said, "who had taken a leading, or a deliberately malignant part in the revolt, would ever seek to take advantage of the notification, we knew to be quite out of the question. The chance that seemed open, through the proclamation, of escape to such persons, was what called forth the heavy censure at many distant points; but we, who are nearer the scene, and know the real spirit of the revolt, could not entertain such a suspicion." Had the unfortunate gentleman lived but a few months longer, he would have seen the principle upon which his supposed proclamation of the 27th of May, 1857, was grounded, not only adopted by the governor-general himself, but also insisted upon by the British legislature, and proclaimed by the imperial government.

But, at this time, Mr. Colvin's active and useful life was rapidly drawing to a close. The approach of a hostile force from Neemuch, within a short march of Agra, on the 5th of July, and its subsequent operations, have already been mentioned.§ Early in that month, the entire Christian population of the town and cantonments went into the quarters prepared for them in the old royal residence, which had the name, but very little of the character, of a fort; and, by the 25th of the following August, it contained 4,289 inmates, of whom 2,514 were women and children. As every contingency had been foreseen and prepared for, the bad effects which might be expected from the compression of this multitude into a narrow space, at the worst season of the year, were not experienced; but the chief among the beleaguered host had, nevertheless, received his death-stroke. His government (the improvement of which was the cherished object of his life) had been reduced to the space commanded by the guns of the fort; and even this remnant was threatened by a war-cloud from the direction of Gwalior: and thus John Russell Colvin may justly be reckoned among the victims of the revolt, by a more intense and protracted agony than if he had fallen by the swords of the mutinous soldiers.‖ His first attack of physical ailment immediately preceded the removal of the Europeans, &c., into the fort; and his friends

* See vol. i., p. 138.
† *Ibid.*, p. 141.
‡ *Ibid.*, p. 141.
§ *Ibid.*, p. 552.

‖ There can be no doubt that Mr. Colvin never recovered from the intense feeling of mortification he was subjected to on account of his proclamation; and the following extract from the last letter written by him to Europe, confirms the impression of the fact. He says—"I have gone round the sad course of my review of the provinces I so lately governed. My authority is now confined to a few miles near this fort. The city is quiet, and gives supplies. Collection of revenue quite suspended. The bankers will give small sums at very high rates in loan. I send my affectionate regards to all my old friends. I cannot shut my eyes to what is probably before me. If I have erred in any step, hard has been my position; and you will all bear lightly on my memory, and help my family as far as you can."

frequently and earnestly, but unavailingly, pressed upon him the necessity for a temporary cessation from work; to ensure which, as soon as it was safe to do so, they transferred him to the purer air of the cantonments. Mrs. Colvin and his younger children were at this time residing at Geneva; but his eldest son, Elliot, was out on command in the revolted districts, fortunately near enough to be recalled in time to see and be recognised by his father; who, in the afternoon of Wednesday, the 9th of September, sank quietly, and without pain, into his last sleep. As rumours of the perpetration of gross acts of desecration on the bodies of Europeans, had reached Agra, it was deemed prudent to bury him inside the fort, where the funeral accordingly took place on the morning of the 10th of September; and the following notification was issued in due course, upon the occasion, by the governor-general in council:—

"Fort William, Home Department, Sept. 19th

"It is the melancholy duty of the right honourable the governor-general in council to announce the death of the Hon. John Russell Colvin, the lieutenant-governor of the North-Western Provinces. Worn by the unceasing anxieties and labours of his charge, which placed him in the very front of the dangers by which of late India has been threatened, health and strength gave way; and the governor-general in council has to deplore, with sincere grief, the loss of one of the most distinguished among the servants of the East India Company.

"The death of Mr. Colvin has occurred at a time when his ripe experience, his high ability, and his untiring energy would have been more than usually valuable to the state. But his career did not close before he had won for himself a high reputation in each of the various branches of administration to which he was at different times attached, nor until he had been worthily selected to fill the highest position in Northern India; and he leaves a name which not friends alone, but all who have been associated with him in the duties of government, and all who may follow in his path, will delight to honour. The right honourable the governor-general in council directs that the flag shall be lowered half-mast high, and that seventeen minute-guns shall be fired at the seats of government in India upon the receipt of the present notification.—By order of the governor-general of India in council.—C. BEADON,

"Secretary to the Government of India."

The late Mr. Colvin was the second son of James Colvin, of the mercantile house of Colvin and Co., of London and Calcutta, at which latter place he was born in May, 1807; being, consequently, at the time of his death, in the fifty-first year of his age, and the fourth of his lieutenant-governorship. As an Indian officer, who rose by his own deserts to the government of forty millions of people (for such was the numerical population under his charge); who maintained his position, if not his authority, in the very focus of insurrection; who expired at his post without surrender or defeat; and whose merits obtained for him the affection and admiration of a large circle of friends—John Russell Colvin is entitled to more than a mere brief record of his death; and the few preceding pages could hardly have been better occupied than by a tribute due to his worth.

Resuming the narrative of events connected with the operations of the movable column at Agra, it is to be observed, that the exertions of the force under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Greathed, were recognised by that officer in the following general order from the camp at Agra, on the 13th of October, three days subsequent to the battle:—

"Lieutenant-colonel Greathed begs to congratulate the officers and men of the movable column, on the most successful result of their gallantry and untiring exertions on the 10th. He has had the greatest pleasure in bringing to the favourable notice of the major-general commanding the field force at Delhi, the admirable conduct of the whole of the troops, who, after marching forty-four miles in twenty-eight hours, encountered with a steadiness that could not be surpassed, the sudden attack of a formidable enemy, drove them from the position they had taken up, and pursued them for $10\frac{1}{2}$ miles, taking from them every gun, besides all their carts and ammunition, and scattering them in all directions in utter rout.

"Lieutenant-colonel Greathed requests that the officers commanding the Punjab cavalry and infantry regiments, will convey to their men the assurance of his appreciation of the qualities they displayed during the whole day, from first to last. He was witness to many acts of heroism; and he particularly adverts to the charge of the cavalry under Lieutenant Watson, when three guns and five standards were captured; and to the brilliant manner in which the 4th Punjab infantry, under Lieutenant Paul, drove the enemy out of the enclosures of the cantonment. The steadiness of the 2nd Punjab infantry, under most trying circumstances, reflects equal credit upon Captain Green and the regiment he commands. The gallant manner in which the

Punjab regiments behaved—their untiring exertions after a march, without a halt, of thirty miles, deserves the highest admiration."

The Indore force having been dispersed by the above successful operations, and Agra being now freed from apprehension of immediate danger, it became necessary to determine the line of operations to be carried into effect by Colonel Greathed, with the movable column under his command; and as applications of the most urgent nature had been received from Cawnpore for reinforcements to assist the force then at Lucknow, it was considered expedient by the chief commissioner at Agra, that the colonel should immediately transfer his services in the direction of Oude; and, on the 14th of October, the following instructions were issued for his guidance:—

"Colonel Greathed will march immediately for Cawnpore by the Grand Trunk-road. He will put down any opposition which may be shown at Mynpoorie; but otherwise he will not, unless attacked or menaced from the direction of Furruckabad, diverge from his straight route to Cawnpore. The chastisement of the nawab of Furruckabad can, without present inconvenience, be deferred for a future opportunity.

"While the chief commissioner cheerfully yields to the imperious necessity of reinforcing General Havelock's army at the present moment, he does so upon the understanding that the moment spare troops are available at Cawnpore, in consequence of the arrival of soldiers from below, a portion of Colonel Greathed's column, or others in their stead, shall be sent, without loss of time, to Agra.

"This important city, the seat of government, is left now with only a weak European regiment, and one horse artillery battery. From this small force a party has to be detached for the occupation of Allygurh. The populous towns of Muttra and Bindrabun must be protected, in case they are threatened. Early measures are necessary for the reoccupation of Etawah. The mutinous contingent still lingers with its siege-train at Gwalior; and although likely to march in another direction, Agra cannot be regarded as secure as long as a strong brigade, with thirty field-pieces and a siege-train, hangs within eighty miles. It is with a strong conviction of the considerable risk which he runs, that the chief commissioner has permitted Colonel Greathed's force to leave; and he does so, consequently, in the confident expectation that the urgent wants of the station will be recognised, and met at the earliest possible moment. Colonel Greathed's column will move forward towards Mynpoorie on the 15th instant."

At this time, it was represented to the government by the magistrate and collector of Azimghur, that from letters, reports, and rumours then current, it was evident "a storm of a serious nature was brewing amongst the zemindars in Oude; and that it was intended to burst simultaneously upon Lucknow, Jounpore, and Azimghur." The greater portion of the fighting population of Oude were represented as gathered round Lucknow; and intercepted native letters from that place described their numbers as incalculable. To add to the difficulties thus "looming in the distance," the chief commissioner of the Central Provinces was incessant in his application to the governor-general for increased military strength, to repress an expected outbreak in the Rewah and Bundelcund states—such increase being only obtainable by weakening the force collecting for the relief of Lucknow; the great importance of which object was thus described, on the 30th of October, in a despatch of the secretary to the government of India, addressed to the government of the Central Provinces:—

"The reasons adduced for an increase of the military strength of the Central Provinces, are thoroughly appreciated by the governor-general in council; but interests of still greater value are at stake at Lucknow. The lieutenant-governor is probably not fully aware of the helpless condition in which Sir James Outram's force, joined to the original garrison and inmates of the residency, now finds itself; that they are powerless to procure any supplies; that their stock is barely sufficient, with reduced rations, to last for three weeks from this time; that the nature of the desperate struggle by which General Havelock reached the residency, was such as to show that Sir James Outram has not exaggerated his need in asking for two brigades of 2,500 men each, as a means of rescue; and that it is physically impossible for the government of India to collect a force of more than 4,000 in all, for that purpose, within the time allowed. Meanwhile, each day confirms the account of the conveyance of some thousands of mutineers and rebels, with artillery, towards Cawnpore; and the

aspect of things, as well as the value of the stake, is such, that the commander-in-chief has felt it to be a duty, and the governor-general in council has readily acquiesced in his excellency's view, to proceed to take the command of the relieving column in person. The governor-general in council could not, in such an exigency, consent to any withholding of troops for purposes which will have no effect at Lucknow.

"The governor-general in council desires to say, broadly and plainly, that he would consider the sacrifice of the garrison in Lucknow as a far greater calamity and reproach to the government than an outbreak of the Rewah or Bundelcund states, even if followed by rebellion and temporary loss of our authority in our own territories on the Nerbudda. Moreover, the fate of the Europeans at Lucknow, if they are not rescued speedily and effectually, is certain."

Of the determination of government, that Lucknow and its suffering garrison should be relieved in the face of whatever difficulties might arise, there could be no doubt; but while its attention was thus concentrated upon one great object, the agents by whom that relief was to be effected, had occasionally sources of embarrassment and discouragement developed in their path, from which, assuredly, at such a crisis, they ought to have been protected. Thus, it frequently occurred during the war of the mutinies, that gallant and energetic officers, while engaged in the desperate struggle for life with rebellious troops, were exposed to annoyance by the conflicts of rival authorities, and by the obtrusion of questions of seniority as it regarded the command of troops in the field—urged at times and places when it was not possible to refer them for solution either to the commander-in-chief or to the governor-general—a fact amply testified by the military correspondence laid before parliament, in connection with the Indian revolt; and from the perplexities consequent upon such fact, the column hitherto led to victory by Lieutenant-colonel Greathed was not exempt. In the North-Western Provinces, to which the scene of its operations had been confined, no less than three rival authorities claimed a discretionary power to direct the movements of the troops within the district. Thus, General Gowan at Sirhind, General Penny at Delhi, and the chief civil commissioner at Agra, alike assumed authority over the military arrangements of the province; and collisions were inevitable. Then, as regarded the command of troops, we have seen that, at Agra, Colonel Cotton finished the battle which Greathed had already won; not because it had been badly fought, but because Cotton was the *senior* officer, and as such, ignored the victory already achieved, and facetiously tendered his thanks to Colonel Greathed "for the assistance rendered in the pursuit."* Again, while Greathed was marching quickly, and fighting valiantly, on the road to Cawnpore after the battle of Agra, Colonel Hope Grant, of the 9th lancers, was sent out from Delhi to supersede him in the command of his column; not because he was a more efficient officer, but because he was his senior in rank, being made a brigadier for the special purpose. The inconvenience and confusion occasioned by these complications, may be inferred from the tone of the following memorandum of the chief commissioner at Agra, in reference to General Penny's appointment of Brigadier Grant to the command of Greathed's movable column, and to the order of Major-general Gowan, cancelling such appointment:—

"Fort, Agra, October 22nd, 1857.

"The chief commissioner has received, through a letter written by Mr. Saunders at the desire of General Penny, at Delhi, intimation of the orders of Major-general G. E. Gowan, C.B., cancelling General Penny's appointment of Brigadier H. Grant, C.B., to the command of the movable column moving down the Doab. As that appointment was made in consequence of the receipt of a letter by Brigadier Grant, written at the chief commissioner's desire, the chief commissioner thinks it necessary to place the circumstances attending the dispatch of that letter upon record. When the movable column approached Agra, considerable embarrassment was experienced in consequence of its being commanded by an officer junior to others on the spot. Lieutenant-colonel Cotton, commanding at Agra, was the senior of Lieutenant-colonel Greathed, and so also was Lieutenant-colonel Riddell, commanding the 3rd Europeans.

"The appointment of Lieutenant-colonel Greathed having, however, been made by the general commanding at Delhi, Colonel Fraser had determined that the arrangement should continue, unless, indeed, the material of the column was changed. It seemed, for some time, likely that the fatigued condition of the European troops in the column, caused by their long exposure to the very heavy duty before Delhi, would render it necessary to withdraw them, and send the 3rd Europeans in their stead into the field. It was for some time highly probable that operations against Dholepore would be necessary; in which case, besides the entire column, it would have been necessary to have added

* See despatches of Greathed and Cotton, *ante*, pp. 63, 64.

to it every available man from the 3rd Europeans. Had this been done, the chief commissioner had determined that Colonel Cotton should command the column thus composed, to a considerable extent, of troops from his own garrison. That contingency, however, did not occur, but a similar contingency occurred unexpectedly, which, in the end, led to Colonel Cotton's necessarily assuming command of the column while in action.

"On the 10th, when the column was attacked in its camp, Colonel Cotton hastened to the spot. He arrived at the critical point caused by the first alarm, and he wisely determined that the 3rd Europeans should be ordered immediately to the scene of action, to aid in the repulse and support the advance. The enemy were driven victoriously before our troops; but about half-way to the Kharee river, Lieutenant-colonel Greathed ordered a halt. Had the halt been allowed, the victory would have been imperfect, and only a portion of the enemy's guns captured; but Colonel Cotton, assuming command, directed the advance to be continued; and the result was, that the victory was followed up in the most complete and successful manner. The day previous to the action, it was currently reported in the camp, that Brigadier Grant was on his way from Delhi to assume command. The chief commissioner received from Major Ouvry an urgent despatch, to be forwarded to Brigadier Grant, as at Allygurh, or shortly to be there. The chief commissioner, perhaps without sufficient further inquiry, was under the impression that Brigadier Grant was on his way hither, and he saw, in his early arrival at Agra, a convenient and happy deliverance from his embarrassments; for Brigadier Grant was greatly the senior of any one of the officers who could have aspired to the command. It was under these circumstances, that the chief commissioner requested Mr. Muir to write a letter to Colonel Grant at Allygurh, and to urge that he should push forward as rapidly as he could. It was thought possible that Brigadier Grant might be at Somna, beyond Allygurh, or even Khoorja, and the letter was directed to be forwarded so as to meet him at the earliest point. It was forwarded in effect to Delhi, and found Brigadier Grant in his former position there. It was shown to General Penny, and was believed by him to form a sufficient ground for the appointment of Brigadier Grant to the command of the column. Brigadier Grant joined the column on the 19th instant, twenty-three miles on this side of Mynpoorie; and his operations since that period, so far as reported to the chief commissioner, have been characterised by energy, promptitude, and judgment.

"The post which brought Mr. Saunders' letter, brings also despatches for Brigadier Grant, marked 'immediate,' which the chief commissioner does not doubt contain the order for his recall; but they will not reach the column till after it has arrived at Cawnpore. The chief commissioner sees sufficient ground to hold back these orders, and he believes himself authorised by the authority conferred upon him by the governor-general in council so to do. His reasons are briefly these:—The same difficulty which occurred at Agra with so junior an officer as Lieutenant-colonel Greathed, commanding the column, is likely to occur again. It may occur at Cawnpore. Where, at the least, equal fitness and experience can be secured, with much higher rank, the advantage appears to the chief commissioner to be undoubted and great. Brigadier Grant, C.B., the chief commissioner further holds to be an officer peculiarly qualified, by long experience in the country, for the efficient command of the column.

"The chief commissioner has had no personal previous acquaintance or friendship with either Brigadier Grant or Lieutenant-colonel Greathed. He judges simply on the above grounds for the interest of the public service, and his decision is in some degree affected by the circumstances detailed in the early part of this memorandum. The chief commissioner has accordingly determined to keep back the packet marked 'immediate.' It will be returned, with a copy of this memorandum, to General Penny; and a copy of the memorandum will also be forwarded to Major-general Gowan, C.B. A copy will also be submitted to the government of India, in the military department; and a copy, confidentially, to General Outram at Lucknow.

"H. FRASER."

In a communication to the governor-general in council, on the 22nd of October, the chief commissioner informs his lordship, that a memorandum (presumed to be the foregoing) would be forwarded to him in explanation of his (the commissioner's) reasons for intercepting and returning certain letters of General Penny's, written by direction of General Gowan, ordering the restoration of Colonel Greathed to the command of the movable column, and the return of Brigadier Grant. He concludes by saying—"I feel satisfied, in my own mind, that, in this instance, I have acted for the good of the service."

In a subsequent paragraph, dated the 25th, the commissioner says—"I am happy to say that the column, nearly 3,000 strong, will be at Cawnpore to-morrow; but regret much to find that Colonel Wilson, of her majesty's 64th, who commands at Cawnpore, is senior to, and may embarrass, Brigadier Grant, upon whose judgment and soldierlike qualities great reliance may be placed."

The uncalled-for interference of the civil power with the military arrangements of officers in high command, was, throughout the course of the sepoy war, a cause of frequent embarrassment to those charged with, and responsible for, the proper execution of important military operations; and, in more than one instance, the anomalous authority interposed, had the effect of at least retarding the efforts of officers in command of troops for the suppression of the revolt. The vital principle upon which correct military government, and the subordination and discipline of armies is based, seems directly opposed to such interference, which would not for a moment be tolerated

in the prosecution of European warfare; nor, since the early wars of the French republic, has it been attempted among European armies. The constitution of the East India Company's military government seems, however, to have recognised and perpetuated an invidious system of civil supervision over the operations of its troops in the field; and, for the sake of the country, as well as for the future efficiency of the forces henceforth to be employed in the Eastern territories of the crown of England, it may be desirable that, with the cessation of the Company's political authority, many of its peculiar systems, and especially the one by which the functions of its military commanders have been regulated by the will of its civil authorities, should also cease to exist.

Brigadier Hope Grant, the officer referred to by the acting commissioner at Agra, in the foregoing memorandum, joined the column of Lieutenant-colonel Greathed on the 18th, near Mynpoorie, 107 miles from Cawnpore; and, on the following day, he reached Mynpoorie, where he blew up the fort, and destroyed the guns belonging to the rajah. From this place, an officer, dating 26th October, writes as follows:—

"We reached Mynpoorie on the 19th, where a scene of desolation, similar to others we had witnessed elsewhere in our progress down the country, met our view. The bungalows had been completely destroyed. Of the pretty little station church, the bare walls alone remain; the vestry, pulpit, font, and furniture having been thoroughly smashed. The rajah had fled to Futteghur the day before our arrival; but a large quantity of property found in his fort was confiscated; and our only regret in leaving Mynpoorie, was the want of leisure to follow up this worthy to Futteghur, with the nawab of which place we have also an account to settle."

On the 21st, the column moved on to Rewah, where the fort was destroyed; and £23,000 of revenue, left there when the mutiny broke out in May, was recovered. On the 22nd, Brigadier Grant, with his troops, reached Gorasahaganj, where they halted; and, on the 23rd, they arrived at Kanouge, where they fell in with a body of the Delhi fugitives, of whom they cut up about 200, and captured five guns. Having disposed of this obstruction in the way, the column continued its march, and arrived at Cawnpore on the morning of the 26th, without further molestation, and a day earlier than it was expected. The force under Brigadier Grant, thus brought into Cawnpore, consisted of two companies of sappers and miners, three troops of horse artillery and two 18-pounder guns, 600 of her majesty's 9th lancers, the 8th and 75th regiments of foot, two regiments of Sikh cavalry, and the like amount of infantry; altogether amounting to about 3,500 men, all of whom were in high health and spirits, and had been in every action (nearly thirty in number) since the commencement of the siege of Delhi; and, as we have seen, had swept all before them on the way from that city. On the following day, the 93rd highlanders, and 200 of the naval brigade, also arrived at Cawnpore; and of these augmentations to the European force, the most extraordinary reports were prevalent through the country. The sailors were represented as being four feet high and four feet across the shoulders, and as carrying a field-piece under each arm with as much ease as a porter could carry a bundle. The highlanders, described as men in petticoats, were believed to have been sent out by the Queen of England, so attired especially to avenge the slaughter of the English women and children. The strength of the garrison at Cawnpore, on the 28th of October, was little less than 5,000 men; who there awaited the arrival of reinforcements, known to be on the way, preparatory to a final advance for the relief of Lucknow.

The arrangements by which the various regiments reached Cawnpore, need not here be enlarged upon; but, as they passed up the country, so did a degree of comparative tranquillity succeed to anarchy. The English troops originally destined for China, as well as the reinforcements from other quarters, were sent up, by road or river, from Calcutta as fast as they arrived; and for these, Benares was the converging point. From that place, the troops went up by Mirzapore to Allahabad; thence, by rail, to Lohunda; and, lastly, to Futtehpore and Cawnpore, by road march or bullock-carts. By the end of October, a column under Colonel Berkeley was on its way from Calcutta; another, under Colonel Hind, was in or near Rewah; another, under Colonel Longdon, was near Jounpore; while Colonel Wroughton, with the Ghoorkas, supplied by Jung Bahadoor of Nepaul, was on the Goruckpore frontier of Oude. It was true, that some of these so-called "columns"

were scarcely equal to one regiment in numerical strength; but each formed a nucleus round which other troops might accumulate. Lieutenant-colonel Greathed's column, now under the command of Brigadier Hope Grant, as already mentioned, was, however, the main element in the congregated force destined by the commander-in-chief to accomplish the relief of Lucknow. This division, which had already so eminently distinguished itself since it left Delhi, crossed the Ganges at Cawnpore, into Oude, on the 30th of October, 1857, 3,500 strong, with eighteen guns, having under its protection a valuable convoy of 2,500 camels, and 500 carts laden with supplies for the beleaguered garrisons at Alumbagh and the residency. On the 3rd of November, it reached a position about six miles from the former place, and there encamped pursuant to orders from the commander-in-chief, and to await his arrival.

The following extracts are from letters of officers belonging to Greathed's (or rather Hope Grant's) column:—

"October 30th.—We have joined the Delhi column, under Colonel Hope Grant. We are allowed a tent and a pair of camels between two officers, which we find sufficient for our trifling baggage, although we generally possess more than the piece of soap and flannel banian which old Napier deemed sufficient. Few of the officers have succeeded in getting horses, so we must be content to trudge along. Grant's force marched onwards in the morning, and we followed in the afternoon. It is now just gunfire, and the bagpipes of the 93rd highlanders are playing; the first time, perhaps, such an instrument was ever sounded in Oude. The regiment played marching out in their kilts this morning. It is a glorious sight to see them marching proudly along, one solid mass of stalwart fellows, of robust and vigorous frames, but active and energetic; under thorough discipline, and every man having an air of firm determination on his grim highland countenance. The natives gaze at the highlanders with astonishment and dread, and style them (with reference to their garb) '*the ghosts of the murdered Englishwomen risen to revenge!*' The Delhi column certainly looked as if they had had hard fighting and great exposure, but the men are in capital spirits. The 8th and 75th are in mouse-coloured dresses, which looks odd at first; but unquestionably it must be a capital colour to fight in, as it is so difficult to perceive it at a distance. The Sikhs are dressed in the same way. We have a column of about 3,500 strong in all. Two of our guns are drawn by elephants, which somewhat astonishes our royals, and would indeed create a sensation at Woolwich. We have just been warned that we may have a brush tomorrow morning, as 1,500 sepoys, with three guns, are not far off."

"Camp six miles from Alumbagh, 3rd November.—We had our first fight in Oude yesterday, but it was the mildest affair that has taken place since we left Delhi. We marched from our last ground at seven o'clock, with the intention of encamping on a large plain one mile and a-half nearer Lucknow, there to await Sir Colin Campbell. We had not gone a mile before our advanced guard was fired upon by the enemy, who had taken up a position in a large village near the road. We were soon in the thickest of it, and were not long in turning our friends the Mattadeens out of their position, after which we could not persuade them to come within musket shot. It was with great difficulty our cavalry managed to come up with their rear. We bagged upwards of a hundred of them in the village, and afterwards took the only two guns they had. Our loss amounted to one killed and about ten wounded. Some of the 44th native infantry men were killed, fighting against us, and actually had their leave certificates on them. We have taught the zemindars (a number of whom were opposed to us yesterday) a lesson they are not likely to forget in a hurry. Every village for miles round has been burnt to the ground, and the whole country seems as if it was on fire. After pursuing the fugitives to within two miles of Alumbagh, we retired to this place. Sir Colin is expected out to-day, and if he arrives, we shall most probably move on to Alumbagh to-morrow morning. We can hear the Lucknow guns quite distinctly. There has been very heavy firing there this morning. The men of the Punjab regiments are delighted with the 93rd highlanders, who are certainly splendid men, and always march with their kilts and bonnets. The Punjabees call them 'Topeewallahs,' and 'Tumasha ka Pultun.' They admire the bagpipes more than anything, and want to have a bajah like it."

"Camp about twelve miles from Lucknow,

4th November.—We have been encamped here for three days, waiting for Sir Colin, who is expected in camp to-day. We have hitherto met with no opposition, though our movements were most narrowly watched by the evaporating enemy. On the 3rd, they expected us to march, as we always do, at three or four in the morning, and had filled a village on the road with infantry, intending, it is supposed, to allow our column to pass, and then to attack and to loot our baggage. As luck would have it, an order came which caused us to break up our camp and march at daylight; so we disappointed our friends; and instead of plundering, as they expected, they were killed and burned themselves. Yesterday some sixteen villages were burnt round our camp. We have never done this where unopposed; but opposition riles the men, and incendiarism is the sure consequence. Now we are in Oude we can scarcely make a mistake. The whole country has risen under their chiefs against us, and unless we show that to be a losing game, they will fancy that we are weak and unable to punish. From what I saw on the 3rd, the enemy we have to deal with here is utterly to be despised, away from their loopholed walls and cover. I never saw large bodies of men disappear so suddenly in my life. Like figures in a magic lantern, they are here, and in a moment vanish entirely. This is a good deal to be accounted for by the fact of the greater part of the country being covered by high jowar crops, so high that an army can hide itself though close to you; the sugar-cane khets are also splendid cover, and save hundreds of wretches from the sabres of our cavalry."

"November 5th.—Brigadier Grant's column is still encamped at Nuwabgunge, on an open plain about five miles beyond Bunnee. On their way to occupy this position, the enemy, posted about in villages some little way off the road, gave trouble. But the villages were soon cleared, some of the enemy's cavalry cut up, and the rest of the forces, as usual, made off. There was an encounter on the ground on which our force is now encamped. About 1,000 or 1,200 of the rebels had advanced with the expectation of attacking our rear and baggage; but, as the column did not march that day, they found themselves, without guns, in front of our army. They were of course soon cut up and dispersed. Another party, supposed to come from Jellalabad, in the vicinity, brought up a 9-pounder of our own, which they opened upon us. We killed about a hundred, and put the remainder to flight."

"November 6th.—Yesterday the greater part of the force escorted the convoy we brought with us to Alumbagh, and returned. The sick, and those wounded before General Havelock's force reached Lucknow, were brought back by our force, and have been sent with an escort to Cawnpore."

"November 9th, five miles from Alumbagh.—To-day we have shifted our camp one mile nearer Lucknow, and our main picket must be within three miles of Alumbagh, into which our large convoy was safely escorted two or three days ago. Part of the naval brigade, with four 24-pounders, arrived yesterday. The sight of the tars was most refreshing and encouraging."

"Nuwabgunge, November 10th.—We are still near Bunnee bridge; but the commander-in-chief has arrived, and we move on Thursday, the day after to-morrow."

With respect to the formation of the naval brigade (of which honourable mention must frequently be made, in recognition of the important services rendered by it), we may observe, that upon the arrival of Lord Elgin at Calcutta, in August, on his mission to China, the necessity for strengthening the hands of the Indian government by every possible augmentation of force, became obvious to his lordship, who at once placed at the disposal of Lord Canning two magnificent war steamers, the *Shannon* and the *Pearl;* and from the effective strength of the crew of each, a splendid naval brigade was organised, consisting of 400 British seamen, with ten of the enormous 68-pounder guns, which seamen know so well how to handle. This gallant band, under the command of Captain Peel, of the *Shannon,* who had bravely managed a naval battery during the siege of Sebastopol, started from Calcutta up the Hooghly and the Ganges. The voyage was one of intolerable duration, owing to the shallow navigation of the rivers; and week after week elapsed without the brigade reaching the district where its presence was most urgently needed. Half of August, and the whole of September, passed wearily away in this most tedious voyage. The upward passage, which is always tardy against the stream, and the ponderous artillery in charge of the brigade, rendering slowness still more slow. At length, on the 30th of

September, Captain Peel, with 286 of his men, reached Benares, from whence he pushed forward towards Allahabad; the chief of the staff, in the meanwhile, announcing his approach to the officer commanding the fort at that place, in the following telegraphic message:—

"Calcutta, October 1st, 1857.

"Captain Peel will join the garrison of Allahabad, with his first party, in two or three days by the river. His excellency desires you to recollect, that that officer is under the orders of the governor-general only."

On the 3rd of October, the gallant sailor, with ninety-four of his officers and men, arrived at Allahabad per *Koel* steamer, and reported the approach of the remainder of his brigade by the *Mirzapore*, and a fleet, on the following day. The reply of the commander-in-chief to this announcement was as follows:—

"Calcutta, October 4th, 1857.

"I am very glad to hear that you are at last at Allahabad, after all your troubles; and I have directed Colonel O'Brien to make over the command to you for the present. You will oblige me very much by making yourself master of all the circumstances of this very important command, before Colonel O'Brien departs with his movable column. As nothing must be left to chance with Allahabad, Colonel O'Brien must not go till the great bulk of your brigade has arrived.

"In the course of about a week, there will be a continuous stream of troops pouring into Allahabad, which, I trust, will not cease for the next three months. As it is very important for me to know the exact state of the garrison, pray have the goodness to continue Colonel O'Brien's system of a daily telegraphic report on the subject, which may be addressed to General Mansfield (chief of the staff.) Address me, or the chief of the staff, in the most unreserved manner, on every subject on which you require information or guidance."

The awkwardness resulting from questions of command was again revived by this appointment at Allahabad, the officer commanding there informing the chief of the staff at Calcutta, that "there is a complication about Captain Peel, as a naval officer, commanding military officers on land."

On the 5th of October, Colonel O'Brien relinquished the command of the fort at Allahabad to Captain Peel; but, on the following day, in consequence of some obstruction to the intended operations of Colonel O'Brien, he announced to the chief of the staff, that he had resumed the command. Captain Peel also telegraphed, on the same day, as follows:—"The demand for reinforcements at Cawnpore stops Colonel O'Brien's expedition. He therefore retains the command, and I serve under him, or any officer you please, most cheerfully."

During the month of October, Captain Peel was busily occupied in facilitating the passage of troops and artillery up to Cawnpore. On the 20th, he was joined by Lieutenant Vaughan, of his ship, who brought with him 126 more naval officers and seamen, thereby raising the strength of the naval brigade to 516 men—many of the new arrivals being sailors of the merchant service at Calcutta, who had volunteered with much alacrity for the naval service. On the 23rd of October, Captain Peel sent off a hundred seamen to Cawnpore, in charge of four siege-train 24-pounders; and, on the 25th of the month, he received the following communication from the chief of the staff:—

"Calcutta, October, 25th, 1857.

"Sir,—The commander-in-chief desires me to inform you, that he purposes transferring the head-quarters of the army to Cawnpore immediately, and that he hopes to have the pleasure of taking you with him. His excellency leaves Calcutta, by rail, on the evening of the 27th instant, and proceeds by horse-dâk, with all expedition, to Allahabad. Have the goodness to communicate the substance of this to Brigadier Campbell, and desire him, from the commander-in-chief, to forward the heavy ordnance wanted for Cawnpore, gun by gun, as it can be got ready. Every means of carriage must be pressed into the service. The lieutenant-governor of the Central Provinces has been directed to urge forward 2,000 carts to the assistance of Brigadier Campbell; but he must not relax his own efforts in the collection of carriage."

Upon the receipt of this message, four 24-pounders, with some howitzers, in charge of 174 men of the brigade, were dispatched to Cawnpore, as also a strong military escort, with a large amount of ammunition. Captain Peel then himself started for the general rendezvous, and was joined on the road by Colonel Powell, with the head-quarters of the 53rd regiment. The two

arms of the force proceeded together; and, on the 31st of October, intelligence reached them, that the Dinapore mutineers, with three guns, had crossed the Jumna, and were about either to attack Futtehpore or to march towards Oude. The strength of the united force now under Colonel Powell, consisted of about 700 men, having in their charge a large and valuable convoy of siege and other stores. They marched the same evening to the camping-ground of Futtehpore, where they were joined by some of the 93rd highlanders; and, on the morning of the 1st of November, a column of about 500 men marched to Kudjwa, with a view to intercept the progress of the rebels. The enemy was in a strong position at this place, with guns commanding the road, its right occupying a high embankment screened by a grove, and its left formed on either side of the road. Part of the British column at once advanced against the guns, while the rest supported either flank. A sharp conflict, of two hours' duration, ensued, during which the enemy kept up so severe a fire of musketry, that many of the English fell, and among them Colonel Powell, who received a musket-ball in his forehead, and died instantly. Captain Peel, although a naval officer, then took the command; and leading a portion of his men round the upper end of the embankment, he cleverly divided the enemy's forces, and drove them from all their positions, eventually capturing two guns, some tumbrils with ammunition, and the whole of their camp.

Exhausted by a march of seventy-two miles in three days, it was impossible the men could do anything in the way of pursuit. Collecting, therefore, his dead and wounded (which amounted in number to no less than ninety-five men), he marched back to join the reserve, left in charge of the convoy at a village called Binkee; and, after a brief halt, resumed his march to Cawnpore, which he reached on the 1st of November, without any further interruption by the enemy. It will be seen by the following report of the action, that the force of the rebels at Kudjwa was not less than 4,000 men, of whom half at least were mutinous sepoys from the Bengal army, and the remainder armed fanatics and rabble, picked up by the mutineers on their march through the country.

The despatch forwarded to the chief of the staff at Cawnpore, by Captain Peel, in reference to the battle of Kudjwa, ran as follows:—

"Camp, Futtehpore, November 3rd, 1857.

"Sir,—I have the honour to lay before his excellency the commander-in-chief the details of the battle of Kudjwa, with the circumstances which preceded it. Detachments amounting to 700 men, under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Powell, of her majesty's 53rd regiment, in charge of siege-train, guns, and a large convoy, were proceeding from Allahabad to Cawnpore, and had arrived on the 31st of October, after a march of twelve miles, at the camping-ground at Thurrea. The same afternoon, intelligence was received from Futtehpore that the sepoy mutineers of the Dinapore regiments, with three guns, had passed the Jumna, with the intention of either attacking Futtehpore, or crossing over into Oude. The camp was immediately struck, and we arrived at the camping-ground of Futtehpore at midnight. Colonel Powell then made arrangements for marching at daylight upon the enemy, who were reported to be about twenty-four miles distant, at Kudjwa, beyond the village of Binkee. The column of attack consisted of 162 men of her majesty's 53rd regiment, under Major Clarke; 68 of the royal engineers, under Captain Clerke; 70 of a depôt detachment, under Lieutenant Fanning, of her majesty's 64th regiment; and 103 of the naval brigade, under Captain Peel.

"It marched at daylight, and was joined from the garrison of Futtehpore by a company of the 93rd highlanders, 100 in number, under Captain Cornwall, and two 9-pounder guns, under Lieutenant Anderson, Bengal artillery. After proceeding for sixteen miles the column halted for refreshment, and then resumed the march at a rapid pace, passing through the village of Binkee at about 1.30 P.M., where the intelligence was confirmed that the enemy were at hand.

"The troops pressed on without interruption, the highlanders advancing in skirmishing order, supported by the royal engineers, and followed by the 53rd regiment, in column, and then by the naval brigade. The depôt detachment was with the baggage. We advanced along the road which led straight for the village of Kudjwa, and saw that the enemy's right occupied a long line of high embankments on our left of the road; which embankment, screened by a grove, continued towards the village; and that their left was higher up on the other side, with their guns posted in the centre on the road—two of them in advance, and one on a bridge near the village. A round shot coming down the road, opened the battle at about 2.20 P.M., and the column was ordered to edge to the right, and advance on the guns through the corn-fields; the skirmishers of the 93rd and royal engineers pushing on, on both sides of the road. The enemy's artillery was well served, and did great execution, and the flank fire of musketry from the embankment was very severe. The gallant Colonel Powell himself, on the left of the road, pressed on the attack, and had just secured the guns of the enemy, when he fell dead with a bullet through his forehead. In the meanwhile the naval brigade had advanced on the right of the 53rd, and carried the enemy's position in their front; it was then that the death of Colonel Powell was reported to me, and I was requested to assume the command. The great force of the enemy, the long line of their defences, and the exhaustion of both officers and men after such long marches, rendered

our position truly critical. The front of the battle had become changed to the line of the road, and the enemy, with all their force behind their embankment, threatened to intercept our rear. I left Lieutenant Hay, R.N., supported by the two 9-pounder guns, to hold the position which his party had gallantly carried, and which secured our flank; and collecting as many fresh troops as were available, assisted principally by Lieutenant Lennox, royal engineers (Captain Clerke being unfortunately severely wounded), and by Ensign Traill, 53rd regiment, we rushed across the road, and passing round the upper end of the embankment, divided the enemy's force, and drove them successively from all their positions. The enemy then retired in confusion, leaving us masters of their camp, and with two of their guns, and a tumbril, in our possession.

"The late hour of the evening (it was half-past four when the enemy fired their last shot), and the excessive fatigue of the troops, prevented any pursuit; we therefore spoiled their camp, and leaving it with cheers, formed on the road by the bridge near the village, and sent parties to collect our dead and wounded. With the body of the colonel on the limber of the gun he had so gallantly captured, we then returned, and encamped near the village of Binkee. Our loss in the action was very severe, amounting to ninety-five killed and wounded. Inclosed are the returns of the detachments forming the column of attack. The behaviour of the troops, and of the naval brigade, was admirable, and all vied with each other, and showed equal courage in the field. The marching of the 53rd, and the accurate firing of the highlanders, deserve especial commendation. I received the greatest assistance from Captain Cox, of her majesty's 75th regiment, whom I would wish to bring to the favourable notice of his excellency the commander-in-chief; and the arrangements of the field hospital, under Dr. Grant, of her majesty's 53rd, and those of the quartermaster's department, under Captain Marshall, were everything that I could wish.

"The total number of the enemy was reported to be about 4,000; 2,000 of whom were sepoys, who fought in their uniform. Their loss was estimated at about 300 killed.—I have, &c.

"WILLIAM PEEL."

"P.S.—I have the pleasure to inform his excellency that the remaining gun of the enemy, with three tumbrils, was brought in this evening by the police, having been abandoned by the rebels in their flight, about eight miles beyond Kudjwa; and that the sepoys have dispersed in all directions, pursued by the villagers."

The remarks of the commander-in-chief upon this report, were communicated by the deputy-adjutant-general of the army, to the secretary to the government of India, in the following despatch:—

"Calcutta, November 12th, 1857.

"Sir,—In forwarding the inclosed despatch, and the annexed returns to government, I am instructed by the commander-in-chief to remark, that the action of which it gives an account was peculiarly severe, the loss of the force engaged being at the rate of one to five. Success crowned the desperate efforts of the assailants; but it is evident, from the very lucid report of Captain Peel, C.B., R.N., that the attack was most hazardous, and that at one time the force was in the greatest danger. The troops had been harassed by very long marches, and they were not in a state to attack, much less to follow up an attack.

"It is most providential that the 5th irregular cavalry, owing to some accidental cause, had not advanced with the rebel infantry from Banda. Had they done so, not a man of the detachment would have escaped to tell the tale. Although the late gallant Colonel Powell, C.B., fell gloriously at the head of his troops, the commander-in-chief conceives that he in some measure imperilled his most important charge, viz., that of the siege-train, and therefore exceeded his duty.

"A company of the royal engineers was taken out in this affair, and incurred loss; and this in the face of the repeated instructions of the commander-in-chief, that they should not on any account be employed on such duties: and what is more, instead of being used as a last reserve, they were pushed forward in the front, to support the skirmishers.

"The result, however, of all, was success; and although obliged to criticise the disposition of the force, his excellency gladly bears testimony to the brilliant courage and the untiring energy displayed by all ranks in conflict with the enemy, and in the great efforts made to come up with him. This fight affords one more instance of what the British soldier will perform, in spite of every disadvantage and extraordinary fatigue. This was a soldier's fight, if ever there was one.

"The commander-in-chief would especially direct the attention of the government to the manner in which the command was conducted by Captain Peel, C.B., R.N., after the death of Colonel Powell, C.B., at a moment of extreme danger and difficulty.

"I have, &c.—W. MAYHEW."

The state of affairs at Cawnpore, which had now become the base of operations for the relief of Lucknow, is pleasantly described in the following extracts from a letter dated "Intrenched Camp, Cawnpore, November 2nd:"—

"Here our position is daily becoming stronger. We have some 800 men in garrison, plenty of guns mounted, sufficiency of gunners, loads of ammunition, and, thanks to the unwearying exertions of our commissariat officers, provisions in abundance. Troops are pouring in daily. On the 1st of November, came 160 men of Peel's naval brigade, 200 of her majesty's 98th foot, and 200 more details of various regiments.

"Peel's Jacks are roaming about the camp in a remarkably free and easy manner. Queer fish these amphibious gentlemen are! One, *Crusoe*-like, has quite a menagerie in his cabin, as he calls his *palki* (or cot.) Rough and ready, rollicking boys they are, and present a striking contrast to the prim dragoons you now and then meet striding majestically along. I hear that the 'niggers' have a horrible dread of them, having been told by some inventive individual, that 'they are cannibals, and

that it is their habit to eat their fill of the slain, and salt the remainder down for future use—which accounted for each man carrying a clasp-knife by his side.' Next to the Jacks, such of the highlanders as wear kilts seem to stand highest in the fear and reverence of the natives.

"Hanging still goes on pretty freely. The other day, Colonel Bruce discovered, that one of the men actually in his employ, had been engaged during the Nana's time in hunting up Europeans, and handing them over to that butcher. As he had played the part of a stealth-hound, so he died a dog's death; having been hung on the gallows which stands alongside the house where our poor women were murdered."

After remaining some days at Cawnpore, for the necessary purposes of the garrison, Captain Peel, and 300 of his gallant blue-jackets, left the station, taking with them their enormous guns, which they are described as "handling like toys;" and, full of vigour and high spirits, proceeded on their way towards Alumbagh, at a convenient distance from which they halted to await the arrival of the commander-in-chief.

CHAPTER III.

LUCKNOW; THE RESIDENCY AND ALUMBAGH; IMPROVED CONDITION OF THE INMATES; DEFENSIVE OPERATIONS OF THE GARRISONS; SORTIES AND SUCCESSES; DIVISIONAL ORDERS BY SIR J. OUTRAM; A NEW KING OF OUDE; NOVEMBER AT THE RESIDENCY; MOVEMENTS OF THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF; NARROW ESCAPE; JOINS THE FORCE AT BUNNEE BRIDGE; INTELLIGENCE FROM THE BESIEGED; MR. KAVANAGH'S REPORT; ADVANCE OF THE TROOPS; THE ALUMBAGH RELIEVED; STORMING OF DIL KOOSHA AND THE MARTINIERE; CAPTURE OF SECUNDERBAGH, AND THE SHAH NUJEEFF; CAPTAIN PEEL AND THE NAVAL BRIGADE; THE MESS-HOUSE AND CHUTTUR MUNZIL CARRIED; JUNCTION OF THE RELIEVED AND THE RELIEVING FORCES; ORDER FOR THE ABANDONMENT OF THE RESIDENCY; REMOVAL OF THE FEMALES AND WOUNDED TO DIL KOOSHA; RETIREMENT OF THE TROOPS; AN ADVENTURE; GENERAL ORDERS; MASSACRE OF ENGLISH PRISONERS AT THE KAISERBAGH; DEATH OF GENERAL HAVELOCK; THE CONVOY ON ITS WAY TO CAWNPORE; DISASTROUS INTELLIGENCE; DEPARTURE FOR CALCUTTA; GOVERNMENT ORDER FOR THE RECEPTION OF THE LADIES AND WOUNDED.

WE retrace our steps to the residency at Lucknow. It will be remembered, that the force under Sir Henry Havelock succeeded in penetrating to the fortified position so gallantly held by Brigadier Inglis and his devoted band, on the 25th of September, with the intention of removing, or at least effectually releasing from durance and suffering, the unfortunate individuals who had so long been confined to the narrow and dangerous limits of the residency. But the time had not yet arrived for the accomplishment of that much-desired object.

Immediately after the arrival of the relieving force at the beleaguered position, Major-general Havelock surrendered, as we have already stated,* the command so generously left in his hands by Sir James Outram, to that officer; and, at the same time, the command of the residency, so worthily held by Brigadier Inglis after the death of Sir Henry Lawrence, also passed into the hands of General Outram, who now became chief military authority in Oude. At this juncture, the territory under the command of the eminent soldier was but of limited extent, as it embraced little more of the province than the area occupied by the intrenched enclosure of the residency and the Alumbagh. Contrary to expectation, the enemy, so far from abandoning the city or suing for terms after the arrival of General Havelock, continued their blockade, and were unceasing in their attacks at every point. Of the 2,500 troops of all arms that, concentrated under Havelock, Neill, and Outram, had left Cawnpore on the 19th of the month, nearly a third had been stricken down by the sword or by disease before the residency at Lucknow was gained; and, as the survivors were too few in number to afford an escort for the protection and defence of the host of women, children, and wounded soldiers—for whom it would be necessary to cut a passage through the rebel mass that had gathered around them—it became evident that the only chance of preservation for the whole, would be

* See *ante*, p. 42.

found in a determination to hold the intrenchments until the arrival of a much superior force should effectually relieve them. No time, therefore, was lost in preparations for a continued defence. All the old "garrisons" were strengthened, and new ones formed; the guns and mortars were again placed in positions most likely for effective work; and the soldiers and civilians were again told-off to regular garrison duty. The residency, as now described by Mr. Rees, again wore an animated aspect. Every now and then fresh troops were moving about, new faces were seen, and the horses and camels belonging to the relieving column were lying about the enclosure in all directions. It was not possible for the residents to leave the intrenchments, or venture into the city; but the position held was far more extended than before the 25th of September, as the troops had now possession of the Tehree Kothee, the Furreed Buksh, and the Chuttur Munzil—three palaces situated next the river, and bounding the north side of the enclosure. The occupation of these buildings was productive of immense advantage to the garrison, as the enemy's fire, which had hitherto been very destructive from them, could of course no longer annoy it.

One of the strongest batteries of the rebels had been placed near a gateway of one of these palaces, distinguished as the "clock tower," from there being a dial painted upon it; and in this tower, one of the late king's sharpshooters, an African eunuch, delighted to take his stand, and from thence, like his expert countryman at Johanne's house,* would send his unerring balls among the defenders of the residency. By the capture of this post, "Othello found his occupation gone," and a great source of annoyance was removed.

For several days after the arrival of Havelock's force, the people in the residency were gratified by a vast improvement in the quality, as well as quantity of their diet, and are described as being somewhat profuse in their indulgences; but this season of gastronomic enjoyment was purely transient. It soon became painfully evident to all, that the "relief" so ardently prayed for, and so enthusiastically welcomed, was, as far as personal freedom or comforts were concerned, a relief but in name only. It had certainly brought with it a valuable accession of brave men for the defence of the place and its unfortunate occupants; and, to some considerable extent, had enlarged the limits of the enclosure to which the garrison and its charge were confined. But there the immediate advantage, beyond personal safety, stopped; for, with the accession of numbers ill-provided with food or stores, the increased daily strain upon the scanty resources of the residency commissariat very soon became an object of painful solicitude, and stringent rules had to be enforced in regard to the daily rations, which gradually became diminished in quantity and deteriorated in quality. At length, the rations, which had previously been reduced by one quarter, were brought down to the half of the quantity originally issued. Instead of *attah* (flour), wheat was served out, which the recipients themselves had to grind how they could: *dhal* (peas) was stopped entirely; and the allowance of salt was reduced. The allowance of meat (commissariat beef) was six ounces a-day, bones included, and no distinction was made in regard to the rank or sex of the parties rationed.

By the disposition of the rebel forces in the southern and eastern portions of the city, over which they had undisturbed control, all intercourse with the Alumbagh was effectually cut off, and the supplies and stores brought to that place by the relieving column, were consequently unavailable for the necessities of the garrison at the residency. At the Alumbagh, it will be also remembered, the baggage and ammunition of the relieving force had been left, together with an immense convoy of elephants, camels, horses, and camp-followers, with hundreds of carts laden with stores and provisions—it not having been imagined for a moment, but that, upon storming the city, the rebels would have fled across the Goomtee. This anticipation was unfortunately not realised; and, in a very short time, both the Alumbagh and the residency were surrounded by hostile masses. The system of communicating by signals of various-coloured flags, had not then been organised between the stations; and, consequently, each party was dependent for information as to the events around them, upon the precarious assistance of spies.

It seems, that the fact of a renewed siege being more than probable, was contemplated by the original defenders of the residency from the moment the actual numbers of the relieving force became

* See *ante*, p. 8.

known to them. They had already had sufficient experience of the indomitable perseverance of the enemy, to be assured that, however their courage might fail upon the open field, they would never think of leaving the city until driven out of it at the point of the bayonet; and that, until each fortified house and battery yet in their possession was stormed and cleared out, no portion of the city of Lucknow could be securely held. They knew that every man of the rebel host that swarmed around them, would fight, be beaten, and, if not killed, would return and fight again; for they were acknowledged rebels and murderers: and they knew, that for them to fall into the hands of the Europeans, was to meet with death in its most ignominious shape, unless they met it in the field. They fought, therefore, with the recklessness of a despair for which there was no remedy but extermination.

On the day following the entry of the relieving column, under General Havelock, it was found requisite to dislodge the enemy from some of the posts occupied by them, in too close proximity to the enclosure; and, with this view, 150 men of the 32nd regiment, under Major Lowe, of that corps, made a sortie, for the purpose of clearing the Captanka bazaar in front of the residency kitchen-garden, and the adjacent houses. Two detachments of this small force, led by Captain Bassano and Captain Hughes, issued out, under cover of some long grass and shrubs, near the Redan battery; while a third party, under Captain Lawrence, passing out by Innes' garrison, suddenly rushed upon the surprised enemy, captured a battery of three guns, and drove the panic-stricken rebels into the river, where those who were not drowned were shot down to a man.

The party led by Captain Hughes took the direction of the iron bridge, near which they spiked two mortars; and, before retiring, blew up a powder-magazine belonging to the enemy. Unfortunately, the gallant commander was mortally wounded in the daring exploit. As trophies of the success of his expedition, Major Lowe brought back to the intrenchments with him, one 18-pounder, one 9-pounder, one 6-pounder, and four smaller guns.

On the 27th, another sortie was made by Major Stephenson, with the whole of the 1st Madras fusiliers, the object being to destroy the Garden battery. The enemy, on their approach, at first abandoned the post, but still fired on their assailants from all points; and at length collected in such force, that the English were compelled to return to the shelter of the intrenchments; first, however, spiking three guns, and destroying the battery. The object of the sortie was partly frustrated by the delay of the blasting party, who were to have burst the guns; besides which, the water intended for the purpose had been drank by the men as they came along. This affair was attended with the loss of valuable lives, as well as some degree of disappointment.

The attention of the enemy was kept alive by continuous sorties from the garrison, in most of which the object of the assailants was successfully accomplished; and it was attempted to make the Cawnpore-road a line of communication by openings from house to house along the direct route; but the idea had to be abandoned when, in the course of the progress, a mosque intervened, so strongly fortified and garrisoned with native riflemen, that it could not be taken without an immense sacrifice of life. The houses progressively occupied as a covered way were therefore rendered untenable for the enemy, and abandoned; and redoubled exertions were made in repairing the defences of the old position, and in constructing batteries, and forming intrenchments within and before the new one. Owing to the great number of camp-followers who had come in with the Oude field force, the requisite labour was supplied far more readily than before; and the sepoys still in the garrison, who, in time of peace, would have urged their *caste* as a reason for not handling a spade, now worked for the common safety without remonstrance.

In this way, between sorties of the garrison, repelling attacks by the rebels, and strengthening the fortifications of the residency and its outposts, time sped on through the month of October. No reliable communication could yet be held with the world beyond the limits of the position held by the troops, and nothing remained for the inhabitants of the enclosure but to await with patience the arrival of a force that should really restore them to liberty.

Early in October, a division order, highly and deservedly complimentary to the garrison, was issued by Major-general Sir James Outram. By that document, the general tendered to Brigadier Inglis, and "to every

individual member of the garrison, the assurance of his confidence, that their services would be regarded by the government under which they were immediately serving, by the British nation, and by her gracious majesty, with equal admiration to that with which he was himself impressed." The order then proceeds as follows:—"The major-general believes that the annals of warfare contain no brighter page than that which will record the bravery, fortitude, vigilance, and patient endurance of hardships, privation, and fatigue, displayed by the garrison of Lucknow; and he is very conscious that his unskilled pen must needs fail adequately to convey to the right honourable the governor-general of India, and his excellency the commander-in-chief, the profound sense of the merits of that garrison, which has been forced on his mind by a careful consideration of the almost incredible difficulties with which they have had to contend.

"The term 'illustrious' was well and happily applied by a former governor-general of India, to the garrison of Jellalabad; but some far more laudatory epithet (if such the English language contains) is due, the major-general considers, to the brave men whom Brigadier Inglis has commanded with undeviating success, and untarnished honour, through the late memorable siege; for while the devoted band of heroes who so nobly maintained the honour of their country's arms, under Sir R. Sale, were seldom exposed to actual attack, the Lucknow garrison, of inferior strength, have, in addition to a series of fierce assaults gallantly and successfully repulsed, been for three weeks exposed to a nearly incessant fire from strong and commanding positions, held by an enemy of overwhelming force, possessing powerful artillery, having at their command the whole resources of what was but recently a kingdom, and animated by an insane and bloodthirsty fanaticism.

"It is a source of heartfelt satisfaction to the major-general, to be able, to a certain extent, to confer on the native portion of the garrison an instalment of those rewards which their gallant and grateful commander has sought for them, and which he is very certain the governor-general will bestow in full; and though the major-general, as regards the European portion of the garrison, cannot do more than give his most earnest and hearty support to the recommendations of the brigadier, he feels assured that the governor-general of India will fully and publicly manifest his appreciation of their distinguished services, and that our beloved sovereign will herself deign to convey to them some gracious expression of royal approbation of their conduct.

"Brigadier Inglis has borne generous testimony to the bravery, vigilance, devotedness, and good conduct of all ranks; and to all ranks, as the local representative of the British Indian government, the major-general tenders his warmest acknowledgments. He would fain offer his special congratulations and thanks to the European and Eurasian portion of the garrison, whom Brigadier Inglis has particularly noticed; but, by doing so, he would forestal the governor-general in the exercise of what the major-general is assured will be one of the most pleasing acts of his official life."

Soon after the promulgation of the above divisional order, the tide of promotion set in upon the heroic defenders of Lucknow, and most of the officers obtained a step in rank. The immediate recognition, by the governor-general, of the services rendered by the men, was embodied in a general order already referred to;* the effect of which was, that until their numbers were augmented by the native troops with Sir Colin Campbell, there was no longer a private among the native soldiers of the residency garrisons. Such recognition was prompt and generous on the part of the Indian government; but the honours at the disposal of the authorities at home were more tardily dispensed, so far as the troops in her majesty's service were concerned.

During the interval that had elapsed since the first investment of the English position by the rebels, the latter had chosen for themselves a king, by way of a rallying point for Indian loyalty. This puppet was a natural son of the deposed king of Oude, then in captivity at Fort William, whose successor his adherents proposed to recognise as a sort of tributary prince to the king of Delhi. Being a child only eight or ten years old, the real power was vested in a minister and a council of state. The office of the former was conferred upon a dignitary of the late court, named Shirreff-u-Dowlah. The post of commander-in-chief of the army of Oude was assumed by Hissamut-u-Dowlah; and the council of state was formed of the late king's principal servants, the chiefs and talookdars,

* See *ante*, p. 56.

and the self-elected leaders of the rebel army—the subordinate officers of which were elected by the sepoys; and they, in turn, chose their commander: and thus a framework for the future native government of Oude was presumed to be established.

The month of November dawned but gloomily upon the careworn inhabitants of the residency. Their resources were rapidly diminishing; their means of supply uncertain, and probably more distant than ever. But they were not without hope; for vague rumours had reached them of a powerful effort that would be made for the final relief of the garrison by the commander-in-chief in person; and they were compelled to endure the prolonged torture of suspense for a while, that they might the more enjoy the blessing of a glorious reality.

But while, during this tedious interval, the British residents at Lucknow were stoutly maintaining their ground against the merciless traitors by whom they had been so long surrounded, the position of the small detachment, with its helpless charge of sick and wounded left at Alumbagh, was at first almost as desperate. When General Havelock left 200 men at that post, with four guns, to protect the sick and wounded of his force, with a large convoy of vehicles, animals, baggage, ammunition, and stores, besides a crowd of camp-followers, he did not for an instant imagine, that he would be cut off from them, and that the residency and the Alumbagh would presently become objects of two separate and distinct sieges. Such, however, was the case. Not a soldier could pass from the one place to the other; and it was with the greatest difficulty that a messenger could convey a small note rolled up in a quill, or concealed between the soles of his shoe. The place was known to be tolerably well fortified, and capable of resisting an assault; but still, as far as mutual support was concerned, it was perfectly isolated and inaccessible. Fortunately, the enemy preferred to concentrate his numbers in and immediately around Lucknow, and, consequently, did not appear in any great numbers on the Cawnpore side of Alumbagh; and the effect of this arrangement was, that reinforcements were enabled ultimately to reach the Alumbagh, although they could not yet penetrate the armed masses that occupied the three miles of distance between the latter and the residency. Thus, on the 3rd of October, a convoy of provisions, with 300 men of the 64th regiment, under Major Bingham, started from Cawnpore, and reached the Alumbagh without obstruction by the enemy; but could advance no further. On the 14th, a second convoy, under Major Barnston, of the 78th highlanders, was also dispatched from Cawnpore; but, on the way, it was attacked in such force that it could not reach the Alumbagh, and therefore returned—having, with great difficulty, and the loss of some valuable lives, prevented the supplies from falling into the hands of the enemy. A subsequent attempt was more successful; and, upon the whole, the Alumbagh was comparatively unmolested during the entire period: but much sickness prevailed within the place, owing to the deficiency of space and fresh air, as well as from scanty food in the intervals between the arrival of the different convoys of provisions, &c.

We must now direct attention to the movements of the commander-in-chief, who, it will be recollected, had remained at the seat of government after his arrival in India, for the purpose of concerting measures with the governor-general for the suppression of the revolt and the resettlement of the country, and also to mature the plan of operations for the campaign before him. That the delay in assuming the command in the field was not without beneficial result, as regarded the welfare of the future native army, may be conjectured from the promulgation of a most important order, in which the commander-in-chief observes, that "it is obviously necessary that all officers serving in India should make themselves acquainted with the Hindostani language;" and he desires that commanding officers of regiments will take measures for urging forward the instruction of their officers, and more particularly of the younger captains and subalterns of their respective corps. The order then proceeds thus:—

"The interpreter of the regiment, whose office has hitherto been almost a sinecure, will institute a class under the orders of the commanding officer, and will give, when it is possible, one lecture a-day on the Hindostani language. The subalterns and younger captains are to be ordered to attend these lectures. Commanding officers are directed to support the interpreter by occasional attendance at the lectures, as at an instruction parade; and they will assist

the officers whom it is proposed to instruct, in procuring moonshees, with the help of the interpreter."

The commander-in-chief then declares his intention of acting up to the spirit of the instructions of his royal highness the Duke of Cambridge, as expressed in the government general order (No. 538, of 1857), by which the staff of the army in India was opened to her majesty's service; and observes, that "an officer is clearly not fitted for the lowest staff appointment in India, who has not at least a colloquial knowledge of the Hindostani language." Sir Colin then directed, that at the expiration of six months after their arrival in India, divisional generals should report as to the progress made by their aides-de-camp; and officers then in India, were not to be taken on the personal staff of any general, until they were declared to have acquired such colloquial facility.

Returns were to be sent in, on the 1st of January and the 1st of July, to head-quarters, from regiments, showing the names of all the officers, and the progress made by them according to the order; such return being signed by the interpreter, and countersigned by the commanding officer of the regiment. Sir Colin then observes, in conclusion—"There is no time so favourable for the colloquial study of the Hindostani language, as when a regiment is encamped; and the commander-in-chief, therefore, will hear of no delay in the execution of this order, because the corps are not in quarters."

Had this regulation been in force only two years earlier, in all probability the tremendous conspiracy that has convulsed India would not have reached maturity; since, if the European officers of the native regiments had been able to understand the language of the men under their command, it is impossible but that the wide-spread plot must have been discovered before it was ripe for execution, and the evil could have been nipped in the bud. The promulgation of this order was a positive condemnation of the system hitherto tolerated, as regards the intercourse between the European officers and the native soldiers.

After having arranged with the governor-general the plans to be followed in the existing emergency, and provided for the transport of reinforcements as fast as they should arrive at Calcutta, Sir Colin Campbell himself left the capital on the 28th of October, to take command of the army in the field for the relief of Lucknow.

The progress of the commander-in-chief from Calcutta to the scene of operations was unattended by any of the pomp or parade that had hitherto characterised the movements of personages holding distinguished rank in India. Merely accompanied by three or four officers of his staff, he rapidly pursued his course towards Oude, *viâ* Benares and Cawnpore; and, in his haste and recklessness of personal danger, had nearly rushed into a dilemma that might have materially influenced the future fortune of the rebels. On the 31st of October he arrived at Benares, where he held a military *levée*, and afterwards had an interview with the lieutenant-governor of the province. After these formalities had been disposed of, Sir Colin and his attendants left for Allahabad at one in the afternoon. Shortly after leaving, and while yet on the Benares side of Shergotty, the party suddenly came within view of a detachment of the fugitive and mutinous 32nd, who were leisurely crossing the country from Deoghur, in the Santhal district. The rebels had with them fourteen elephants, and a strong body of the 12th irregular cavalry, some of whom appeared to be inclined to approach the carriages in which the commander-in-chief and the officers accompanying him were riding. The discovery of the peril was fortunately made while there was yet time to escape by turning back, which the party did with all speed for a distance of ten miles, when they met with some soldiers in a bullock-train, by whom the commander-in-chief was then safely escorted on his route to Allahabad, from whence he proceeded with all possible dispatch to Cawnpore.

Remaining at the latter place no longer than was necessary to perfect his arrangements, Sir Colin, on the 9th of November, crossed the Ganges; and, on the same day, joined the force under the command of Brigadier Hope Grant, which awaited his arrival in camp at Bunnee bridge, about seven miles from the Alumbagh. The troops here collected by the 12th of November, consisted of her majesty's 8th, 53rd, 75th, and 93rd regiments of infantry; two regiments of Punjab infantry, and a small party of native sappers and miners; her majesty's 9th lancers, and detachments of Sikh cavalry and Hodson's horse. Here, also, awaited the commander-in-chief, Cap-

tain Peel's naval brigade, with eight guns, ten guns of the horse artillery, six light field-pieces, and a heavy field battery of the royal artillery; the whole force numbering about 2,700 infantry, and 700 cavalry.

It had become known to Sir James Outram, that the force commanded by Sir Colin Campbell was approaching Lucknow, and it was deemed essential that a plan of the city and residency should be forwarded to him for his guidance in the advance: it was also important that some intelligent person, well acquainted with the locality of both, who could explain the relative positions, and act as guide if required, should be employed on the hazardous mission. For this purpose, a civilian named Kavanagh, who had distinguished himself in several sorties he had accompanied in the capacity of assistant-field-engineer, volunteered to go to the commander-in-chief's camp; and, his offer being accepted, he set out, and fortunately succeeded in accomplishing his object. Mr. Kavanagh's narrative of his adventure is interesting; and the exploit altogether is entitled to more than passing notice, for its daring and its successful result. He says—

"While passing through the intrenchment of Lucknow about 10 o'clock A.M. on the 9th instant, I learnt that a spy had come in from Cawnpore, and that he was going back in the night as far as Alumbagh with despatches to his excellency Sir Colin Campbell, the commander-in-chief, who, it was said, was approaching Lucknow with five or six thousand men.

"I sought out the spy, whose name is ———, and who was in the court of the deputy-commissioner of Duriabad before the outbreak in Oude. He had taken letters from the intrenchment before, but I had never seen him till now. I found him intelligent, and imparted to him my desire to venture in disguise to Alumbagh in his company. He hesitated a great deal at acting as my guide, but made no attempt to exaggerate the dangers of the road. He merely urged that there was more chance of detection by our going together, and proposed that we should take different roads and meet outside of the city, to which I objected. I left him to transact some business, my mind dwelling all the time on the means of accomplishing my object.

"I had, some days previously, witnessed the preparation of plans which were being made by direction of Sir James Outram, to assist the commander-in-chief in his march into Lucknow for the relief of the besieged; and it then occurred to me that some one with the requisite local knowledge ought to attempt to reach his excellency's camp beyond or at Alumbagh. The news of Sir Colin Campbell's advance revived the ideas, and I made up my mind to go myself, at two o'clock, after finishing the business I was engaged upon. I mentioned to Colonel R. Napier, chief of Sir James Outram's staff, that I was willing to proceed through the enemy to Alumbagh, if the general thought my doing so would be of service to the commander-in-chief. He was surprised at the offer, and seemed to regard the enterprise as fraught with too much danger to be assented to; but he did me the favour of communicating the offer to Sir James Outram, because he considered that my zeal deserved to be brought to his notice.

"Sir James did not encourage me to undertake the journey, declaring that he thought it so dangerous that he would not himself have asked any officer to attempt it. I, however, spoke so confidently of success, and treated the dangers so lightly, that he at last yielded, and did me the honour of adding, that if I succeeded in reaching the commander-in-chief, my knowledge would be a great help to him.

"I secretly arranged for a disguise, so that my departure might not be known to my wife, as she was not well enough to bear the prospect of an eternal separation. When I left home, about seven o'clock in the evening, she thought I was going on duty for the night to the mines, for I was working as an assistant-field-engineer by order of Sir James Outram.

"By half-past seven o'clock my disguise was completed; and when I entered the room of Colonel Napier, no one in it recognised me. I was dressed as a budmash, or as an irregular soldier of the city, with sword and shield, native-made shoes, tight trowsers, a yellow silk koortah over a tight-fitting white muslin shirt, a yellow-coloured chintz sheet thrown round my shoulders, a cream-coloured turban, and a white waistband or kumurbund. My face down to the shoulders, and my hands to the wrists, were coloured with lamp-black, the cork used being dipped in oil to cause the colour to adhere a little. I could get nothing better. I had little confidence in the disguise of my features, and I trusted more to the darkness of the night: but Sir James Outram and his staff seemed satisfied, and, after being provided with a small double-barrelled pistol, and a pair of broad pyjamahs over the tight drawers, I proceeded, with Kunoujee Lal, to the right bank of the river Goomtee, running north of our intrenchment, accompanied by Captain Hardinge of the irregular cavalry.

"Here we undressed and quietly forded the river, which was only about four feet and a-half deep, and about a hundred yards wide at this point. My courage failed me while in the water, and if my guide had been within reach, I should, perhaps, have pulled him back and abandoned the enterprise. But he waded quickly through the stream, and, reaching the opposite bank, went crouching up a ditch for three hundred yards, to a grove of low trees on the edge of a pond, where we stopped to dress. While we were here, a man came down to the pond to wash, and went away again without observing us.

"My confidence now returned to me, and, with my tulwar resting on my shoulder, we advanced into the huts in front, where I accosted a matchlockman, who answered to my remark, that the night was cold, 'It is very cold; in fact, it *is* a cold night.' I passed him, adding that it would be colder by-and-bye.

"After going six or seven hundred yards further, we reached the iron bridge over the Goomtee, where we were stopped and called over by a native officer, who was seated in an upper-storied house, and

seemed to be in command of a cavalry picket, whose horses were near the place, saddled. My guide advanced to the light, and I stayed a little back in the shade. After being told that we had come from Mundeon (our old cantonment, and then in the possession of the enemy), and that we were going into the city to our homes, he let us proceed. We continued on along the left bank of the river to the stone bridge, which is about eight or nine hundred yards from the iron bridge, passing unnoticed through a number of sepoys and matchlockmen, some of whom were escorting persons of rank in palanquins preceded by torches.

"Recrossing the Goomtee by the stone bridge, we went by a sentry unobserved, who was closely questioning a dirtily-dressed native, and into the chouk, or principal street of the city of Lucknow, which was not illuminated as much as it used to be previous to the siege, nor was it so crowded. I jostled against several armed men in the street without being spoken to, and only met one guard of seven sepoys, who were amusing themselves with some women of pleasure.

"When issuing from the city into the country, we were challenged by a chowkeedar or watchman, who, without stopping us, merely asked us who we were. The part of the city traversed that night by me, seemed to have been deserted by at least a third of its inhabitants.

"I was in great spirits when we reached the green fields, into which I had not been for five months. Everything around us smelt sweet, and a carrot I took from the road-side was the most delicious I had ever tasted. I gave vent to my feelings in a conversation with Kunoujee Lal, who joined in my admiration of the province of Oude, and lamentation that it was now in the hands of wretches whose misgovernment and rapacity were ruining it.

"A further walk of a few miles was accomplished in high spirits. But there was trouble before us. We had taken the wrong road, and were now quite out of our way in the Dil Koosha park, which was occupied by the enemy. I went within twenty yards of two guns to see what strength they were, and returned to the guide, who was in great alarm, and begged I would not distrust him because of the mistake, as it was caused by his anxiety to take me away from the pickets of the enemy. I bade him not to be frightened of me, for I was not annoyed, as such accidents were not unfrequent even when there was no danger to be avoided. It was now about midnight. We endeavoured to persuade a cultivator, who was watching his crop, to show us the way for a short distance, but he urged old age and lameness; and another, whom I peremptorily told to come with us, ran off screaming, and alarmed the whole village. We next walked quickly away into the canal running under the Charbagh, in which I fell several times, owing to my shoes being wet and slippery, and my feet sore. The shoes were hard and tight, and had rubbed the skin off my toes, and cut into the flesh above the heels.

"In two hours more we were again on the right direction, two women in a village we passed having kindly helped us to find it. About two o'clock we reached an advanced picket of sepoys, who told us the way, after asking where we had come from and whither we were going. I thought it safer to go up to the picket than to try to pass them unobserved.

"Kunoujee Lal now begged I would not press him to take me into Alumbagh, as he did not know the way in, and the enemy were strongly posted around the place. I was tired and in pain from the shoes, and would therefore have preferred going into Alumbagh; but as the guide feared attempting it, I desired him to go on to the camp of the commander-in-chief, which he said was near Bunnee (a village eighteen miles from Lucknow), upon the Cawnpore-road. The moon had risen by this time, and we could see well ahead.

"By three o'clock we arrived at a grove of mango trees, situated on a plain, in which a man was singing at the top of his voice. I thought he was a villager, but he got alarmed on hearing us approach, and astonished us too by calling out a guard of twenty-five sepoys, all of whom asked questions. Kunoujee Lal here lost heart for the first time, and threw away the letter entrusted to him for Sir Colin Campbell. I kept mine safe in my turban. We satisfied the guard that we were poor men travelling to Umroula, a village two miles this side of the chief's camp, to inform a friend of the death of his brother by a shot from the British intrenchment at Lucknow, and they told us the road. They appeared to be greatly relieved on discovering that it was not their terrible foe, who was only a few miles in advance of them. We went in the direction indicated by them, and after walking for half-an-hour, we got into a jheel or swamp, which are numerous and large in Oude. We had to wade through it for two hours up to our waists in water, and through weeds; but before we found out that we were in a jheel, we had gone too far to recede. I was nearly exhausted on getting out of the water, having made great exertions to force our way through the weeds, and to prevent the colour being washed off my face. It was nearly gone from my hands.

"I now rested for fifteen minutes, despite of the remonstrances of the guide, and went forward, passing between two pickets of the enemy, who had no sentries thrown out. It was near four o'clock in the morning when I stopped at the corner of a tope, or grove of trees, to sleep for an hour, which Kunoujee Lal entreated I would not do; but I thought he overrated the danger, and, lying down, I told him to see if there was any one in the grove who would tell him where we then were.

"We had not gone far when I heard the English challenge, 'Who comes there,' with a native accent. We had reached a British cavalry outpost. My eyes filled with joyful tears, and I shook the Sikh officer in charge of the picket heartily by the hand. The old soldier was as pleased as myself when he heard from whence I had come, and he was good enough to send two of his men to conduct me to the camp of the advanced guard. An officer of her majesty's 9th lancers, who was visiting his pickets, met me on the way, and took me to his tent, where I got dry stockings and trowsers, and, what I much needed, a glass of brandy, a liquor I had not tasted for nearly two months.

"I thanked God for having safely conducted me through this dangerous enterprise, and Kunoujee Lal for the courage and intelligence with which he had conducted himself during this trying night. When we were questioned, he let me speak as little as possible. He always had a ready answer; and I feel that I am indebted to him in a great measure, more than to myself, for my escape. It will give me great satisfaction to hear that he has been suitably rewarded.

"In undertaking this enterprise, I was actuated

by a sense of duty, believing that I could be of use to his excellency the commander-in-chief, when approaching, for its relief, the besieged garrison, which had heroically resisted the attack of thirty times its own number for five months, within a weak and irregular intrenchment; and secondly, because I was anxious to perform some service which would ensure to me the honour of wearing our most gracious majesty's cross.

"My reception by Sir Colin Campbell and his staff was cordial and kind to the utmost degree: and if I never have more than the remembrance of their condescension, and of the heartfelt congratulations of Sir James Outram and of all the officers of his garrison, on my safe return to them, I shall not repine; though, to be sure, having the Victoria Cross would make me a prouder and a happier man.

"JAMES KAVANAGH.

"Camp, Alumbagh, 24th November, 1857."

At length, on the 13th of November, the troops were put in motion *en route* for the Alumbagh; but on approaching a small fort to the right of the position, named Jellalabad, the advanced column was suddenly attacked by a strong body of the rebels, who were there posted. A very short time sufficed to dispose of this obstruction, as they were broken up and dispersed by a brilliant charge of Hodson's irregular horse, led by Lieutenant Gough; and the fort being immediately taken possession of, was dismantled and rendered untenable by the enemy. This affair having been disposed of, Sir Colin proceeded to the Alumbagh, where he deposited his baggage under charge of the 75th regiment; and further reinforcements having come up, he availed himself of the information afforded by the plan and Kavanagh's explanations, and determined to approach the city by skirting the eastern and northern suburbs, and thus avoid the fortified buildings and street obstructions that lay in the direct route to the residency from the Alumbagh. His plan of operation in the direction chosen, was to batter down the enemy's defences step by step and day by day, so as to form a passage for his troops with comparatively trifling loss of life. He saw, by the plan, that at the eastern extremity of the town there was a large open space, in which the troops could act; and which, although sprinkled with mosques, palaces, and other large buildings, was free from those deep narrow lanes or defiles that had been so perilous in the advance of Havelock and Outram, and he proposed to make the capture of each of these buildings the base of operations for attacks on other posts nearer the heart of the city, until at length the residency could be reached.

On the morning of the 14th, Sir Colin advanced from the Alumbagh, his first point of attack being a hunting-palace of the late kings of Oude, called Dil Koosha (Heart's Delight), situated on an eminence, in a beautiful and extensive park. As he approached the latter, his leading column was met by a long line of musketry fire: reinforcements were sent to the front, and, after a running fight of about two hours, the position was abandoned by the enemy, who were driven down the hill to the Martinière college, about half a mile distant, from whence they were speedily ejected, and pursued across the garden and park of that establishment, and thence beyond the canal into the streets of the city. The commander-in-chief then made the Dil Koosha palace his head-quarters, and some heavy guns being placed at the side of the canal, the enemy was kept in check for that night. The result of this day's operations was most propitious; for not only had an advantageous post been secured, which commanded the whole eastern suburb, but he had brought thus far in safety a large supply of provisions and stores for the use of the beleaguered garrison, of which he was now within view.

After completing his arrangements, and exchanging signals with Havelock and Outram on the 15th, the commander-in-chief resumed active operations on the following day. Leaving every description of unnecessary baggage at the Dil Koosha, and supplying every soldier of his force with food in his havresack for three days, he crossed the canal, and advanced to the Secunderbagh (Alexander's Garden), a very extensive building of strong masonry, in the midst of a large garden encircled by a high wall, and loopholed in all directions for musketry. Its natural advantages for defence were made the most of by the enemy, who had now become desperate, and were evidently resolved to defend it to the last. The post was strongly garrisoned by the insurgents, who also occupied a fortified village about a hundred yards distant from it, and through which the passage of the troops lay.

The attack upon the Secunderbagh was first made by the column under Brigadier Hope. As it advanced, a murderous fire was kept up on the troops, who were, consequently, ordered to move on in skirmishing order. The horse artillery and heavy field guns were quickly brought up to answer the enemy's fire, which they did effec-

tually; and the brigadier gallantly dashing forward with his advance, after overcoming a well-sustained resistance, drove the enemy out of the village into the main building, which was then ordered to be stormed.

The 4th Sikhs had been directed to lead the attack; while the 93d highlanders, and detachments from the 53rd and other regiments, were to cover their operations. The Europeans, however, had not patience enough for this; and jealous and fearful lest the Sikhs should gain the greatest honour, they all rushed forward, vying with each other who should be first in.

A small breach had been effected in one of the walls, but only a small body could enter at once. Fortunately, the enemy had expected the attack from a different quarter, and this breach was in one of the most weakly-guarded points. A considerable number of men had therefore contrived to get in before the guard could obtain reinforcements; yet numbers fell. The men dashed in as quickly as the narrow breach permitted, but could not pass fast enough for their ardour. They approached under the very loopholes of the enemy, and, hoisting their caps on their bayonets as a decoy, lay down, while the insurgents fired a volley at their supposed heads; and then, before they could again load, started up, tore down the iron bars from the windows, and sprang into the midst of their enemies.

The rebels fought desperately, but vainly, against the stalwart avengers of Englishwomen and children. The slaughter was terrific; for nothing but blood would appease the infuriated soldiers. On the following day, 2,000 carcasses of the rebel host were counted within the walls of that fearful house of vengeance; and the gateway, the principal room, and the side chambers, were literally saturated with blood, and piled up with the dead and dying. No mercy was shown; and when some wretch had cowardice enough (which was rarely the case) to throw down his arms and sue for life, "Cawnpore" was hissed into his ear, and a thrust of the bayonet put an end to his existence.

These terrible operations occupied nearly three hours, and there was yet more work in store for the wearied troops, ere they could desist from the sanguinary labours of that day. While the attack on the Secunderbagh was at its height, the troops had been annoyed by a murderous fire, poured upon them from an extensive building, from which it became necessary to dislodge the enemy. This was the Shah Nujeeff, consisting of a large mosque, having a domed roof, with a loopholed parapet; and four minarets, commanding the whole edifice, were filled with riflemen. This building was situated in a fine garden surrounded by high walls, loopholed, and filled with insurgent troops. The entrance had been blocked up with masonry, and, in every point, the Shah Nujeeff was carefully barricaded and fortified.

Against these buildings Captain Peel now advanced with the naval brigade, bringing his heavy 68-pounders within a few yards of the walls; and, aided by a mortar battery and a field battery of Bengal artillery, he commenced a heavy cannonade, which, during several hours, was answered by a well-sustained fire from the enemy. The moment for the assault having arrived, Brigadier Hope led on his highlanders, supported by the battalion under Major Barnston, who rushed through the breaches made by the heavy guns, and, in a comparatively short period, filled the Shah Nujeeff with the corpses of its defenders. The troops then ceased operations for the day, and, for the next few hours, reposed on the bloody scene of their triumphs. In his despatches relating to this spirited affair, the commander-in-chief said—"Captain Peel led up his heavy guns with extraordinary gallantry to within a few yards of the building, to batter the massive stone walls. The withering fire of the highlanders effectually covered the naval brigade from great loss; but it was an action almost unexampled in war. Captain Peel behaved very much as if he had been laying the *Shannon* alongside an enemy's frigate."

On the next day (the 17th), the building denominated the Mess-house was cannonaded by the heavy guns of the naval brigade. The building, which stood on a considerable eminence, consisted of a large two-storied flat-terraced house, flanked by two square turrets, and protected by a deep ditch and a loopholed mud wall. After the 68-pounders, aided by some shells from a mortar battery in the Fureed Buksh palace, had inflicted some damage, orders were given to storm the place; and the men of the 53rd and 90th regiments, followed by some Sikhs, rapidly stepping forward, surmounted all obstacles, and rushing into the building, carried dismay and death among the enemy. The Observatory, or Banks'

house, in the rear of the mess-house, was next taken by a party of Sikhs, who vied with British soldiers in valour and determination; and on that day, and the following one, Sir Colin Campbell from one side, and General Havelock on the other, obtained possession of all the houses between the new intrenchments, the mess-house, and the Motee Mahal (Pearl Palace.) To effect this co-operation by the forces, it had been agreed, by signal and messages, that as soon as Sir Colin should reach the Secunderbagh, the outer wall of the eastern garden of the Fureed Buksh, in which the enemy had already attempted several breaches, should be thrown down by mines previously prepared; that two powerful batteries, erected in the enclosure, should then open on the insurgents in front; and that, after the effect desired had been produced, the troops should storm two buildings, known as the Hern Khana, or deer-house, and the Engine-house. This was successfully accomplished. At about eleven o'clock the operations began. The mines were exploded, the wall demolished; the works beyond were shelled by mortars; two of the mines at the Hern Khana were charged with destructive effect; and the infantry, eager for a little active work after being many weeks pent up within their intrenchments, dashed through the Chuttur Munzil, and carried all before them at the point of the bayonet.

Every obstacle to the junction of the forces was now removed; and on the afternoon of the 17th of November, Sir Colin Campbell, while the fire was still heavy, was met by Generals Outram and Havelock: a loud, long-continued cheer burst from the troops, as the latter, with their staff, cordially shook hands with the commander-in-chief, and welcomed him as the deliverer of Lucknow.

The important operations in connection with this gratifying event were, during the second and third weeks of November, under the immediate personal control of Sir Colin Campbell, as commander-in-chief, General Mansfield officiating as chief of his staff. Brigadier Hope Grant was in command of the column formerly distinguished as Greathed's, which constituted the nucleus of Sir Colin's force. Colonel Greathed, raised to the rank of brigadier-general, in recognition of his services, commanded one of the brigades of infantry; and Brigadiers Russell and Adrian Hope were at the head of two others. Brigadier Little commanded the cavalry; Brigadier Crauford the artillery; Lieutenant Lennox the engineers; and Captain Peel the naval brigade. The result of the operations in this quarter produced to Grant and Peel the honorary distinctions of K.C.B., and they consequently became Sir James Hope Grant, and Sir William Peel. The whole of the officers and troops employed were the objects of warm eulogium by the government, and of well-deserved admiration by all classes of their fellow-countrymen.

The commander-in-chief's crowning success at Lucknow was not obtained without severe loss; as 122 officers and men were killed, and 345 wounded; of whom many afterwards died of their wounds. Sir Colin himself received a slight wound, which did not incapacitate him from duty. The loss of the enemy was known to have been frightfully severe, and not less than from three to four thousand. They fought at the Secunderbagh and the Shah Nujeeff with a reckless desperation, which rendered immense slaughter inevitable; and the powerful artillery of the naval brigade mowed them down like grass.

The delight with which the unfortunate *détenus* of the residency welcomed Sir Colin Campbell and his noble band, was only equalled by that with which the arrival of General Havelock's heroes had been greeted two months previous. The assurance of positive safety, and of freedom from the terrible thraldom in which they had existed for nearly six months, cheered all hearts; and the bodings of the most desponding were changed to aspirations of thankfulness and joy. They knew they were soon to be free; that they would once more taste the sweets of liberty, and realise the enjoyments that life had yet in store for them. A few hours enabled the newcomers to spread forth some of the supplies which their commissariat had provided; and once more the luxuries of wheaten bread, fresh butter, oranges, and other articles (which are not luxuries save to those unable to obtain them) were distributed: and then came the still greater enjoyment afforded by the arrival of several "cart-loads" of letters and newspapers from England. So long debarred as the occupants of the residency had been from all communication with the outer world, the intelligence thus conveyed to them was looked to with painful anxiety. The post-

office was besieged with earnest inquirers; and the newly-resumed duties of the post-master were, for some time, anything but a sinecure.

In the journal of Lady Inglis, recording many incidents of the siege, this period of Lucknow life is described as follows:—

"To-day (18th of November) we have had a quantity of English letters, the first we have had for six months. The very sight of them made us feel quite bewildered; and I have not yet been able to read more than one. I need not say how much I have thought of you all—how many, many, sad hearts and homes there must be in England just now: and really, at present, one cannot see an end to our troubles. The whole of Bengal is in such an unsettled state, that no one can tell when or where a fresh disturbance may break out. Sir Colin is much liked; he is living now exactly as a private soldier; takes his rations and lies down wherever he can to rest. This the men like; and he is a fine soldier."

It was not the intention of the commander-in-chief to remain at Lucknow longer time than was necessary to rest his troops, and remove the people dependent upon them for protection. Meanwhile, he remained with his army in occupation of the positions they had taken outside, and once only visited the intrenchments, where he was welcomed with the acclaim due to a conqueror and a liberator. On the evening of his arrival, it was announced that every European was to leave Lucknow, and, for the present, retire to Cawnpore. The intelligence was received by many with a feeling of disappointment; for they had expected the immediate restoration of British authority in the place, and that the staff-officers and civilians would resume their former duties under their accustomed easy conditions. Such a pleasant transition had not, however, entered into the strategical arrangements of Sir Colin Campbell, who had fought his way to Lucknow expressly to liberate them from the foes that surrounded it, and not to maintain them there at a daily cost of valuable lives; seeing that the enemy—who notwithstanding the enormous losses sustained, still numbered 50,000 fighting-men in and near the city—showed no intention to retreat, but rather a determination to defend the portions of the place still in their hands, street by street and house by house. To attack such an army with a force originally not more than a tenth part of their numbers, and already much reduced, would have been a wanton sacrifice of brave men, and might have risked the necessity for a third relief; it was, therefore, not to be thought of, while it could possibly be avoided. An order was consequently issued, not only that all were to depart, but to depart at once. The sick and wounded were to be removed directly from the residency to the Dil Koosha, a distance of four miles in a straight line, but over six by the circuitous route necessary to be taken to avoid the enemy. The women and children were to proceed to the same halting-place on the following day, and the bulk of the soldiers were to leave the position when all else had safely departed. An encampment was formed in the Dil Koosha park, with such necessaries and comforts as could be hastily brought together for the sick and wounded, during the brief sojourn necessary for organising a convoy to Cawnpore. As only a small amount of baggage was allowed for each person, most of the property of the residents was necessarily left behind; and, according to the description of the affair by Mr. Rees, "such a scene as the residency then presented was really sad to behold. Women's apparel, children's clothes, rich dresses, men's clothing, cooking-utensils, plate, and china-ware; all sorts of merchandise and household furniture, coverings, bedding, &c.—each and everything was left behind. Anything might be had merely for the taking of it; and everywhere were seen soldiers and civilians helping themselves to what but the day before only large sums could have purchased from the owners. It was really annoying to think that the insurgents would, after all, obtain what we could not take away. Fortunately, our European articles of dress could be of little use to them."*

Preparatory to the abandonment of the residency, the guns were removed from the batteries; and great caution was necessary to avoid exciting suspicion of the intended movement: the stores and the Company's treasure, amounting to twenty-three lacs of rupees, which had been safely preserved through all the perils of the past six months, were also to be removed to the Dil Koosha, with the non-combatants and state prisoners; the latter being placed under a guard of civilians.

* Rees' *Personal Narrative*, p. 342.

At length, the *exodus* commenced. Many ladies in delicate health, unprovided with means of conveyance, were compelled to walk as they best could over five or six miles of very rough ground, exposed at three different points to the constant fire of the enemy's musketry; but happily without injury to more than one person, who was wounded in the leg. Lady Inglis, in her journal, relates the occurrences of this departure as follows:—

"About 4 o'clock P.M. we made a start, and left the place where we had passed so many anxious hours. We were obliged to walk, having no carriage-horses; five of our horses were turned loose at the commencement of the siege. The road was quite safe except in three places, where it was overlooked by the enemy's position, and we had to run; one poor woman was wounded in one of these places. We arrived at Secunderbagh about six, and found every one assembled there, awaiting an escort and dhoolies to carry us on. When I tell you that upwards of 2,000 men had been hastily buried there the day before, you can fancy what a place it was: however, we met many friends, and were regaled with tea, and plenty of milk and bread and butter—luxuries we had not enjoyed since the commencement of our troubles. At ten o'clock we recommenced our journey; most of the ladies were in palanquins; but we had a covered cart, drawn by two obstinate bullocks. We had a force of infantry and cavalry with us; but we had not proceeded half a mile when the column was halted, and an order sent back for reinforcements. Some noise was heard, and it was feared we might be attacked. However, it proved a false alarm; and after two disagreeable and rather anxious hours, we arrived safely at this place (Dil Koosha), and were quartered in some tents prepared for our reception. To-day we have pitched our tent; and Mrs. Case, her sister, I and the children, occupy the half, having given the other to a poor sick lady. We are very comfortable, though rather pressed for room, and most thankful to breathe the fresh air once again."

Another passage relating to this migration from the residency, may be quoted from the *Lady's Diary*, the authoress of which, with two other ladies, had secured a carriage for the occasion; and thus describes their journey:—

"We had a pair of starved horses of Mr. Gubbins' to drag us; but the wretched animals had been on siege fare so long that they had forgotten the use of their legs, and had no strength, so came to a standstill every five minutes, invariably choosing the most dangerous parts of the road for their halt. At one place we were under so hot a fire that we got out and ran for our lives, leaving the vehicle to its fate; and two poor natives, who were helping to push it on behind, were shot. At the Fureed Buksh we had to wait a long time, as the carriage could not be got through a gateway till some stores were cleared away. Some officers of the 90th invited us inside, and gave us wine and water, which was very refreshing. We walked, after that, every step of the way to Secunderbagh, where we all had to wait several hours till dhoolies arrived to take on all the women; and we proceeded, under a strong escort, to Dil Koosha. The road to Secunderbagh was frightfully dangerous in places. In one spot we were passing a 24-pounder, manned by some sailors of the naval brigade; they all called out to us to bend low, and run as fast as we could. We had hardly done so when a volley of grape whizzed over our heads and struck a wall beyond. At Secunderbagh we found the place overflowing with women and children of the Lucknow garrison. About 9 P.M. we started again in dhoolies. The crowd and confusion were excessive, the enemy hovering round, and firing occasional shots, and we were only borne along in the most solemn silence. The only sounds were the tramp, tramp, tramp, of the dhooly bearers, and the screaming of the jackals. It was an awful time. One felt as if one's life hung in a balance with the fate we had so long dreaded; but our Merciful Father, who has protected us through so many and great dangers, brought us in safety to Dil Koosha, where we arrived about two o'clock in the morning."

Leaving the wounded and non-combatants encamped in the park of Dil Koosha, we must return to the garrison yet holding possession of the residency, the future disposal of which now became an object of consideration; and as the opinion of Sir James Outram, the civil commissioner of Oude, who viewed the question in a political light, and of the commander-in-chief, who simply looked to the military bearing of the subject, did not accord, the

following communication was forwarded by telegraph on the 20th November, from Sir Colin to the governor-general in council, that his decision might be obtained for the guidance of both authorities :—

"The garrison of Lucknow has been relieved, and I am now engaged in carrying the women and wounded to the rear. I propose to move the whole force to an open position outside the town, without further loss of life. Sir James Outram, on the contrary, desires that an attack on the Kaiserbagh should be made, and then to continue to hold the position in the town. He thinks that two strong brigades of 600 men would suffice to hold the town after the Kaiserbagh had fallen. But I am of opinion, that at least the same force would be necessary to preserve the communication now mentioned by me, to the Alumbagh, and constantly under the fire of the enemy; that is to say, four strong brigades would be required, unless it is wished that the garrison should be again besieged.

"I have always been of opinion that the position taken up by the lamented Sir Henry Lawrence was a false one; and after becoming acquainted with the ground, and worked my troops upon it to relieve the garrison, that opinion is confirmed. I therefore submit, that to commit another garrison in this immense city, is to repeat a military error, and I cannot consent to it.

"I conceive that a strong movable division outside the town, with field and heavy artillery in a good military position, is the real manner of holding the city of Lucknow in check, according to our practice with the other great cities of India. Such a division would aid in subduing the country hereafter, and its position would be quite sufficient evidence of our intention not to abandon the province of Oude.

"Such are the general grounds for my opinion. The more special ones are, the want of means, particularly infantry, field and musket ammunition for prolonged operations, owing to circumstances beyond my control, and the state of our communications in the North-West Provinces. The first of these is, of course, unanswerable; the second appears to me an insuperable objection to the leaving of more troops in Oude than such a division as I have mentioned, as evidence of the intentions of government. In the meantime, I await the instructions of your lordship in the position I have taken up.

"Owing to the expression of opinion by the political authority in the country, I have delayed further movement till I shall receive your lordship's reply."

The view taken by the commander-in-chief met with the immediate approval of the governor-general in council, who by telegram, on the following day, expressed his concurrence as follows :—

"I have received your message of yesterday. The one step to be avoided, is a total withdrawal of the British forces from Oude. Your proposal to leave a strong movable division with heavy artillery outside the city, and so to hold the city in check, will answer every purpose of policy."

Pending this correspondence, the garrison was not idle. On the 20th, Captain Peel, aided by General Havelock's batteries in the palaces, breached the Kaiserbagh, and continued to throw shells into the king's palace throughout the day. This practice was continued on the 21st and 22nd, up to the moment appointed for the evacuation of the residency and its outposts by the whole garrison. The effect of the bombardment was evidently very destructive, as the fire of the enemy in return, which at first was brisk and continuous, gradually slackened, and at last ceased altogether.

Many things remained to be done within the residency enclosure before the troops of Inglis and Havelock could follow the steps of the non-combatants, and leave the position they had so long and so gallantly maintained. As many of the stores as were yet remaining had to be carried away or destroyed: they had still many of their wounded companions to escort and protect through the ranks of the enemy, and, at the same time, to cover their ultimate object by keeping up the bombardment of the Kaiserbagh, and thereby deceive the rebels, whose attention was now centred upon that position, and who expected an attack as soon as the bombardment should cease.

At length the preconcerted hour arrived when the evacuation was to commence; and nothing being left to chance, the movement was carried out with success. At midnight on the 22nd of November, the last man of the rear-guard of the retiring garrison marched out of the residency quietly and cautiously, leaving the lights and fires burning, and the general aspect of the place such as to avoid exciting the suspicion of the enemy, who occupied themselves as usual, by keeping up a desultory fire of

matchlocks and musketry upon the enclosure; on emerging from which, the old, or Inglis's "garrison" was the first to pass through the lines occupied by the British troops, "each exterior line then retiring through its supporters"—the extreme posts on the left making their way by a road which had been explored for them, as soon as the commander-in-chief considered the time had arrived when, with due regard to the safety of the whole, their posts should be evacuated. It may be observed, that had the retiring movement been discovered, and the insurgents had ventured to attack the troops, the brigade under the command of Brigadier Adrian Hope was in readiness to repel them. So far, however, from this being necessary, the enemy, completely deceived, continued firing into the enclosure for two hours after the troops had left it. The commander-in-chief accompanied the last line of infantry and guns, and thus satisfied himself of the safety of all that preceded him.

The event was announced to government by the following telegram from the commander-in-chief:—

"Lucknow, 23rd Nov. Last Night. "I caused the garrison of Lucknow to execute its retreat from the residency, covered by the relieving force, which then fell back on Dil Koosha, in the presence of the whole force of Oude. The women, wounded, and state prisoners, the king's treasure, and twenty-three lacs of rupees, with all the guns worth taking away, are in my camp. A great many guns were destroyed before the residency was given up; those that were worth bringing, having been transported with much labour, and made available for our own purposes. The state prisoners were brought with us."

The desertion of a post that had been maintained so long and so nobly in the face of innumerable difficulties, was not accomplished without many incidents of extraordinary and almost romantic interest; and among them, a circumstance connected with the fortunate escape of one officer, deserves special mention. Captain Waterman, of the 13th native infantry, who had been wounded in the siege, having, late in the evening, gone to his bed in a retired corner of the brigade mess-house, was forgotten by his men in the moment of departure, and over-slept himself. At two in the morning, two hours after the last of his comrades had left the position, he awoke, and found, to his horror, that he was alone in that abode of desolation. He dared not believe that all had left the enclosure; but, hoping against hope, he wandered from post to post, and found all deserted—all silent! The truth flashed across his brain. He was the only living man in that open intrenchment, with 50,000 relentless enemies panting for slaughter around him. His situation became too horrible to contemplate, but his presence of mind did not forsake him. He determined to attempt to follow the rear-guard, and so escape from the terrible loneliness that prevailed around him, and from the death that awaited him should the enemy discover him alone in that vast charnel-house. He fled, at his utmost speed, through the intricate and slimy passages of the Terre Kothee, the Fureed Buksh, the Chuttur Munzil, and the Motee Mahal, frequently slipping along the gory pavements, or stumbling over the festering carcasses that lay scattered in his path. He reached the Secunderbagh, which seething with human decomposition, was poisoned by the horrible odour of 2,000 corpses; and passed the outer walls into the open ground towards the Martinière, scarcely breathing, lest, in the darkness, he should arouse a lurking patrol of the murderous host around him. Again, through the dreadful silence and desolation, he sped with almost maddened excitement, and at length came up with the rear-guard of the British troops, and was saved. The horror consequent on his position was too much for his nerves to sustain; and, for a time, his intellect was affected.*

The removal of the women and children has already been described; and the following extract from the letter of an officer, will give an idea of the retreat, as it concerned the soldiers. The writer says—"An anxious night, indeed, it was. We left at twelve o'clock, having withdrawn all our guns from position, so that if the scoundrels had only come on, we should have had to fight every inch of our way while retiring; but the hand of Providence, which had held the little garrison for so long a time, never left it to the last. The eye of the wicked was blinded while we marched breathlessly, with beating hearts, from our post, and, forming into line, walked through the narrow defiles and trenches leading from the ever-memorable Bailey Guard. Out we went while the

* Rees' *Personal Narrative*, p. 347.

enemy's guns still pounded the old wall, and while the bullets still whistled over the buildings; and after a six miles' walk in ankle-deep sand, we were halted in a field, and told to make ourselves comfortable for the night. Here we were in a pretty plight—nothing to cover ourselves, while the cold was intense; so we lay down like so many sheep huddled together, to keep ourselves warm; and so lay till the morning, when we arose cold and stiff, with a pretty prospect of the chance of finding our servants in a camp of 9,000 men." (This included the camp-followers.)

The commander-in-chief allowed the men one day's rest at Dil Koosha; and, on the 23rd, they encamped in the park. For the first time in six months, many of them enjoyed the comfort of a good dinner.

On the 21st of the month, the following general orders were issued to the troops, from the head-quarters of the commander-in-chief at the Shah Nujeeff:—

"Although the commander-in-chief has not yet had time to peruse the detailed report of Brigadier Inglis respecting the defence made by the slender garrison under his command, his excellency desires to lose no time in recording his opinion of the magnificent defence made by the remnant of a British regiment (her majesty's 32nd), a company of British artillery, and a few hundred sepoys, whose very presence was a subject of distrust, against all the force of Oude, until the arrival of the reinforcement under Major-general Sir James Outram, G.C.B., and Sir H. Havelock, K.C.B. The persevering constancy of this small garrison, under the watchful command of the brigadier, has, under Providence, been the means of adding to the *prestige* of the British army, and of preserving the honour and lives of our countrywomen. There can be no greater reward than such a reflection; and the commander-in-chief heartily congratulates Brigadier Inglis and his devoted garrison on that reflection belonging to them.

"The position occupied by the garrison was an open intrenchment; the numbers were not sufficient to man the defences, and the supply of artillerymen for the guns was most inadequate. In spite of these difficult circumstances, the brigadier and his garrison held on; and it will be a great pleasure to the commander-in-chief, to bring to the notice of the government of India, the names of all the officers and soldiers who have distinguished themselves during the great trial to which they have been exposed.

"The commander-in-chief congratulates Sir James Outram and Sir Henry Havelock on having been the first to aid Brigadier Inglis. The governor-general in council has already expressed his opinion on the splendid feat of arms by which that aid was accomplished."

On the following day, the subjoined addition was made to the preceding order:—

"Head-quarters, Shah Nujeeff, 22nd November, 1857.

"When the commander-in-chief issued his order of yesterday, with regard to the old garrison of Lucknow, his excellency was unaware of the important part taken, in aid of the soldiers, by the civil functionaries who happened to be at the residency when it was shut in by the enemy. His excellency congratulates them very heartily on the honour they have won in conjunction with their military comrades. This is only another instance that, in danger and difficulty, all Englishmen behave alike, whatever their profession."

The following completes the series of general orders issued by the commander-in-chief upon this memorable occasion:—

"Head-quarters, La Martinière, Lucknow,
23rd November, 1857.

"The commander-in-chief has reason to be thankful to the force he conducted for the relief of the garrison of Lucknow. Hastily assembled, fatigued by forced marches, but animated by a common feeling of determination to accomplish the duty before them, all ranks of this force have compensated for their small number, in the execution of a most difficult duty, by unceasing exertions.

"From the morning of the 16th, till last night, the whole force has been one outlying picket, never out of fire, and covering an immense extent of ground, to permit the garrison to retire scathless and in safety, covered by the whole of the relieving force. That ground was won by fighting as hard as it ever fell to the lot of the commander-in-chief to witness, it being necessary to bring up the same men over and over again to fresh attacks; and it is with the greatest gratification that his excellency declares he never saw men behave better.

"The storming of the Secunderbagh and the Shah Nujeeff has never been surpassed in daring, and the success of it was most brilliant and complete. The movement of retreat of last night, by which the final rescue of the garrison was effected, was a model of discipline and exactness. The consequence was that the enemy was completely deceived, and the force retired by a narrow tortuous lane—the only line of retreat open in the face of 50,000 enemies—without molestation.

"The commander-in-chief offers his sincere thanks to Major-general Sir James Outram, G.C.B., for the happy manner in which he planned and carried out his arrangements for the evacuation of the residency of Lucknow.—By order of his excellency the commander-in-chief.

"W. MAYHEW, Major, D.A.G."

At the time the British troops were thus withdrawn from the residency, it was suspected, but not positively known, that several English prisoners were in the hands of the rebel leaders, in the Kaiserbagh; and this surmise unhappily turned out to be a fact. The unfortunates were eight in number—namely, Sir Mountstuart Jackson and his sister; Captain Orr, his wife and child; Lieutenant Barnes, Sergeant Martin, a little girl named Christian, and, it was believed, also another lady, a Mrs. O. Greene. Of the original intentions of the rebels towards these individuals, there are no means of judging; but of the ultimate

fate of most of them no doubt exists. The English troops following the women and children, the treasure and the state prisoners, had yet scarcely reached the Dil Koosha park, before the *ruse* by which the retreat had been accomplished was discovered by the insurgents, who rushed into the deserted enclosure, and in their rage at having been baffled, sought to gratify their hatred and revenge by the wanton destruction of whatever had been left by the Europeans: they then rushed to the Kaiserbagh, and demanded that the English prisoners should be given up to them. To the honour of womanhood, the demand was imperatively refused by the begum, so far as the females were concerned, and they were immediately taken under her care in the zenana of the palace. With the men it was different. They were given up to the furious and disappointed soldiery; who, without allowing them a moment for preparation, tied them to guns, and blew them into fragments. The victims of this atrocious act of vengeance, were Sir Mountstuart Jackson, Captain Orr, Lieutenant Barnes, and Sergeant Martin. Of the ladies, no tidings were heard for several months; but most of them were ultimately restored to their friends.

In a supplementary despatch of Sir James Outram, dated from Alumbagh, November 25th, that officer, in enumerating the successes of the troops under his command, writes of the defences of the residency enclosure as follows:—

"I am aware of no parallel to our series of mines in modern war; twenty-one shafts, aggregating 200 feet in depth, and 3,291 feet of gallery, have been executed. The enemy advanced twenty mines against the palaces and outposts: of these they exploded three, which caused us loss of life; and two which did no injury: seven have been blown-in; and out of seven others the enemy have been driven, and their galleries taken possession of by our miners—results of which the engineer department may well be proud. The reports and plans forwarded by Sir Henry Havelock, K.C.B., "and now submitted to his excellency, will explain how a line of gardens, courts, and dwelling-houses, without fortified *enceinte*, without flanking defences, and closely connected with the buildings of a city, has been maintained for eight weeks in a certain degree of security; and notwithstanding the close and constant musketry fire from loopholed walls and windows, often within thirty yards, and from every lofty building within rifle range; and notwithstanding a frequent though desultory fire of round shot and grape, from guns posted at various distances from 70 to 500 yards. This result has been obtained by the skill and courage of the engineer and quartermaster-general's departments, zealously aided by the brave officers and soldiers, who have displayed the same cool determination and cheerful alacrity in the toils of the trench, and amidst the concealed dangers of the mine, that they had previously exhibited when forcing their way into Lucknow at the point of the bayonet, and amidst the most murderous fire."

In the same despatch, the major-general, while eulogising several individuals of the garrison by name, says—"From the Rev. J. P. Harris, chaplain of the garrison, the sick and wounded received the most marked and personal kindness. His spiritual ministrations in the hospitals were incessant; his Christian zeal, and earnest philanthropy, I have had constant opportunities of observing since my arrival in Lucknow; and but one testimony is borne to his exertions during the siege, and to the personal bravery he displayed in hastening from house to house in pursuit of his sacred calling, under the heaviest fire. Daily he had to read the funeral service over numbers of the garrison, exposed to shot, shell, and musketry." The major-general then proceeds as follows:—"I cannot conclude this report without expressing to his excellency my intense admiration of the noble spirit displayed by all ranks and grades of the force since we entered Lucknow. Themselves placed in a state of siege—suddenly reduced to scanty and unsavoury rations—denied all the little luxuries (such as tea, sugar, rum, and tobacco) which, by constant use, had become to them almost necessaries of life—smitten in many cases by the same scorbutic affections, and other evidences of debility which prevailed among the original garrison—compelled to engage in laborious operations—exposed to constant danger, and kept ever on the alert—their spirits and cheerfulness, and zeal and discipline, seemed to rise with the occasion. Never could there have been a force more free from grumblers, more cheerful, more willing, or more earnest. Amongst the sick and wounded, this glorious spirit was, if possible, still more conspicuous than

amongst those fit for duty. It was a painful sight to see so many noble fellows maimed, suffering, and denied those comforts of which they stood so much in need. But it was truly delightful, and made one proud of his countrymen, to observe the heroic fortitude and hearty cheerfulness with which all was borne."

The ink that traced the foregoing generous recognition of endurance and valour was not yet dry, ere the camp was stricken by a calamity irreparable and unexpected. Overcome by fatigue and over-strained excitement, the good and gallant Havelock had suddenly closed his victorious career, and, on the 25th of November, at Dil Koosha, succumbed to an attack of dysentery, that in a few hours numbered him with the dead. But one feeling pervaded the army he had so often led in the path of glory—but one sentiment animated his countrymen throughout India, when the tidings spread abroad that the Christian soldier, for whom an admiring country was preparing its honours and its thanks, was beyond the reach of its gratitude; and that the shouts of welcome with which all Europe was prepared to greet his return to the land of his forefathers, would fall echoless upon the ear of death.

Major-general Sir Henry Havelock, Bart., K.C.B.—who thus died in the zenith of his fame, and who has bequeathed to his countrymen a name that will long be kept as a household word in the homes of England and of India—was a native of Bishopswearmouth, near Sunderland, where he was born on the 5th of April, 1795. He was the second of four sons of William Havelock, Esq., of Ingress-park, near Greenhithe, Kent, the descendant and representative of a family that had long flourished near Great Grimsby, in Lincolnshire. Educated at the Charter-house, at the period when that school was in the full tide of its prosperity, under the head-mastership of Dr. Russell, young Havelock numbered among his schoolfellows many whose names were destined, like his own, to shed lustre upon the annals of their country. A *soubriquet*, "philosopher," by which he was distinguished among his companions, was applied in consequence of his gentle meditative disposition, and quiet manner—seldom taking part in the boisterous pastimes of the playground, but ever ready, with friendly offices and kind words, to sooth down the asperities of his more excitable and impulsive companions. In course of time, the appellation diminished to "Phlos," and occasionally he was addressed as "Old Phlos." Few, perhaps, who thus knew that thoughtful, unobtrusive boy, would have believed it possible that, in the "Old Phlos" of the Charter-house, they beheld the future hero of Cawnpore and Lucknow—the noble victor of unnumbered fields.

While young Havelock was still at the Charter-house, a change came over the fortune of his family, that rendered his withdrawal from that establishment a measure of prudence. After a short interval, the youth was entered as a student at the Middle Temple, it being supposed that the law held out for him the fairest prospect of advancement. Here he attended the lectures of Chitty, the eminent pleader, and formed an intimate friendship with the no less eminent Talfourd. But the profession chosen for him was not to the taste of his noble nature, which could not be moulded to any affinity with a lifelong career of sophistry and chicane, and to a sense of honour that could be regulated by the amount of a fee. Moreover, though mild in disposition, an in-door occupation did not accord with his temper. He pined for a life of action and enterprise; and, in a short time, he could exultingly say with Norval—

"Heaven soon granted what my sire denied."

The elder brother of Henry Havelock, who was in the army, had gained distinction in the Peninsula, and was mentioned in the despatches of his illustrious chief as even then, in his mere youth, "one of the most chivalrous officers in the service."* This officer was wounded at Waterloo, where he

* The following anecdote of this young officer is recorded in Napier's *Peninsular War*, vol. vi., p. 265:—"The Spaniards stopped, and though the adventurer Downie, now a Spanish general, encouraged them with his voice, and they kept their ranks, they seemed irresolute, and did not advance. There happened to be present an officer of the 43rd regiment, named Havelock, who being attached to General Alten's staff, was sent to ascertain Giron's progress. His fiery temper could not brook the check. He took off his hat, called the Spaniards to follow him, and putting spurs to his horse, at one bound cleared the *abattis*, and went headlong among the enemy. Then the soldiers, shouting for '*El chico blanco*' (the fair boy)—so they called him, for he was very young, and had light hair—with one shock broke through the French ranks." This noble youth terminated a career of honour by a soldier's death, falling at the head of his regiment, the 14th light dragoons, in a desperate but victorious charge on the Sikhs, at the battle of Ramnuggur, November 22nd, 1848.

acted as aide-de-camp to General Baron Alten, and he possessed sufficient interest and influence to obtain a commission for his brother; and, within a few weeks after Waterloo was won, had the satisfaction of seeing him gazetted to a second-lieutenancy in the rifle brigade. Unfortunately for the aspirations of the young soldier, peace supervened, and the prospect of active military employment in Europe was obscured. For eight years young Havelock, as a subaltern, was obliged to endure a life of mere military routine in various stations of the United Kingdom.

At length, in 1823, an opportunity was afforded him to exchange into the 13th light infantry, a regiment under orders for Indian service. The necessary steps for effecting this were taken, and Henry Havelock landed at Calcutta towards the close of that year. In 1824, the first Burmese war broke out, and he served in the campaign against the "Sovereign of the Golden Foot," as deputy assistant-adjutant-general to the forces, under Sir Archibald Campbell, and was present at the actions of Napadee, Patnagoa, and Paghan. Upon the conclusion of the war he was associated with Captain Lumsden and Dr. Knox, in a mission to the court of Ava, and had an audience of the king when the treaty of Yandaboo was signed. In 1827, he was appointed by Lord Combermere to the post of adjutant of the military depôt at Chinsurah, on the breaking up of which he returned to his regiment. Shortly after this he visited Calcutta, and, having passed the examination in languages at Fort William, was appointed adjutant of his regiment by Lord William Bentinck. The corps, at that time, was under the command of Colonel (afterwards General Sir Robert) Sale. In 1838, after twenty-three years of service as a subaltern, Lieutenant Havelock was promoted to a company, and attended Sir Willoughby Cotton as one of his staff in the invasion of Affghanistan. He served through the Affghan campaign with increased distinction, and was present with Sir John Keane at the storming of Ghuznee in 1839.

After a short leave of absence, Captain Havelock was sent to the Punjab in charge of a detachment, and was placed on the staff of General Elphinstone, as Persian interpreter. He next served in Cabul, under Sir Robert Sale, and was present at the forcing of the Khoord-Cabul Pass, the action of Tezeen, and all the other engagements of that force until it reached Jellalabad. In conjunction with Major McGregor and Captain Broadfoot, he had, under Sale, the chief direction of the memorable defence of that place. For his services in Cabul he obtained his brevet majority, and was made a companion of the Bath.

Having accompanied Generals Pollock and Gough, as Persian interpreter, on one or two expeditions of minor importance in 1843, we find Major Havelock with the troops at Gwalior, and at the battle of Maharajpore: shortly after which, he obtained the brevet rank of lieutenant-colonel; and, in 1845, he proceeded with Lord Hardinge and Lord Gough to the Sutlej; and was actively engaged at the battles of Moodkee, Ferozeshah, and Sobraon. In the first of those engagements he had two horses shot under him, and a third at Sobraon, but himself escaped without a wound. On the conclusion of the Sikh war, he was appointed deputy-adjutant-general of the Queen's troops at Bombay, and had scarcely received tidings of the appointment when the second Sikh war commenced. His own regiment, the 53rd, was ordered up from Bombay to take the field, and had proceeded as far as Indore (nearly 400 miles), when the order was countermanded, and he returned to the duties of his staff appointment. Lieutenant-colonel Havelock took advantage of a temporary lull in the discordant elements of Asiatic policy, and obtained leave of absence, on sick certificate, to England, where he spent two years, recruiting the health weakened by twenty-six years' continuous service, and returning to India in 1851. Upon his arrival, through the interest of Lord Hardinge, who had watched his career with admiration, and by whose side he had fought in the three great battles of the Sutlej, he was appointed first, quartermaster-general, and afterwards adjutant-general, of the Queen's forces in India, which latter post he held until the war with Persia broke out at the close of 1856. On the dispatch of the expedition against Persia, Colonel Havelock was nominated to the command of the second division of the army, and led the troops at Mohammerah. The glory of the action, however, such as it was, was reserved for the naval force employed in the expedition, as the Persian troops ignominiously deserted the field before a gun was fired. Upon the conclusion of peace with the government to whom such

warriors belonged, Colonel Havelock returned to India, and was wrecked off Ceylon, in the *Erin*, on his passage to Calcutta, in April, 1857. An interesting incident of his life is connected with this disaster. When the vessel struck between twelve and one o'clock in the morning, half a gale of wind blowing, Colonel Havelock sprung upon the deck, and seeing some confusion, said in that sharp military tone that always commands attention, "Men, be steady, and all may be saved: but, if we have confusion, all may be lost. Obey your orders, and think of nothing else." They did so; and behaved in the most exemplary manner. The lives of all on board were saved, and on the following day all were landed, together with the mails and specie. Immediately afterwards, Colonel Havelock mustered the men on the shore, and said, "Now, my men, let us return thanks to Almighty God for the great mercy He has just vouchsafed to us." They all knelt down: he uttered a short prayer of thanksgiving; and then, rising from his knees and looking benignantly upon the companions of his misfortune, he walked away as coolly as if leaving an ordinary parade.*

Upon his arrival at Calcutta, almost the first news that met him was a report of the mutinous outbreak at Meerut and Delhi. Colonel Havelock was not a man to be passed over in the emergency that had arisen, and he was immediately sent up to Allahabad as brigadier, to command the movable column employed against the rebel force under Nana Sahib. His subsequent victories over the Nana's troops, including several pitched battles with numbers far superior to his own, crowned by the action of July 16th, at Cawnpore, and his continuous successes until his arrival at Lucknow, have been recorded in the preceding pages.

For his first exploits in the early summer of 1857, Brigadier-general Havelock was rewarded with a good-service pension of £100 a-year, all that the commander-in-chief then had in his power to bestow. The gallant officer was subsequently raised to the rank of general, and honours fell thick upon him. By his sovereign, the distinction of knight commander of the Bath was awarded. The houses of parliament voted him a pension of £1,000 per annum for two lives. The colonelcy of the 3rd Buffs was conferred upon him; and the *London Gazette*, of the 26th of November, announced that her majesty had been pleased to elevate him to the baronetcy, as Sir Henry Havelock of Lucknow. On the day preceding this announcement, the much and deservedly honoured subject of it had passed away from all consciousness of human distinction. In consequence of his demise the day previous to the notification of the baronetcy, a question arose—whether, not having been in actual possession, the title could pass to his descendants? The difficulty was, however, removed by the gracious act of the sovereign; and the *Gazette* of the 19th of January, 1858, announced that her majesty had been pleased to grant the dignity of a baronet to Captain Henry Marshman Havelock, son of the late Major-general Havelock; and had also ordained that the widow of the gallant general should "have, hold, and enjoy the same style, title, place, and precedence to which she would have been entitled had her husband survived and been created a baronet." Captain Sir Henry Havelock was promoted to a majority; and the admiration of the public for his deceased parent was expressed by a monument, to be erected by voluntary subscriptions; and a provision for the surviving daughters of the hero of Lucknow, whose bust was placed, by the citizens of London, in the council-chamber of their Guildhall.

General Havelock married, in 1827, the youngest daughter of the Rev. Dr. Marshman, of Serampore, by whom he had a

* At a meeting of the Hibernian Bible Society, held at Belfast in the summer of 1857, the Rev. Mr. Graham, of Bonn, repeated the following anecdote as one he had heard from the lips of Lady Havelock:—"When General Havelock, as colonel of his regiment, was travelling through India, he always took with him a Bethel tent, in which he preached the gospel; and when Sunday came, in India, he usually hoisted the Bethel flag, and invited all men to come and hear the gospel; in fact, he even baptized some. He was reported for this at the head-quarters, for acting in a non-military and disorderly manner; and the commander-in-chief, General Lord Gough, entertained the charge; but, with the true spirit of a generous military man, he caused the state of Colonel Havelock's regiment to be examined. The reports descriptive of the moral state of various regiments throughout the presidencies, were obtained and laid before him. These were severally referred to for some time back, and he found that Colonel Havelock's stood at the head of the list: there was less drunkenness, less flogging, less imprisonment in it, than in any other. When that was done, the commander-in-chief said—'Go and tell Colonel Havelock, with mv compliments, to baptize the whole army.'"

family of three sons and three daughters; the eldest of whom, now Major Sir Henry Marshman Havelock, was born in 1830.

Sir Colin Campbell, like all around him, mourned the loss of his gallant coadjutor; but there was little time to indulge in grief for the dead, while the safety of the living demanded every thought, and called for instant effort. The march from Dil Koosha to the Alumbagh, and from thence to Cawnpore, had yet to be effected. The women, children, and sick and wounded soldiers had to be preserved, the state prisoners guarded, and the treasure and stores conveyed beyond the reach of the rebel forces. These were objects that required all the consideration and energy of the commander-in-chief, and of the gallant men by whom he was surrounded; and in the bustle of a camp so circumstanced, private griefs could expect but silent sympathy.

The entire British force in Oude was now separated into two divisions: the one under Brigadier Hope Grant to form an escort from the Dil Koosha to the Alumbagh; the other, under General Outram, to keep the enemy at bay until the convoy was safely on its road. The distance to the Alumbagh was about four miles of very rough road; and on the 24th of November the convoy began to move towards it. On that and the following day the whole intermediate distance was covered by a continuous stream of bullock-carriages, palanquins, carts, camels, elephants, guns, ammunition, and store-waggons, soldiers, sailors of the naval brigade, and the non-combatants and prisoners. The stoppages were frequent in the comparatively trifling distance, and the fatigue endured, distressing and dispiriting; but by the evening of the 25th all eventually rested their weary limbs under the shelter of the Alumbagh, so far safe from the enemy.

It had been intended by Sir Colin Campbell to allow the troops and their convoy several days' halt at this place, for the purpose of repose, and to regain strength; but, on the 27th, a heavy and continuous firing was heard in the direction of Cawnpore. As no news from that place had reached the commander-in-chief for several days, the unexpected noise of artillery rendered him apprehensive of new dangers in that quarter, and he determined to push forward his troops and the convoy as rapidly as possible. Leaving General Outram in command of part of the force at Alumbagh, and placing the rest under the immediate command of Brigadier Hope Grant, he resumed his march for Cawnpore at nine o'clock on the morning of the 28th. One of the individuals who had been liberated from the residency, and was now proceeding with the convoy, says of this unwelcome movement—"We left Alumbagh suddenly on the receipt, by Sir Colin, of some important message from the direction of Cawnpore, and never shall I forget that long, long, weary, weary march. To walk fifteen miles continuously, scarcely interrupted by a short ride on the back of a camel, or on the top of a primitive hackery—to arrive at a camping-ground tired to exhaustion (for, after our long sojourn in Lucknow, none of us could boast of a strong constitution), without knowing where to lay one's head, was bad enough for a man; but for a delicate lady it must have been terrible indeed. But we were not long allowed to remain at our second encamping-ground. A few hours, and another still longer march was begun. On, on we went, in one long, long line—certainly not less than seven or eight miles in length, and over a distance of more than thirty miles, till we arrived a very short way from the Cawnpore bridge of boats. Some bad news had reached the general, and the booming of cannon was distinctly heard across the river. A large fire, too, was visible; and as we approached we found ourselves again in the midst of war."

The message referred to in the preceding extract, told the commander-in-chief of a serious reverse sustained by General Windham (who had been left in charge of Cawnpore), through a daring attack of the mutineers from Gwalior. Sir Colin hurried forward the convoy with its escort; but himself and a few officers at once galloped off for the scene of disaster, where he arrived on the evening of the 28th. He then found that General Windham had been defeated; that a great quantity of stores and ammunition had been destroyed by the enemy; and that the entire of Cawnpore, to the north and east of the canal, was in the possession of a large army composed of the Gwalior and other rebels, headed by Nana Sahib, Koer Sing, and other insurgent leaders. Orders were immediately sent back to the approaching escort for the heavy guns to hurry on, and take up such a position as would prevent the enemy from destroying or attacking the bridge; while

a mixed force of infantry, cavalry, and horse artillery was directed to cross with all speed, and command the Cawnpore end of the communication across the Ganges; and, fortunately, this was effected just in time. When the passage was thus rendered safe, the artillery, the remaining troops, and the non-combatants, were ordered to file over the bridge; which they did, occupying it in an unbroken line for thirty-nine hours, unmolested by the enemy's guns, which, owing to the prompt and judicious movement of Sir Colin, could not be brought within range of the boats. Had it been otherwise, and the bridge occupied or destroyed by the enemy, the convoy, cut off from all communication with the English force on the opposite side of the river—having, at the same time, an enemy in the front and another in the rear—would have been desperately situated indeed.

All having, however, safely crossed from Oude, the troops forming the escort encamped around the ruined intrenchment, rendered memorable by the heroism and wretched fate of Sir Hugh Wheeler and his hapless companions; while the women and children, with the sick and wounded they had brought with them, were placed temporarily in occupation of the old foot artillery lines. All communication with the town was cut off; and it was for some time difficult for the great number of people in their new location to obtain provisions. Their speedy removal from Cawnpore consequently became an object of necessity. The commander-in-chief found he could accomplish little in active military operations while his movements continued to be fettered by the crowd of helpless beings that were now depending on him for protection; and the stay of those among them who, from age, sex, or sickness, could render no active service, was rendered as brief as possible. Vehicles, animals, provisions, and stores, were speedily collected; and, on the 3rd of December, notice was issued that, in two hours, the convoy would commence its march towards Allahabad. The escort consisted only of 500 men of the 34th regiment; but by making long forced marches, the whole party escaped injury on the road, and ultimately arrived in safety at Allahabad, where they met with an enthusiastic reception. From thence, proceeding by steamer down the Ganges to Calcutta, their approach to the capital of British India was announced to the public by the following notification of the governor-general, published in a Calcutta gazette extraordinary:—

"Fort William, Home Department, January 6th, 1858.

"Within the next few days, the river steamer *Madras*, conveying the first of the ladies and children, and of the sick and wounded officers of the Lucknow garrison, will reach Calcutta.

"No one will wish to obtrude upon those who are under bereavement or sickness, any show of ceremony which shall impose fatigue or pain. The best welcome which can be tendered upon such an occasion, is one which shall break in as little as possible upon privacy and rest.

"But the rescue of these sufferers is a victory beyond all price; and, in testimony of the public joy with which it is hailed, and of the admiration with which their heroic endurance and courage have been viewed, the right honourable the governor-general in council directs that, upon the approach of the *Madras* to Prinsep's Ghaut, a royal salute shall be fired from the ramparts of Fort William.

"The governor-general in council further directs, that all ships of war in the river shall be dressed in honour of the day. Officers will be appointed to conduct the passengers on shore, and the state barges of the governor-general will be in attendance.

"As soon as the telegraph shall announce that the *Madras* has passed Atcheepore, two signal guns will be fired from the fort.—By order, &c.—CECIL BEADON,

"Secretary to the Government of India."

At length the *Madras*, with its interesting freight, arrived off the landing-place, and the passengers were brought on shore amidst the homage and admiration of the thousands that had assembled to offer them welcome and sympathy.

It is to be remembered, that although, for a season, Sir Colin Campbell had abandoned Lucknow to the rebel forces, he did not relinquish the Alumbagh to them. This post being a compact quadrangular enclosure, capable of defence on each side, would, he considered, if retained, afford an important base for future operations. He therefore left General Outram, with from three to four thousand men, to hold the position against all comers; furnishing him with as large a supply as possible of provisions and stores. The garrison consisted of all the available companies of her majesty's

5th, 78th, 84th, and 90th foot; the Madras Europeans, the Ferozepore Sikhs, three field batteries, some heavy guns, two squadrons of the military train acting as dragoons, and a body of irregular cavalry; and with this force, while the enemy were busily engaged in refortifying the city, and rendering it more formidable than ever, Sir James Outram, on his part, was employed in making the Alumbagh impregnable to attack. The position he occupied now included not only the Alumbagh itself, but a standing camp some three-quarters of a mile distant, and the bridge of Bunnee, which was held for him by 400 Madras sepoys, with two guns.

And thus, for the present, we leave the British troops in Oude, that we may trace the progress of affairs in the Lower Provinces of Bengal.

CHAPTER IV.

EXCITEMENT IN THE LOWER PROVINCES; OUTBREAK AT PATNA; MURDER OF DR. LYELL; REPORTS OF THE COMMISSIONER; THE NATIVE REGIMENTS AT DINAPORE MUTINY AND DESERT; INEFFECTUAL PURSUIT; THE REBELS OCCUPY ARRAH; HEROIC DEFENCE BY MESSRS. BOYLE AND WAKE; RENEWED PURSUIT OF THE DINAPORE MUTINEERS; AN AMBUSCADE; DEFEAT OF THE ENGLISH TROOPS; REPORTS OF LIEUTENANT WALLER AND MAJOR-GENERAL LLOYD; KOER SING IN THE FIELD; DEFEATED BY MAJOR EYRE; DESPATCHES; GENERAL LLOYD'S OBJECTIONS; PRIVATE CORRESPONDENCE; GENERAL LLOYD SUPERSEDED; HIS EXPLANATION; FATAL CONFLICT BETWEEN THE 10TH EUROPEAN REGIMENT AND SOME LOYAL SEPOYS; SECOND DEFEAT OF KOER SING AT JUGDESPORE; JUTOWRA DESTROYED BY MAJOR EYRE; MUTINY AND MURDER AT SEGOWLIE; MARTIAL LAW DECLARED IN BENGAL.

RETURNING to the earlier scenes of active rebellion in Bengal proper, it will be seen, that the effect of the outbreak in the North-Western Provinces, began very soon to exercise a dangerous influence over the troops and populations of the Lower Provinces of that presidency; and the lieutenant-governor, with a view to be kept well-informed of the state of feeling throughout the country, about the latter end of May, required the local commissioners to report direct to the government on the circumstances of their respective districts. During the early part of June, much excitement was reported to prevail in the province of Behar, in consequence of a belief inculcated by designing persons, that the government contemplated an active interference with the religion of the people; but no open demonstration of ill-feeling, or any overt acts of revolt, occurred before the middle of the month. The various magistrates throughout the division reported the existence of general tranquillity; but stated their belief, "that the safety of the province depended on the fidelity of the native corps at Dinapore—a military station about ten miles west from Patna; that the Mohammedan population was thoroughly disaffected; and that, in the event of any disturbance occurring at the head-quarters of the division, they feared the rapid extension of the revolt, and its inevitable result, throughout the province." Precautionary measures were consequently adopted by adding to the police force; by carefully watching and regulating the ghauts; by guarding the frontiers of the neighbouring disaffected districts; and, in some stations, by appointing places of rendezvous for the European residents—so that, in the event of disturbances, they might have a known and combined plan of action. The treasure at Arrah and Chuprah was removed to Patna, where a volunteer guard of Europeans was formed; and the station was further strengthened by several companies of the Sikh police battalion from Sooree. Towards the middle of the month, a panic prevailed in Chuprah and Arrah, consequent on the occurrences at Ghazeepore, Azimgurh, and other places adjacent, and most of the European residents and persons connected with the railway took refuge in Dinapore.* Confidence was, however, restored by the judicious conduct of the magistrates and other officials; and many of the fugitives returned to their proper abodes. Simultaneously with this supposed groundless

* See vol. i., p. 440.

alarm, three sepoys of the Behar station-guard presented themselves to the commissioner of Patna, and handed to him a letter received by them from sepoys at Dinapore; in which the Behar guards were urged to mutiny, and to seize the treasure at Patna before the arrival of the Sikhs. For this act of fidelity, performed at a critical moment, the men were handsomely rewarded in the presence of their own corps and the Sikhs, and necessary precautions were taken to render abortive any attack upon the treasure at the station.

The first event of importance in this direction, was an attempt at insurrection in the city of Patna,* on the night of the 3rd of July; in the course of which, Dr. Lyell, the principal assistant to the opium agent, was murdered. The occurrence is thus described in the report forwarded to the lieutenant-governor:—

"On the evening of the 3rd, a number of persons, amounting to about 200, assembled at the house of one Peer Ali Khan, a bookseller in the town; and, according to a plan which appeared to have been concerted some few days previously, issued into the streets with two large flags, and a drum beating: the cry of 'Ali! Ali! Deen!' was immediately raised; and the party proceeded at once to the Roman Catholic mission-house, with the declared intention of murdering the priest. He, however, had fortunately escaped before their arrival; and they left the house, reiterating their cries, and calling on the people to join them. Mr. J. M. Lowis, the magistrate at Patna, had by this time been informed of the outbreak; and, obtaining a guard of a hundred men of the Sikh police battalion, and accompanied by Captain Rattray, Lieutenant Campbell, and the assistant-magistrate (Mr. Mangles), proceeded to the scene of disturbance—on their way to which, they were informed that Dr. R. Lyell, the principal assistant to the opium agent of Behar, had been murdered; and that a conflict had afterwards ensued, in which a darogah was killed, and one of the sowars wounded. A reinforcement of fifty men was then sent for; and, while waiting its arrival, the magistrate was informed that, on intelligence of the attack upon the mission-house reaching the opium godown, Dr. Lyell, attended by fifty of the Nujeeb guard, a subahdar, and eight Sikhs, went to meet the insurgents. By the time the doctor and his party came in sight of them, they had left the mission premises, and taken their stand on the chowk, where they planted their flags, and were shouting their religious watchwords. Dr. Lyell, it is supposed, with a design to expostulate with the rioters, advanced in front of his party, notwithstanding the entreaties of his friends that he would not so expose himself. The result of this fatal temerity was soon apparent. As he approached the rioters, a volley was discharged at him, and he fell to the ground; and, at the instant, several of the fanatics rushed forward, and 'hacked the dying man's face with their swords.' The Nujeebs then fired upon the murderers: one man only was killed, but several were wounded; and they then dispersed. Upon the arrival of the reinforcement, Mr. Lowis and his escort proceeded to the place where Dr. Lyell had fallen, and where the eight Sikhs who accompanied him were still standing. Passing on, they came up with a darogah who had encountered the rebels, by whom he was desperately wounded; as, after firing and killing one of them, his servant had deserted him, carrying off his sword and ammunition, and leaving his master nothing to defend himself with but his discharged piece. A police sowar went to his assistance, and severely wounded one of the rioters, named Imam-ood-deen, who was

* Patna is situated on the southern bank of the Ganges, about 155 miles east of Benares. It is considered one of the largest cities of Hindostan, extending about four miles along the sacred stream. Some writers have supposed it to be the ancient Palibrotha. It contains numerous mosques and temples; but, excepting in the suburb of Bankipore, which is the quarter of the English residents, the houses are chiefly mud-built. In this quarter the most conspicuous object is a building in the form of a beenive, nearly a hundred feet in height, with walls twenty feet in thickness at the base. An exterior double flight of steps leads to the summit, to which, it is related, the late Earl of Munster on one occasion ascended on horseback. The building was erected about the beginning of the present century, as one of a series of immense granaries to provide against famine or scarcity; but many causes operated to make this first attempt the last also; one of them being the fact, that large as was the building, it would not contain a week's consumption of grain for so immense a province as that in which it was situated: another objection arose from the liability of its contents to ferment and blow it up, notwithstanding its massiveness; and finally, the doors from which the grain was to issue, were made to open inwards instead of outwards. The edifice has consequently been appropriated to other purposes, but still remains a monument of the folly that designed it.

taken prisoner: and, with the exception of those two men, none of the police would face the rebels, or make any effort to check their proceedings. Some gentlemen belonging to the opium factory then came up; and, as the rioters had gone off, they were enabled to raise and carry away the remains of Dr. Lyell without molestation. Meantime the alarm had spread among the European residents, who hastily resorted to the commissioner's house, which had been fortified in case of an emergency: guards were posted at the bridges which connected the parade-ground with the streets; and all necessary precautions were taken to prevent surprise. The affair, however, then passed off without further attempt at violence."

The scene of the disturbance being seven miles distant from the residence of Mr. W. Tayler, the commissioner of Patna, it was nearly two hours after the outbreak before that functionary received any reliable intelligence of it. Mr. Tayler says, in his report—"About ten o'clock, Mr. Anderson, an assistant in the opium department, galloped up to the house with a drawn sword, and, asking for me, exclaimed, 'The city is up! the Sikhs have retired! Dr. Lyell is shot dead; we were too few!' It was not very easy to obtain from him any accurate information; but on hearing this, I sent an express to the general for assistance. Before it arrived, however, we had received accounts from the spot that all was over, and the rioters had dispersed. Previous to Dr. Lyell's death, the khotegusht darogah had encountered the rebels, and cut down one of them, who was a prisoner, and I ordered him to be brought to my house, in the hope of eliciting some information from him. He, however, was not then disposed to be communicative. On the following day, the man, whose name was Imam-ood-deen, expressed his willingness to disclose what he knew of the affair; and on my going to him, he stated that he had been engaged by Peer Ali Khan, and, with many others, had been receiving pay for the last three months, on the understanding that when the time arrived, and he was called upon, he should fight for 'deen' and the padishah of Delhi. He named several of his accomplices, and gave other items of intelligence. Meanwhile the house of Peer Ali Khan, the bookseller, had been searched, and a quantity of arms, and some letters of importance, were found. Peer Ali had escaped, but was tracked and captured, after some resistance, on the following evening. Thirty-six persons were afterwards arrested and tried by the magistrates and myself, under the commission, on the 7th instant. Sixteen were sentenced to death; fourteen were hanged within three hours after sentence—two being reprieved for some hours, with a hope of obtaining information from them; two others were transported for life; one sentence was deferred, and seventeen men were imprisoned for various terms. Some of the men who were hanged, exhibited the feelings of men who believe themselves martyrs; but the majority were silent and undemonstrative. On the 6th of July, a police jemadar, named Waris Ali, who had been detected in possession of some treasonable correspondence, was also tried under the commission, and capitally sentenced. He was executed the same day, and his last words were to ask if no Mussulman would assist him. Both this man and Peer Ali, at the time of their execution, requested that the money they had about them might be given to a fakir; but the application was refused. Waris Ali was said to be related to the royal family of Delhi. I postponed his trial for two or three days after his arrival, and had several private interviews with him, hoping, by such means, to elicit information; but he was evidently not in the secrets of the leaders, as he could tell me nothing more than what I already knew from other sources; and he was in such excessive alarm and despair, that I am convinced he would have done anything to save his life. When speaking in private with me, he implored me to tell him whether there was any way in which his life could be spared. I said, 'yes;' and his eyes opened with unmistakable delight; and when he asked again what the way was, his countenance was a picture of anxiety, hope, and terror. I told him, 'I will make a bargain with you; give me three lives, and I will give you your's.' He then told me all the names that I already knew, but could disclose nothing further. He was evidently not clever enough to be a confidant."

The khotegusht darogah, who recovered from his wounds, was rewarded with a present of 300 rupees, and promotion as a supernumerary from the third to the second grade. Peer Ali, who was proved to have been the principal in the riot, was defiant to the last; and in character, appearance, and manners, was described by the commissioner as a brutal but brave fanatic. His house was razed to

the ground, and a post placed on the site, with an inscription, telling of the crime and fate of the owner and his accomplices.

In a report on the 21st of the month, Mr. Tayler stated that, since the conviction of the rioters mentioned in his former communication, he had obtained information from the wounded prisoner, Imam-ood-deen, that had induced him to order the arrest of some fifty other individuals, upon a charge of complicity in the disturbance. This prisoner having received a promise of his life, and being apparently grateful for the care and treatment of his wounds, made many important communications in further elucidation of the plot; and, among other revelations, it was stated by him that the Dinapore sepoys had consented to the conspiracy, but that there was a difference of opinion between them and the townspeople as to the day; the sepoys wishing for Sunday—the townsfolk preferring Friday, which is the sacred day of the Mohammedans. The design, however, was ultimately abandoned; and the magistrate of Patna had reported, on the 18th of July, that the city appeared perfectly quiet, the shops were open, and the inhabitants, if possible, more respectful in demeanour than usual.

The proceedings at Patna, and in the adjacent districts, were not without damaging influence upon the native troops in cantonments at Dinapore, the distance between the two cities being so trifling. The barracks of the European troops at Dinapore were situated in a large square westward of the native town: beyond this were the native lines; and, still more westward, was the magazine in which the percussion-caps were stored. Major-general Lloyd, commander of the station and of a large military district called the "Dinapore division," was a man well advanced in years, infirm, and unable to mount his horse without assistance. That such a man, however gallant and high-spirited in his effective days, should have been left in possession of so important a command at such a crisis, was the fault of his superiors rather than of himself. He had, besides the physical infirmity which incapacitated him from active exertion, a strong leaven of the prejudice entertained by many of the old officers of the Company in favour of the sepoys. He was proud of them, and persisted in trusting them until it was too late to rectify the error. Thus, when the Calcutta people petitioned the governor-general to disarm the native regiments at Dinapore, and the officers of the Queen's regiments at that station advocated a similar measure, Lord Canning, unfortunately, left the matter to the discretion of Major-general Lloyd; and the result was, that the favourable moment for accomplishing the object was neglected: and when at length, on the 25th of July, the appearance of affairs induced the confiding officer to feel less than his wonted reliance upon the native regiments, he shrank from disarming them, and sought to render them less dangerous by quietly removing the percussion-caps from the magazines. With the consequences that followed we shall presently be acquainted.

For some time prior to the actual outbreak at Dinapore, the European residents were exposed to continued anxiety from an undefined sense of impending mischief. The native troops at the station consisted of the 7th, 8th, and 40th regiments of Bengal infantry; but a portion of her majesty's 10th regiment, and two companies of the 37th, with a field battery of six guns, were also there: the whole, as we have seen, under the command of Major-general Lloyd; and there was not a British officer at the station, with the exception of the general himself, that doubted the possibility of disarming and controlling the whole native force, had an order been issued to that effect at the proper time. Occurrences at Azimgurh, Benares, and other stations, at length appeared to General Lloyd to warrant some precautionary measures, that his favourite sepoys might be prevented from committing themselves; and he reluctantly gave an order to remove the percussion-caps from the magazine: those caps, unfortunately, had to be brought in front of the entire length of the sepoy lines, on their way to the English artillery barracks. Early on the morning of the 25th of July, two hackeries went down to the magazine, under charge of an officer's guard: the caps were quietly placed in them, and the carts were drawn some distance towards their destination—the sepoys looking sullenly on. At length a cry was raised by the men of the 7th and 8th regiments—"They are taking away our ammunition! Stop it! Kill the sahibs!"—and the excitement of the two corps became formidable. The men of the 40th regiment being, however, yet faithful, and showing a disposition to prevent any attempt to get possession of the caps, the latter were safely conveyed to their destination. This demon-

stration being reported to General Lloyd, he determined to deprive the whole of the men of the fifteen caps each, reserved to them; and at 10 A.M., an order was issued that they should be collected by the native officers, and placed in store by one o'clock of the same day—thus allowing three hours for the men to consider whether to surrender them or not. They evidently determined upon the latter alternative, and occupied the interval by filling their pouches with cartridges, and quietly moving themselves, with their arms, out of the lines. The fact of their desertion was not known until half-past two o'clock, by which time the whole of the three regiments had withdrawn from the cantonments. The alarm was then given by a gun at the outpost of the European hospital. Some time elapsed before the facts of this wholesale desertion could be comprehended; and a delay then occurred before any guns were dispatched in pursuit. At length, these having proceeded about a mile, and fired some round shot (which had no effect), they returned to the cantonments, as it was impossible for them to follow the route taken by the deserters, on their way to cross the Soane at Arrah—a station about twenty-five miles distant. The brigadier-general, who was incapacitated by gout from walking, considered he could render more effectual service by following the track of the mutineers, which, he assumed, would be along the river-bank; and, with that view, he placed himself on board a steamer, which, keeping close abreast with the guns and Europeans sent in pursuit, would enable him to direct their operations. This arrangement was rendered futile, in consequence of the deserters avoiding the anticipated route, and taking to the swampy fields and across a nullah, which rendered pursuit by artillery impracticable. Upon the return of the column, the steamer, with the general on board, also returned to the station. The same evening, as fears were entertained for the safety of Patna, two guns, and a detachment of the 10th and 37th regiments, were sent thither; and the following morning, on it being reported that the mutineers were about to cross the river to Arrah, a detachment of the 37th regiment, with Enfield rifles, was sent up the Soane in an armed steamer, which, after proceeding about twelve miles, got aground, and, after a detention of several hours, returned in the evening to Dinapore, without having been able to reach the vicinity of the mutinous force, which, meanwhile, had succeeded in crossing the river, and had then destroyed the bridge.

Early in the morning of Monday, the 27th of July, the rebels marched into Arrah—proceeding immediately to the gaol, where they released the prisoners. About 400 of the latter, with the gaol guard, and several hundreds of armed deserters and men on leave, that flocked in from the surrounding country, joined the mutineers; and, together, formed a body of about 3,000 men, the greater part of whom were disciplined soldiers. This force was presently augmented by an equal number of armed men belonging to Koer Sing, a native chief of large property and influence in the neighbourhood; and the united rebels at once took possession of the government treasury and public edifices, which they plundered, preparatory to committing deplorable outrages upon the persons and property of all who ventured to oppose their lawless proceedings.

Fortunately for the safety of the Europeans at this place, the acting magistrate, Mr. H. C. Wake, was a man of energy and judgment, and was equal to the crisis that had arrived. He was admirably seconded by Mr. Boyle, district engineer to the railway company; who, having anticipated the possibility of a visit from some of the predatory bands that were scattered over the country, had made timely preparation for the protection and defence of the community, by fortifying a detached two-storey house, fifty feet square, with a flat roof, which stood in the same compound with his private residence. This building Mr. Boyle had well provisioned and armed, to withstand a siege or attack; and within its shelter, on the evening of Sunday, the 26th of July, the civil magistrate, and the whole of the European residents at the station, took refuge from the storm that had gathered around them.

The spirit and determination with which the little garrison maintained their position during seven days' incessant attack, is well described in the following statement of Mr. Boyle, dated the 15th of August. He says—"On Sunday, the 26th, we heard that the mutinous sepoys were crossing the river Soane in large numbers, at a point eight miles from Arrah, and were on their march towards us. One of the government officers and I rode out half-way, but could not get any positive account or intelligence of their numbers; and, as the despatches

sent from Dinapore to warn us had been intercepted, we did not know whether one, two, or three native regiments had mutinied; and we hoped, but vainly, that they would immediately be pursued. We had fifty Sikh soldiers in Arrah, and, being sixteen ourselves, resolved to make a stand. Accordingly, on Sunday night we occupied the bungalow; and the mutineers, after securing the treasure on Monday, attacked us about nine o'clock A.M. Most of the Europeans, besides revolvers and hog-spears, had two double-barrelled guns, or a gun and a rifle, with abundance of ammunition, and, providentially, a large surplus; from which, when the Sikhs' supplies began to run short, we made some thousand cartridges. To describe the repeated attacks, the almost incessant firing, and the hairbreadth escapes we sustained until Sunday, the 2nd of August, at sunset, would form a lengthy narrative; and, as I have by me a copy of an official description of it, it occurs to me that the perusal of it will interest you, and save the time it would take me to write more at length. On Sunday afternoon (August 2nd) we saw an evident commotion among our assailants, and soon after heard faintly the firing of cannon at a distance to the westward. This afterwards proved to be a relieving force, which had marched from Buxar to our assistance, and which the main body of the insurgents went out to meet; but the latter being wholly defeated, we passed Sunday night unmolested, and next morning marched out of our shattered but still strong little fort triumphant, but I hope not vainglorious, in having kept at bay for a week a hundred times our number. Our miraculous preservation should be ever a continual cause of the deepest thankfulness to us all; for, excepting some scratches and bruises not worth mentioning, but one of our little garrison (a Sikh) was dangerously wounded. Numbers of the enemy were killed around us; and in my own dwelling-house, which was gutted, and afterwards partially burnt, everything of value was either destroyed or carried away by the back approach, which we could not command. What we were most apprehensive of for some days, was disease from the odour of dead bodies; and four or five of our own horses (including my best Arab riding-horse) were shot, and in a state of decomposition within fifty yards of us; but neither was this allowed seriously to affect us. I should now tell you of the terrible disaster which befel a force of nearly 500 men sent from Dinapore to our relief during the middle of the siege. They had on Wednesday night (July 29th) incautiously approached Arrah, and fell into an ambush; and there, and in the retreat to the Ganges, lost one-third of their number killed, and a large proportion badly wounded, there being but a very few who escaped unscathed. When we heard from our fort (not a mile off) the sudden and heavy volleys about dark midnight, we guessed too truly what had occurred; and I believe there were few among us who did not feel far more deeply the reverse which (as the firing grew fainter) we knew must have befallen our countrymen, than that by their defeat we had lost our best and almost only hope of succour.

"The nightly treacherous harangues made to us by the mutineers from the cover of my dwelling-house, sixty yards off, were answered only by us when there was a pause, by a volley of bullets directed towards the speaker's hiding-place. It was agreed no other answer should ever be given them; and I do not believe there was a man among us who would have allowed himself, if possible, to fall into their hands alive. When water ran short, the Sikhs commenced digging a well under the house, and continued their labour until they came to a spring; and when all was happily ended, they asked me, and I have promised, to build the well into a permanent one, as a memento of their services, and that our fort shall have affixed upon it the name of 'Futteghur,' or 'House of Victory.' For some days after we had been relieved, I was engaged in erecting some bridges that had been broken down by the mutineers, and restoring the main lines of communication, as field-engineer to Major Eyre's force, when, in returning to Arrah, I received a severe kick from a vicious horse belonging to one of our party. Luckily, no bone was broken; but I was laid up for two days, and, on the force preparing to leave Arrah, I had to be carried into Dinapore. I am now able to go about a little; so that, in another week, I hope to be as well as ever."

The official report of Mr. Wake, the magistrate in charge of the district, to the commissioner of the Patna division, is dated the 3rd of August, and states as follows:—

"I have the honour to forward, for the information of his honour the lieutenant-governor, the following narrative of our

extraordinary defence and providential escape. On the evening of Saturday, July the 25th, I received an express from Dinapore, warning us that a disturbance was apprehended on that day, but giving us no other information. On the morning of the 26th of July, a sowar whom I had at Koelwar Ghaut, on the Soane, came in and reported that numbers of sepoys had crossed, and that many more were crossing. I found that Mr. Palin, the railway engineer stationed at Koelwar, had contented himself with sending over for the boats to the Arrah side the night before; but, when leaving, had failed to destroy them as he had promised to do. The police, I imagine, bolted at the first alarm. All efforts to ascertain the amount of the force of the rebels were unavailing; and the police left the city on Sunday, the 26th. Thinking it highly unadvisable to abandon the station when the rebels might be few, and having fifty Sikhs on the spot, and finding the rest of the officers of the station of the same opinion, and that the few residents of the district who had come in were willing to remain, we, on the night of Sunday, the 26th, went into a small bungalow previously fortified by Mr. Boyle, the district engineer of the railway company. Our force consisted of one jemadar and two havildars, two naiks, forty-five privates, a bhisti and cook, of Captain Rattray's Sikh police battalion; Mr. Littledale, judge; Mr. Combe, officiating collector; Mr. Wake, magistrate; Mr. Colvin, assistant; Dr. Halls, civil assistant-surgeon; Mr. Field, sub-deputy opium agent; Mr. Anderson, his assistant; Mr. Boyle, district engineer to the railway company; Synd Azim-oo-deen H. Khan, deputy-collector; Mr. Dacosta, moonsiff; Mr. Godfrey, schoolmaster; Mr. Cock, officiating head clerk of the collectorate; Mr. Tait, secretary to Mr. Boyle; Messrs. Delpeiron and Hoyle, railway inspectors; and Mr. De Souza. We had enough ottah and grain for some days of short allowance, and a good deal of water for ourselves; but owing to the shortness of our notice, nothing but the barest necessaries could be brought in, and the Sikhs had only a few days' water; but as we expected the rebels to be followed up immediately, we had not much anxiety on that score.

"On Monday, the 27th of July, about 8 A.M., the insurgent sepoys, and the whole of the 7th, 8th, and 40th native infantry, arrived in the station; and having first released the prisoners, rushed to the collectorate, where they were at once joined by the Nujeebs, and looted the treasure, amounting to 85,000 rupees. This did not take long, and they then charged our bungalow from every side; but being met with a steady and well-directed fire, they changed their tactics, and, hiding behind the trees with which the compound is filled, and occupying the outhouses and Mr. Boyle's residence, which was unfortunately within sixty yards of our fortification, they kept up an incessant and galling fire on us during the whole day. They were joined by numbers of Koer Sing's men, and the sepoys repeatedly declared they were acting under his express orders; and, after a short time, he was seen on the parade, and remained during the siege. Every endeavour was made by the rebels to induce the Sikhs to abandon us; heavy bribes were offered to them, and their own countrymen employed as mediators. They treated every offer with derision, showing perfect obedience and discipline.

"On the 28th, two small cannon were brought to play on our bungalow, one throwing 4lb. shot; and they were daily shifted to what the rebels thought our weakest spots. Finally, the largest was placed on the roof of Mr. Boyle's dwelling-house, completely commanding the inside of our bungalow; and the smallest behind it, at a distance of twenty yards. Nothing but cowardice, want of unanimity, and only the ignorance of our enemies, prevented our fortification being brought down about our ears. During the entire siege, which lasted seven days, every possible stratagem was practised against us. The cannons were fired as frequently as they could prepare shot, with which they were at first unprovided, and incessant assaults were made upon the bungalow. Not only did our Sikhs behave with perfect coolness and patience, but their untiring labour met and prevented every threatened disaster. Water began to run short; a well of eighteen feet by four was instantly dug in less than twelve hours. The rebels raised a barricade on the top of the opposite house; ours grew in the same proportion. A shot shook a weak place in our defence; the place was made twice as strong as before. We began to feel the want of animal food, and the short allowance of grain: a sally was made at night, and four sheep brought in:

and, finally, we ascertained beyond a doubt that the enemy were undermining us; a countermine was quickly dug. On the 30th, troops sent to our relief from Dinapore, were attacked and beaten back close to the entrance of the town. On the next day the rebels returned; and, telling us that they had annihilated our relief, offered the Sikhs and the women and children (of which there were none with us) their lives and liberty if they would give up the government officers. On the 1st of August *we* were all offered our lives, and leave to go to Calcutta, if we would give up our arms. On the 2nd, the greater part of the sepoys went out to meet Major Eyre's field force; and, on their being soundly thrashed, the rest of them abandoned the station: and that night we went out, and found their mine had reached our foundations; and a canvassed tube, filled with gunpowder, was lying handy to blow us up—in which, however, I do not think they could have succeeded, as their powder was bad, and another stroke of the pick would have broken into our countermine. We also brought in the gun which they had left on the top of the opposite house. During the whole siege, only one man (a Sikh) was severely wounded, though two or three got scratches and blows from splinters of bricks. Everybody in the garrison behaved well: but I should be neglecting a duty did I omit to mention specially Mr. Boyle, to whose engineering skill and untiring exertions we in a great measure owe our preservation; and Mr. Colvin, who rendered the most valuable assistance, and who rested neither night nor day, and took on himself far more than his share of every disagreeable duty. In conclusion, I must earnestly beg that his honour the lieutenant-governor will signally reward the whole of our gallant little detachment of Sikhs, whose service and fidelity cannot be overrated. The jemadar should be at once made a subahdar. Many of the rest are fit for promotion; and, when required, I will submit a list with details.—I have, &c.,

"H. C. WAKE, Magistrate."

The report was transmitted by Mr. Tayler to the secretary to the government of Bengal, on the 8th of August, with the following letter:—

"Patna, August 8th, 1857.

"Herewith I have the honour to forward a copy of a very interesting report from Mr. Wake, reporting officially the events that occurred at Arrah since the mutiny. The conduct of the garrison is most creditable, and the gallantry and fidelity of the Sikhs beyond all praise. I have no time at present to make any lengthened remarks on the subject, but will submit a full report hereafter. Meanwhile, I beg to recommend that the thanks of government be conveyed to all who held the garrison, and especially to Mr. Wake and Mr. Boyle; that the native officers of the Sikhs be immediately promoted, and that twelve months' pay be given to all the soldiers concerned.—I have, &c.,

"W. TAYLER, Commissioner, &c."

On the 15th of the month, the report of Mr. H. C. Wake, with the letter accompanying it, was transmitted by the lieutenant-governor of Bengal to the governor-general in council; the lieutenant-governor observing, he had no doubt that his lordship would read the report with the same interest that he had himself felt; and he desired to express his sense of the excellent conduct of the officers and gentlemen concerned, as well as of the courage and loyalty evinced by the Sikhs, which, in his opinion, called for the most marked approbation and acknowledgments of the government.

To this honourable testimony from the local government of Bengal, his excellency the governor-general in council directed the following response to be forwarded by the secretary to the government of India:—

"August 20th, 1857.

"Sir,—I am desired to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, No. 1,330, dated the 15th inst., with enclosure, describing the gallant defence made by the officers of the station of Arrah, and other gentlemen, and aided by a detachment of the Sikh police battalion, against the men of the three mutinous regiments from Dinapore, and a large number of insurgents, under the rebel Koer Sing, of Jugdespore.

"The right honourable the governor-general in council cordially joins the honourable the lieutenant-governor in acknowledging the admirable conduct of the officers and gentlemen who were engaged in this affair, and the courage and fidelity of the Sikh officers and soldiers who composed the guard. I am directed to request that these sentiments of his lordship in council may be made known to all concerned.

"His lordship in council sanctions the promotion of such of the native officers and men of the Sikh police corps as may be

recommended by the magistrate, and the grant of a gratuity of twelve months' pay to the whole of the officers and men of the detachment.—I have, &c.—C. BEADON."

Returning to the operations carried on at Dinapore for the pursuit of the rebels and the relief of Arrah, it appears that, on the evening of Monday, the 27th of July, a force consisting of a detachment of the 37th regiment and fifty Sikhs, was dispatched by the steamer *Horungotta* to Buhira Ghaut, on the Ganges, eight miles from Arrah. The unfortunate vessel took the ground after three hours' steaming, without any prospect of getting off unless by a rise of the river; and the object of this expedition was frustrated. At length, on the evening of the 28th, the steamer *Bombay* arrived off the station, on her downward passage, and the brigadier-general determined to send up on her, and the flat attached, 250 men of the 37th, with the head-quarters of the 10th regiment, to be joined by the detachment yet on board the *Horungotta;* this united force, under the command of Colonel Fenwick, being directed afterwards to proceed to the Buhira Ghaut, and there disembark. Part of this plan was, however, abandoned, in consequence of the commander of the *Bombay,* when the time for embarking the troops arrived, objecting to tug both flats; and as means were deficient for sending up more than 150 men, a detachment, reduced to that number, was placed under the command of Captain Dunbar, of the 10th regiment. This officer, as senior, eventually assumed command of the entire party destined for Arrah; and the result is thus described by the general and the surviving officers of the party.

On the 30th of July, General Lloyd reported, by telegraph, to the commander-in-chief as follows:—

"Dinapore, 4.20 P.M. (30th.)

"The result of the expedition to Arrah has been, I regret to say, very disastrous, owing entirely to the mismanagement of the officer in command, the late Captain Dunbar, of her majesty's 10th regiment. They arrived at the point of debarkation at 3 P.M. yesterday: landing, three hours and a-half. They marched off for Arrah at 7 P.M., having the moon for some hours: this was all right. They met with scarcely any opposition till they reached a bridge near Arrah: here Captain Harris, second in command, advised Captain Dunbar to halt till daylight; but he, trusting to false reports made to the magistrate, decided on proceeding in the dark, and fell into an ambuscade close to the city. Here he is supposed to have fallen, and many men also. The column broke in confusion. After struggling some distance, the men rallied and re-formed 400 yards distant: awaited daybreak, when retreat was commenced. The men were hungry and exhausted; the rebels, in large bodies, pursued them hotly to the ghaut; latterly, their fire slackened for want of ammunition. At the ghaut the Europeans became uncontrollable, and rushed to the boats, drawing on themselves a heavy fire, by which they suffered greatly, and one boat was burnt. The retreat seems to have been a hurried flight."

The report of Lieutenant Waller, of the 40th native infantry, to the assistant-adjutant-general, Dinapore, dated the 31st of July, describes the affair thus:—

"I have the honour to report, for the information of the major-general commanding the station, that hearing, on the evening of the 29th, that a party of her majesty's 10th regiment was ordered to proceed to Arrah, I volunteered to accompany them. We started from here (Dinapore) at daylight on the 30th, in the steamer *Bombay*, and proceeded up the river to where the flat attached to the government steamer *Horungotta* was, and took her in tow, with a party of her majesty's 37th regiment, and fifty Sikhs of Captain Rattray's police corps, on board—the *Horungotta* being aground. We then proceeded to Buhira Ghaut, and anchored. Lieutenant Ingilby, 7th native infantry, then gave me command of the fifty Sikhs; Ensign Anderson, 22nd native infantry, and Ensign Venour, of my own regiment, volunteering to do duty with me.

"Lieutenant Ingilby then proceeded with fifteen men (Sikhs of the 7th and 8th native infantry, whom he had taken from Dinapore with him) to a nullah about two miles off, for the purpose of seizing the boats to cross the detachment. About twenty minutes after Lieutenant Ingilby had left, I heard shots in the direction of the nullah, and immediately started with my fifty men; but when I got up to the place the firing had ceased, except a few shots which were fired to stop a boat that was sailing up the river. Although desired to stop, Lieutenant Ingilby then crossed the nullah with his fifteen men, leaving me on the other side.

"I then sent off one of my men to Captain Dunbar, to tell him we needed no assistance, hoping I should be in time to prevent his

coming with his detachment, who were cooking when I left; but they had got about half-way before my messenger reached them. Upon the arrival of the 10th and 37th regiments at the nullah, the order was given to cross, which took up a long time, as the current of the river was very strong, and the boats large and heavy: we had finished crossing by 6 o'clock P.M., and then commenced our march. Except that the road was dreadfully uneven, and very distressing to the feet, we had no difficulties of any kind: it was a moonlight night, and the only armed men we saw from the time we left the steamer until our arrival at Arrah, were the few men who fired at Lieutenant Ingilby, and who were left (so the villagers said) by Baboo Koer Sing, to give him news as soon as we arrived; which showed, with what occurred afterwards, that they were well aware of the party having been sent against them. We arrived in Arrah about eleven o'clock; it was then quite dark, as the moon had gone down; and were proceeding quickly through the outskirts of the town, in the following order:—Lieutenant Ingilby a short way ahead of the column with his fifteen men; then her majesty's 10th, followed by my Sikhs; and her majesty's 37th brought up the rear: when in going by a large tope of mango trees, which Lieutenant Ingilby had passed without seeing or hearing anything, we received a most dreadfully severe fire, which I heard killed a good number of our men, who, not being prepared, and the fire being so heavy and so very close to us, ran off the road into the fields on the other side, and from thence commenced firing on the tope. I lost on the road the native officer, a first-rate fellow, who was shot close to me, and also some men, but how many I do not know, as we did not go near the place again. The men were dreadfully scattered, and there was great difficulty in collecting them; some did not join us till next day, and others were dropping in all night. We then retreated to another road, and lay down behind a small 'bund,' which rose along both sides of the road facing the topes in which the rebels were, and which afforded a capital shelter from the fire, which was kept up at short intervals all night. It was after retreating to this bund that Ensign Anderson was killed; poor fellow! he was shot dead through the heart. We remained here during the whole night, and at daylight started back for the steamer, a distance of about thirteen miles. We were followed in large numbers by the rebels: the main body would not come within range, but they sent out a great number of sepoys (picked shots, I fancy) right and left, who took advantage of every tree and inequality of the ground the whole way, and kept up, without the least cessation, a most severe fire on our column the whole march—nearly all, or a great part, of their shot telling on us; whereas they were so much scattered, and so well covered, that they did not suffer much loss: however, although we lost a great number of men, we arrived at the ghaut with comparatively very little loss to what we expected.

"When we arrived at the nullah we found a number of large boats on this side, into which the men immediately rushed, and commenced trying to shove the boats across; but most of them were aground, and the others were so large that the men could not manage them, and all the boatmen had been driven away by the sepoys: every time a man showed himself outside a boat he was fired at from the village, which was close by, and at last the men gave up altogether the idea of getting across in boats, and, taking off all their clothes, those that could, swam across. Upon getting down to the nullah, Ensign Venour and I got into a boat with some of the men, and, while I was shoving out the boat, we tried with a rifle to shoot some of the fellows who were making a mark of me. He knocked over one, but, unfortunately, got shot himself immediately after through the thigh, and dropped. I tied up his leg as well as I could, and, getting some more help, I succeeded in getting the boat off; but the fire was so hot, as they saw a chance of our getting away from them, that I and four men left the boat and swam ashore, being fired at the whole way across. Ensign Venour also left the boat a short time afterwards, and, although wounded, managed to swim ashore; the fire from the village the whole time was most severe, killing and wounding a great number.

"After those who could swim got away, the sepoys first opened a most severe fire on the few who remained in the boats that were aground, and, after wounding most of the men in them, they all rushed down and set fire to the roofs. It was here that poor Lieutenant Ingilby was killed; and a great number of wounded, who had been carried so far, were obliged to be left; a few escaped

in a small boat in which some Sikhs took some wounded officers across (Ensign Erskine amongst others), whom they brought for above five miles on a bed, procured in a village. They returned a second time with the boat, in despite of the fire.

"Nothing could be better than the way in which the Sikhs behaved from the time I got command of them; they made themselves extremely useful in every way, and were always cool, steady, and under perfect control.—I am, &c.,

"H. WALLER, Lieutenant,
"40th Regiment Native Infantry."

The report of Captain Harrison to the assistant-adjutant-general is as follows;—

"Dinapore, July 31st, 1857.

"Sir,—It is with much concern that I have to report, for the information of the major-general commanding division, on the following occurrence connected with the expedition to Arrah, for the purpose of relieving the European inhabitants at that station. At three o'clock P.M., of the 29th instant, the steamer carrying detachments as per margin,* arrived off the point of debarkation, about three miles from the mainland. The party of Sikhs were detached, and shortly afterwards reached the shore for the purpose of seizing boats to enable the detachments to pass over: on arriving there under the command of Lieutenant Ingilby, 7th native infantry, the party were fired upon by some of the rebels posted on the spot to prevent the seizure of the boats by us; there, however, we landed after some shots were fired in that direction, and, after about three hours and a-half, the passage was accomplished.

"Having formed, the detachments commenced their march towards Arrah at seven o'clock P.M., and, with the exception of a few shots being fired at the Sikhs thrown out on our flanks, we reached, without opposition, a bridge distant from Arrah about one mile and a-half: this was the place where I had represented to Captain Dunbar the expediency of halting until daylight; to which he replied, he had heard from the magistrate of the improbability of our meeting with any opposition—he thought it was preferable to push on. After advancing from the bridge about half-an-hour, we were assailed from the embankment of a wood on the right of the road, by a large body of the rebels firing, about thirty yards' distance, on the flank of the column, which at once did severe execution, and was followed up by a continued running fire that caused great destruction amongst officers and men: here I believe Captain Dunbar fell. The men endeavoured to gain shelter on the other side of the road, but, it being quite dark, they fell down a steep embankment (about six feet), and many men lost their firelocks: after straggling some distance, the officers succeeded in re-forming the men in a field some four hundred yards from the ambuscade, and took up a position for the night (it was then about midnight and very dark) in a field adjoining, which seemed to afford some protection. Here we remained until daylight, the rebels keeping up a fire during the night on our position. We then commenced our retreat towards the steamer, twelve miles distant: in consequence of the men of both regiments having fasted such a long time, they were too exhausted and tired to act as skirmishers; however, our rear-guard and files on the flanks frequently kept up a fire until all their ammunition was expended, by which time we arrived at the bank of the river: we were compelled to march in column, the rebels pursuing us in large bodies the whole distance to the ghauts, both on flank and rear; but their fire visibly slackened the last two miles: the rebels, it was supposed, were running short of ammunition, and wished to reserve it. On our arriving at the ghauts, notwithstanding the efforts of the officers, the men made a rush to the boats, immediately upon which the rebels advanced upon us, and commenced a heavy fire of musketry and two guns upon the boats, which were forsaken by the boatmen: this caused great loss; and one fired one of the boats. The remnants of the detachment gained the steamer, which I immediately ordered to Dinapore, to gain assistance for the wounded. The loss we inflicted on the rebels I believe to be small on account of the darkness, and the men being too exhausted to fire. The people of the country turned out against us.

"I have, &c.—R. P. HARRISON,
"Captain, commanding Detachment of
Her Majesty's 37th Regiment."

Appended to the above report, is a return of killed and wounded; showing of the former 135, of the latter 60, as the cost of this most unfortunate affair.

These reports were transmitted by Major-general Lloyd, to the deputy-adjutant-gen-

* Her majesty's 10th regiment—three officers, 150 men; ditto 37th regiment—seven officers, 190 men; Sikhs—one officer, 65 men: total, 405.

eral of the army, on the 1st of August. After briefly referring to the circumstances attending the embarkation, and the result, the major-general observes—"The report of Captain Harrison, the senior surviving officer of the party, will put his excellency the commander-in-chief in possession of the very untoward events which attended the subsequent progress of the expedition. From what is apparent on the face of the report, and from information I have derived, it seems to me that this disastrous affair may be attributed, 1st, To the men commencing the land journey without previously taking food; which evidently much impaired their efficiency during the harassing circumstances in which they were placed. 2ndly, From the late commanding officer of the detachment, when in the immediate vicinity of the mutineers, and with the knowledge that his movements were watched (two sowars being seen in the distance on landing, who disappeared in the direction of Arrah), pushing on in the dark against the strong representation of the second in command, and others of the party, and thus allowing himself to be entrapped in an ambuscade, the effects of which quite disheartened and demoralised the troops, and, combined with their physical exhaustion, led to a complete rout, defying the endeavours of the officers to restore order in their progress back to the ghaut."

On the 2nd of August, the major-general reported, by telegraph, to the commander-in-chief as follows:—

"Troops here inadequate to cope with Koer Sing and mutineers in Arrah. One hundred and sixty of 5th fusiliers, and three guns, under Major Eyre, landed at Buxar, and were supposed to be in its neighbourhood. Koer Sing said to have mustered strongly on his own account; sometimes said to meditate an attack on Patna, but real intentions not known. All the boats on the Soane are in his possession."

In reference to the above telegram, it appears that Major Eyre, of the artillery, with a force consisting of 150 men of the 5th fusiliers and three guns, left Buxar on the 30th of July, *en route* for Patna; and, on reaching Shawpore, distant about twenty-eight miles, received intelligence of the occurrences at Dinapore and Arrah. Changing his route, he arrived near the latter station on the 3rd of August, and found himself in front of the enemy, between 2,000 and 2,500 strong, besides a large number of irregulars belonging to Koer Sing, who commanded the whole force in person. After a sharp engagement, in which Major Eyre was gallantly supported by a reinforcement from Dinapore, under the command of Captain L'Estrange, the enemy, signally defeated, fled panic-stricken in all directions; and the heroic band that preserved Arrah was relieved. The following are the official details:—

"*Major Vincent Eyre to the Assistant Adjutant-general at Dinapore.*

"Camp near Arrah, August 3rd, 1857.

"Sir,—I have much pleasure in reporting, for the information of Major-general Lloyd, commanding Dinapore division, the safe arrival here of the field force under my command, and the relief of the party defending themselves at Arrah, with whom I have just opened a satisfactory communication; and have received your letter, dated the 31st ult., from which I exceedingly regret to learn the severe loss sustained by the detachment co-operating with us on the Dinapore side; but I venture to affirm confidently, that no such disaster would have been likely to occur had that detachment advanced less precipitately, so as to have allowed full time for my force to approach direct from the opposite side; for the rebels would then have been hemmed in between the two opposing forces, and must have been utterly routed.*

"My former letters of the 30th ultimo and 1st instant, will, I hope, have informed you of my advance from Buxar on the evening of the first-named date: we pushed on with all practicable speed to Shawpore, distant twenty-eight miles, where rumours of the Dinapore disaster reached us. Hearing that the enemy designed to destroy the bridges *en route*, we again pushed on at 2 P.M., as far as Bullowtee, where we found the bridge just cut through. An hour's halt sufficed to repair it, which we employed also in burning the villages on either side, since we had caught their inhabitants in the act of destruction. Arriving at Goojerajgunge by nightfall, I was delighted to find the bridge entire, where we bivouacked for the night, and at day-break next morning resumed our march; but had only proceeded about a mile beyond Goojerajgunge, when we discovered the enemy in great force in possession of the

* This view of the case was objected to by General Lloyd.

woods to our front and flanks. The road by which we had to reach the wood in our front was bounded by inundated paddy-fields on either side. I halted to observe the best course to pursue; and finding that the enemy were weakening their front, to take us on both flanks, I boldly pushed forward, throwing out skirmishers in every direction. The Enfield rifles kept our foes at a distance, and we succeeded in forcing the wood, beyond which, as far as Beebee-gunge, it lay across an open swamp, which greatly befriended us. Meanwhile, the baffled enemy were observed hurrying round to oppose us at Beebeegunge, which is situated on the opposite side of a bridge, by which we had hoped to cross the river. There I again halted, to refresh the troops and to reconnoitre.

"Finding the bridge had been destroyed, extensive earthern breastworks raised on the other side, flanking the bridge, and the mutinous regiments in force occupying the houses in the village, I determined on making a detour to the right as far as the railway earthworks, about a mile off. I masked this movement for a time by the fire of my guns; but no sooner did the enemy discover our purpose, than they hurried with their entire strength to intercept us at a wood which it was necessary for us to pass: a portion of them followed us up in the rear, and, by the time we reached the wood, we found quite as much on our hands as we could manage.

"They mustered some 2,000 to 2,500 strong in sepoys alone, besides Rajah Koer Sing's irregular forces, of whom, however, we made little account. The rajah was apparently present in person; and, for upwards of an hour, we were compelled to act solely on the defensive. The sepoys, apparently emboldened by their recent success beyond Arrah, advanced to the assault with a vigour quite unexpected; and twice, with their bugles sounding first the 'assembly,' then the 'advance' and the 'double,' made determined rushes upon the guns; but were, on both occasions, repulsed with showers of grape. Meanwhile, Captain L'Estrange, with the gallant 5th, was not idle, as will be seen by his own report, hereto appended. Finding, at length, that the enemy grew emboldened by the superiority of their numbers and the advantage of their positions, I determined on trying the effect of a general charge of the infantry, and sent Captain the Hon. E. P. Hastings to Captain L'Estrange, with orders to that effect. Promptly and gallantly he obeyed the order; the skirmishers on the right turned their flank; the guns, with grape and shrapnel, drove in the centre; and the troops advancing on all sides, drove the enemy panic-struck in all directions. Thus our road was cleared; all beyond the country was open, and we proceeded without further interruption to within four miles of Arrah, when we were suddenly brought up by an impassable river, and have since been employed in attempting to bridge it over.* In this work, the railway engineers, headed by Mr. Kelly, have rendered the most valuable aid. Meanwhile, most of the rebels returned to Arrah; but precipitately left it during the night. Rajah Koer Sing accompanied them to save his family. Their loss is reported to have been severe. We hear that not a sepoy now remains in Arrah, and that the mass have gone off towards Rhotas, or scattered themselves in various directions.

"I have now to commend to the notice of the major-general the gallant conduct of the officers and troops whom I had the honour to command on this occasion: under circumstances of great peril and difficulty they have exhibited those soldierly qualities which seldom fail to ensure success. To Captains L'Estrange and Scott, of her majesty's 5th fusiliers, my special thanks are due, for the prompt and gallant way in which they seconded my efforts, more particularly in the final charge, which was executed against twenty times their number of brave and disciplined troops. Captain L'Estrange reports highly of Ensigns Oldfield, Lewis, and Mason. To Captain the Hon. E. P. Hastings, staff-officer of this force, much of the success of this expedition may be attributed; whether on the march, or in action, with the enemy, he was everywhere to be found, at the right time and in the right place, to aid us with his energy in overcoming all difficulties. Of the others who especially distinguished themselves, I feel bound to make honourable mention of Messrs. Kelly, Barber, Burroughs, Nicholl, and Hughes, of the Buxar gentlemen volunteers, who rendered excellent service under their gallant leader Lieutenant Jackson, 12th native infantry; Assistant-surgeon Eteson, in charge of the field hospital, and Staff-sergeant Melville, of the 1st company 5th battalion of artil-

* The guns crossed safely at 11 A.M.

lery, also merit particular notice for their zeal and energy on duty.

"My future movements must be guided, in a great measure, by the information I may receive from other quarters. Meanwhile, a good supply of ammunition is earnestly required for her majesty's 5th fusiliers, to the extent of eighty rounds per man, and grape for two 9-pounders and howitzer. Enclosed are the returns of casualties on the 2nd instant.*—I have, &c.,

"V. EYRE, Major,

"Commanding Field Force."

"P.S.—Mr. Wake, the magistrate of Arrah, has just ridden into camp; his defence of his house seems to have been almost miraculous."

A report from Captain F. W. L'Estrange accompanied the above, and detailed the successful operations of the auxiliary force under his command, consisting of 160 men of the 5th European regiment, who had ably seconded the proceedings of the force under Major Eyre.

The very strong opinion expressed by Major Eyre in the concluding sentences of the first paragraph of his report, drew from Major-general Lloyd a distinct repudiation of the inference sought to be conveyed by it; and, on the 10th of August, that officer wrote to the deputy-adjutant-general from Dinapore in the following terms:—

"Sir,—In a despatch from Major V. Eyre, dated 'Camp, near Arrah, 3rd instant,' forwarded with Colonel Cumberlege's† letter of the 4th idem to your address, he adverts to the severe loss sustained by a detachment dispatched to Arrah, under my orders, on the 29th of July; adding, 'I venture to affirm, confidently, that no such disaster would have been likely to occur had the detachment advanced less precipitately, so as to have given full time for my force to approach direct from the opposite side; for the rebels would then have been hemmed in between two opposing forces, and must have been utterly routed.'

"Lest the foregoing observation and opinion should be accepted, I deem it a duty to myself to state, that the first intimation received by me of the debarkation at Buxar of Major Eyre's forces, was contained in a letter dated the 30th ultimo (which reached me by steamer the same day), the Dinapore detachment having started on its expedition to Arrah the day before; also, that Major Eyre made no previous communication whatever concerning his movements, nor had I reason to suppose that any land operation would have been attempted by him; hence, at the time, any undertaking from Dinapore, in concert with Major Eyre, was obviously impracticable.—I have, &c.,

"G. W. A. LLOYD."

The station at Arrah having been effectually relieved from the presence of the rebellious soldiery and their improvised leader Koer Sing, with his followers, a brief reference to correspondence descriptive of the occurrences at Dinapore and Arrah, may not be out of place.

Commencing with a letter from a medical officer attached to her majesty's 10th regiment at Dinapore, under date of August the 2nd, we read as follows:—

"Since I last wrote to you the native regiments here have mutinied, but without any loss of life to us. I told you all along the rascals would never attack the 10th. We are all so much disgusted here with the whole affair, that really, as an officer of the regiment, I have neither patience nor time to give a full account of the very bad management of the general and his staff in allowing the three regiments to escape. They went off in the direction of the Soane river, which they managed to cross, and afterwards marched towards Arrah. The day of the mutiny, and a few hours before it broke out, the general commanding gave orders for the removal of the percussion-caps from the magazine situated at the top of the native lines. This was done at an early hour of the morning; and as the artillery cart passed down where the native regiments were parading, the 7th and 8th gave a shout, and showed evident symptoms of their desire to stop it; but they were prevented, and the cart was brought safely on to our mess-room. These two regiments were in open revolt at six o'clock A.M. The general was informed of the fact; and in place of ordering up the guns and the 10th to disarm the 7th, 8th, and 40th, on the spot, he only issued the supine order for the native officers to collect the caps that the sepoys were in possession of, and to report to him by twelve o'clock that this was effected. When the native officers went to carry, or pretended to carry, this contemptible and temporising order into effect, the 7th and 8th would not give up their caps, but some

* The returns give a total of two killed and sixteen wounded.

† The officer who superseded General Lloyd in command at Dinapore.

of the 40th complied. The European officers belonging to the regiments afterwards went up to the rebels, and endeavoured to get them to do so, but their efforts were unavailing. The sepoys told their officers to be off, and fired upon them, but, happily, without killing or wounding any of them.

"The hospital guard saw all this; and perceiving the officers running towards the 10th's lines, the signal guns were fired off from the hospital. The whole of my patients got on the top of it. They kept up a steady fire, and managed, infirm in health as they were, to kill about a dozen of the scoundrels. The regiment turned out, and every one was in his place in the course of a few minutes. I galloped round the houses, and got all the ladies, women, and children brought down to the barracks. The order was given—'Guns to the front;' and on we went in the fond anticipation of cutting these three rebel regiments to pieces. Some of the 37th (Queen's), who arrived here the day before, were thrown out in skirmishing order. The 10th advanced with their guns; and great was our mortification when we perceived the sepoys running across the country like deer. We fired six guns after them without effect; and here ended this most disgracefully mismanaged affair. One fellow fired at myself as I was carrying an order, but the ball did not hit me. Some of the men saw where it came from, and found him concealed in one of the huts; they soon dispatched him. We only killed about thirty of the mutineers; had they stopped, and given the gallant 10th a chance, they would have bagged the whole, or at all events the greater proportion of them; and it is galling and most mortifying to the regiment to think that it has been prevented doing so by the imbecility of the general, whose conduct, for many weeks past, has been the means at least of bringing a heavy affliction upon her majesty's 10th. I must here explain, that after the rebels ran off, an order was given (two days afterwards) for the head-quarters of the regiment to proceed to Arrah by a steamer, to relieve some Europeans besieged in that place. This order was, however, cancelled, and a small detachment of the 10th was sent, under the command of one of our senior captains (Dunbar.) The strength of the detachment amounted to 150 men and four officers. There were also 230 men of the 37th, and a proportion of officers; the whole force constituting nearly 400 men, including eight or ten officers of the native regiments from here, who volunteered. The boat containing the 37th got aground, but they were taken on board of the one which was proceeding up with the 10th men. They all landed safely, and continued their march towards Arrah; the whole being under the command of Captain Dunbar, who made a sad mess of it. He did not, it appears, take the precaution of throwing out an advanced guard; and when our gallant soldiers were marching on in the full hope of doing good work, they were, about two o'clock in the morning, fired upon by 2,000 sepoys, who were lying in ambush for them. Captain Dunbar was killed on the spot, as well as three officers of the 37th. The men became panic-stricken, and they retreated in the direction of the steamer, which lay two miles out in the stream. Both detachments were severely handled, and the 10th have lost seventy men killed and wounded in this unfortunate expedition. The 37th sustained pretty much the same loss. The remainder of the detachment arrived back here on Friday. All our men are badly wounded; and for the last two days I have had hard work amputating and extracting balls. I wash the blood from my hands to go and write this to you, and again to return to the hospital. In the absence of Dr. Gordon on medical certificate, you are aware that I have had full medical charge of the regiment for nearly twelve months past; and in the present untoward emergency I have had plenty to do, and with little assistance, on account of Dr. Tulloch, the second assistant, being with a detachment at Benares, and from Mr. Tucker, the junior assistant, having been sent off to Patna in medical charge of another detachment on the very day the wounded arrived back from Arrah; but I have now got assistance, and will manage to get a sleep to-night. Poor Erskine was mortally wounded in the abdomen; he expired yesterday. Sandwith and Battye were also wounded; but both, I am happy to say, are doing well. The names of the officers of the 37th killed are—Lieutenant Bagenall and Ensigns Birket and Sale. Mr. Ingilby, of the 7th regiment, was also killed. He was one of the European officers of the native regiments who volunteered, several of whom have come back here badly wounded; some have been drowned, and others are missing. The medical officer sent in charge was also wounded; and all the medical stores I sent for the use of the

men have been lost. I need not say that the poor ladies and wives of the men are in great distress about their husbands. All the ladies are ordered from this to Calcutta. The 10th, now here, are greatly reduced in numbers, and we have at this time only four officers fit for duty; but we expect more troops daily. The treasure has been removed from here, and we are all in great excitement. If you will refer to my letters written more than two months ago, you will read in them that I then advocated the disarming of these regiments, and frankly stated that the general would some day regret his misplaced confidence in them. That day has at last arrived. In the whole of her majesty's army there is not a corps in higher discipline than the 10th. The gallant Colonel Franks made them a model regiment. Their movements were as one man; and I will not admit that even the guards could have gone through their evolutions with the same, or at least with more, precision and soldierlike bearing than this regiment to which I have the honour to belong; and although three regiments were opposed to us, we were burning to get at them, notwithstanding we had little more than 400 effective bayonets; for, what with the detachment at Benares and the sick in hospital, the above number was all we had here. The discipline and efficiency of the regiment are well preserved by the gallant officer, Colonel Fenwick, now in command; and had it been his lot to take charge of the small expedition sent to Arrah, this catastrophe, I think, would not have happened, because he would have been more cautious.

"General Lloyd had been, I am informed, nearly fifty years in India, and, from bodily infirmity, is altogether unfit for such a command in such troublesome times. Surely it is high time for any field officer to retire when he requires help to be put on and taken off his horse. We are all vexed beyond measure that he has prevented the brave 10th from proving to the world that, with only 400 men, they would have licked, and that most effectually, three regiments of insurgent sepoys.

"We hear that large supplies of troops are coming to our aid. I hope the British government will bear in mind the necessity of keeping up a continued flow of fresh regiments for some time to come, so as to supply the deficiency which sickness will create. It is not the mere sending of 50,000 men that will do in this presidency alone, unless that number is steadily kept up by an infusion of healthy men sent out for some years to come, to supply the place of invalids sent home and the sick in hospital. This, believe me, is a most trying climate for Europeans."

Another letter describes the disastrous night march near Arrah, in the following language:—

"Patna, July 31st.

"I thank God that I am alive and well, and able to write to you once more. I have been in great danger, and never expected to reach this place alive again; but God has been most merciful to me. As I dare say you would like to hear the whole story, I will begin at the beginning. About a week ago, as we have long anticipated, the three native regiments at Dinapore mutinied. The general, an old man in his second childhood, managed the whole affair very badly, or rather did nothing at all. No one knew who was in command of the Europeans; no one knew who to look to for orders; the general was not to be found; and the consequence was, that the three regiments managed to get clear off with their arms and ammunition, and almost without losing a single man! The general was advised and asked to send men after them; but this he altogether declined to do, and determined to keep every European in Dinapore, to take care of that place. A day or so after the mutineers left, we heard that they had gone to Arrah, where they were attacking poor Wake and party, consisting of about twelve or thirteen Europeans, and fifty Sikhs. Wake had strongly fortified a puckha house, and laid in lots of ammunition and food. Directly we heard of this, and that they were holding out well, Mr. Tayler wrote to the general to send out aid to them. At first he refused; but after receiving a strong letter from Mr. Tayler, he consented, and sent off 200 Europeans in a steamer. The next day, we heard that the steamer had stuck in the river, and that the general had sent orders to recall them. Of course, as Englishmen, we were in a great rage at this—leaving a number of poor fellows to their fate; so off —— and I started, at twelve at night, on Tuesday last, to ascertain the facts. When we got to Dinapore, we found that he had been made to change his mind, and had consented to send another steamer off, which luckily happened just to have come in. In this started 150 Europeans and 50 Sikhs; we

altogether made up a force of 400 men. As Wake is one of the greatest friends I have got, I determined to give him a hand if I could, and so volunteered with seven other fellows, five of whom are dead. Well, I was up all that Tuesday night, and, at day-light on Wednesday, off we started. We reached the nearest point to Arrah, on the banks of the Ganges, at about two o'clock, and were beginning to get dinner ready (so as to start with a good feed, as we could not expect to get anything on the road), when we heard our advanced guard firing. We immediately all fell in, and went off to the place, about two miles off, where we found them drawn up before a large nullah (river) about 200 yards wide, firing away at some sepoys on the other side. The sepoys, when they saw us coming, ran away; and then, as we had got so far, we thought we might as well go on. After a delay of two or three hours in getting boats and crossing over, it was nearly seven o'clock before we got well off. From the villagers we heard that Wake was still all right and holding out, which was confirmed by the firing we heard, in the direction of Arrah, of big guns. It was a beautiful moonlight night, the road a very bad one (a kutcha one in the rains), and wooded country on both sides of us. We did not see a soul on the road, though we passed through several villages, until we came to within five miles of Arrah, where we saw a party of horsemen ahead of us, who galloped off before we got within shot. About eleven o'clock the moon went down; however, as we did not expect that the mutineers would face us, we still went on, till we came to within about a mile of the fortified house. We were passing a thick black mango-grove to our right, when all of a sudden, without any warning, the whole place was lit up by a tremendous volley poured into us at about thirty or forty yards' distance. It is impossible to say how many men fired into us: some say 500; some, 1,500. The next thing I remember was finding myself alone, lying in the middle of the road, with a crack on the head, and my hat gone. I suppose I must have been stunned for a minute. When I recovered, there were several men lying by me, but not a living soul could I see. There were lots to hear, though; for the bullets from right to left were whistling over my head. I was just thinking where our men could be, and which way I should run, when I saw the sepoys advancing out of the grove with their bayonets, within a dozen yards of me. I fired my double-barrel right and left into them, and then ran towards our men, whom I could hear shouting on the left, under a tremendous fire from both parties. Everything now was in a most dreadful confusion; the men were all scattered in groups of fifties and twenties, firing in every direction, and, I fear, killing each other. At last a Captain Jones, a very fine fellow—our commander was never seen again after the first volley—got hold of a bugler, and got the men together in a sort of hollow place, a half-filled pond. There we all lay down in a square. I was in the middle, with the doctor, helping him to tie up the wounds of the poor fellows, and bringing them water. The firing was all this time going on. The enemy could see us, as we were all dressed in white; while they were nearly naked, and behind trees and walls. However, the men fired about at random. At last the poor doctor was knocked over, badly wounded. It was dreadful to hear the poor wounded fellows asking for help.

"I shall never forget that night as long as I live. We held a consultation, and determined to retreat, as the enemy was at least 3,000 or 4,000 strong, and had, besides, several cannon. Directly morning dawned, we formed order and began our retreat. The whole distance, sixteen miles, we walked under a most tremendous fire; the ditches, the jungles, the houses, and, in fact, every place of cover along the road, was lined with sepoys. We kept up a fire as we went along; but what could we do? We could see no enemy, only puffs of smoke. We tried to charge, but there was nobody to charge: on all sides they fired into us, and were scattered all over the country, in groups of tens and twenties. Dozens of poor fellows were knocked over within a yard of me on my right and left; but, thank God! I escaped in the most wonderful way. The last five miles of the road I carried a poor wounded fellow, who begged me not to leave him; and though we had had nothing to eat for more than twenty-four hours, and I had had no sleep for two nights, I never felt so strong in my life, and I stepped out with the man as if he had been a feather, though he was as big as myself. Poor fellow! the men, most of them more or less wounded, were leaving him behind; and the cowardly sepoys, who never came within 200 yards of us, were running up to murder him. I got the poor fellow safe over the nullah; I swam

out and got a boat, put him in, and went over with a lot of others. The poor fellow thanked me with tears in his eyes. At the crossing of the nullah we lost a great many men; they threw away their muskets to pull the boats and to swim over, and were shot down like sheep.

"I never before knew the horrors of war; and what I have gone through, I hope, will make a lasting impression on my mind, and make me think more of God, and His great goodness to me. I am sure God spared me because He knew I was not fit to die; and I pray God that He will prepare me, for we can truly say, we know not what a day may bring forth. I had several extraordinary escapes; one bullet went between my legs as I was walking, and broke a man's leg in front of me; another bullet hit me on the back of the head, knocking me down, but hardly breaking the skin. Everything here is quiet as yet, but people are in a great panic. I cannot say that I am. Out of the 400 fine fellows that started for Arrah, nearly 200 were killed; and of the remainder, I do not think more than 50 to 80 were not wounded; out of seven volunteers, five were knocked over, four killed, and one wounded. This has been the most disastrous affair that has happened out here. I hope, however, we may soon get some more troops from Calcutta, and get back our name. I cry to think of the way we were beaten, and of the number of poor fellows who were killed. I will send this letter at once; for, perhaps, the dâk may be stopped, and I may not be able to send a letter in a day or two. I will write again if I can, but do not be alarmed if I do not. The crack on my head hardly broke the skin, and is nothing; the bullet hit me sideways, and the folds of cloth I had round my hat saved me.

"August 1st.—I have just heard that about thirty men came in last night who got separated from us in the dark, and wandered to the river, where they got off in a native boat. The authentic return I have just seen; 150 men killed, the rest wounded, except about fifty men, who escaped untouched. I suppose such a disastrous affair was never heard of before in India—most dreadful mismanagement throughout. Of course we did not relieve poor Wake and his garrison."

The following narrative is contained in a letter from Mr. William M'Donell, magistrate of Chuprah, who writes from that place, on the 3rd of September, as follows:—

"On the evening of the 25th of July, or rather in the middle of the night, a note came from Dinapore, saying that the troops were very shaky, but that her majesty's 10th, and the guns, were ready for them. Next morning we got an official despatch from the brigade-office, telling us that all three native corps had gone off in a westerly direction (this was at 11 A.M.), and that the 10th were after them. About half-an-hour afterwards, we got a note from Daunt at Peiprah (an indigo factory, about fifty miles north of Chuprah), that the 12th irregular cavalry had, on the 23rd, mutinied, murdered all their officers and their wives, and had then set off towards Sewan. He said he wrote on the chance of our not having heard it, though it had occurred three days before. On hearing this, we held a cabinet council, and determined that Chuprah was no longer safe. So Martin, Richardson and his wife, set off at once; the doctor and his wife followed soon afterwards; and about two o'clock I was thinking of following them, when I remembered that all my prisoners, owing to cholera having broken out in the gaol, were in the opium godown. Now, as they could easily escape from there, I went and saw them all into the gaol. By this time everybody knew that the officials had bolted; and people seemed so alarmed, that I determined on staying a little longer. About 6 P.M. I got a note from Mr. Garston, asking if I was in the station, as he heard I was alone. He was returning from the district. I said I was, but I advised him to bolt; but, instead of that, he very pluckily came in and stayed with me. We rode round the town, to show the people we had not bolted, and then came home, and went to bed without undressing; and we had our horses saddled, standing all night at the door. About twelve o'clock that night I got a pencil note, not signed, but written, I saw, by Lynch, saying he had escaped from Sewan with his life, and that the cavalry were there. Early in the morning I got a second note, saying that the troopers had come down the Chuprah-road, searching for Lynch and M'Donell, the deputy opium agent. About 10 A.M. I heard that the Dinapore mutineers had reached Arrah; and while in cutcherry, about three o'clock, a man on a pony came galloping in, saying that the cavalry were

within ten miles of Chuprah. I finished the case I was about, and I fear rather hastily, and then rode home; and Garston and I agreed it was time to bolt; so we made a start for it, going through the town, and to the police-station, and also to the missionaries, to tell them we were going, and advising them to do the same. We rode down to Doreegunge, about eight miles, and saw the smoke of a steamer in the distance, so we waited until she came near. We found Martin, and Richardson, and the doctor on board, with a party of the 5th fusiliers, and some thirteen Sikhs. On hearing that the cavalry were on their way here, and that the rebels were at Arrah, all agreed it would be folly to go back with only thirteen Sikhs, so we got a party of the 5th fusiliers to go with us, and we started off in boats for Chuprah, which we reached at 11 P.M. We went to the collector's, and all assisted in packing treasure, and we started back for the steamer with some 90,000 rupees. If they had left me fifty men I would have stopped at Chuprah, but not with only thirteen Sikhs. As the men could not be spared, back we went; and, on the way, we heard that the Arrah people, consisting of my friend Wake, officiating magistrate; Littledale, the judge; Coombes, the collector; Boyle, railway engineer, and some six or seven others, were besieged in a small bungalow by the three Dinapore corps. On reaching Dinapore, I found that 200 men of the 37th (Queen's), and fifty Sikhs, had been sent to relieve Arrah; but, unfortunately the steamer grounded, through treachery, I believe, on the part of the pilot. There the steamer lay, quite close to Dinapore, and the authorities doing nothing. I went to the general, and urged upon him, that unless relieved soon, the garrison must all be murdered; and that if he would send a fresh detachment in boats, I could show them another way to Arrah, where the steamer was sure not to stick, and that I knew the road from the ghaut to Arrah. He said, if I would really go with them, he would send some of the 10th. Just then, another steamer came in: it was agreed that all the passengers were to be landed and put into the church, and that 500 of the 10th were to start at three next morning. While making arrangements, I got a note from Tayler, the commissioner, saying, he had heard I had volunteered to show the way, but that he could not spare me; so I at once got into a native cart at ten at night, and drove to Patna, which I reached about half-past 11 P.M. I saw Tayler, and begged him to let me go, as, humanly speaking, it was the only way of saving the little garrison. At last he said, that if the general really laid any stress on my going he would not object. He ordered his carriage, and I drove down with him and young Mangles to Dinapore. It was then nearly two o'clock. We woke up the general, and he told Tayler that it was very important that I should go, as I knew the road, and he would trust to me. By this time it was the hour fixed to start. We drove down to the steamer, and, to my disgust, found all the passengers still on board. There was great delay and squabbling; and, at 5 A.M., the general said, 'Oh, if there is not room in the steamer, never mind; the flat takes only 150 men.' So all the others went back. This caused endless confusion. Colonel Fenwick would not go with only 150 of his men; and ordered Captain Dunbar to take the command. At last we got off, and came up to the other steamer—got her flat, containing 200 of the 37th and 50 Sikhs; steamed on, and landed at Buhira Ghaut about 2 P.M. Of the disasters that befel us on that occasion you must have seen a long account, but I will give a brief sketch. About two miles from the ghaut there is a river, after crossing which you get on the public road to Arrah from Chuprah, a distance of about twelve miles. As I was not sure I should find boats, as we were in an enemy's country, I offered to go on with a small party of Sikhs, and secure the boats, while the Europeans had their dinner on the bank. So off Ingilby, of the 7th native infantry (who volunteered, and commanded the Sikhs), Garston and myself, with twenty men, went to the river side. On reaching the river's bank, we found all the boats drawn up on the other side, and about 200 men assembled. They had four or five of those long native guns stuck on three sticks, and began blazing at us; whereupon two of our party said they would return for aid. We told them particularly not to disturb the Europeans, but to ask for the rest of the Sikhs, fifty being sufficient to dislodge the enemy. We immediately set to work, and blazed across the river, and soon set all the fellows running. Two Sikhs then swam across, and got a small boat, in which Ingilby, Garston and myself, with

ten Sikhs, crossed. We were hardly across, when, to our disgust, we saw all the Europeans coming up at the double-quick—these fools having reported that we were surrounded; so the 10th came away without getting their dinners, or even a drop of grog, and had brought nothing with them. We all crossed, and by the time we were in marching order it was four o'clock. Ingilby, Garston, myself, and twenty Sikhs, formed the vanguard; then came 150 of the 10th; then 50 Sikhs; and, lastly, 200 of the 37th (Queen's.) We marched four miles all right, when we saw some ten or twelve horsemen in front. However, they galloped off before any damage could be done to them. The men got very footsore, and we halted at the Kainnugger bridge, about three miles from Arrah, at 10 P.M.; and here we ought to have remained for the night; but, after stopping about half-an-hour, on we marched. I fancy poor Dunbar thought it useless halting, considering his men had nothing with them, and that it would be better to push on. What possessed us I know not: up to this time we had made the Sikhs throw out skirmishers; but now we marched in a body—Ingilby and Dunbar, who was talking to me, with about twenty Sikhs, some 200 yards in advance of the main body. After marching to within half a mile of Arrah, we arrived at a thick tope of trees, and the moonlight hardly showed through; in fact, the moon was setting. Well, we had got nearly through, when, like a flash of lightning all along our left side, came one blaze of musketry, and then another, and a third volley. By the light the firing made we could see we were surrounded. We got behind the trees, and tried to return the fire; Dunbar, myself, three of the 10th, and two Sikhs, got together and blazed away. Foolishly, I had given my powder-flask and bullets, &c., to a native to carry: of course, he disappeared; and, after firing off two barrels, I was powerless—not for long, however; for the next minute we got a volley into us. I fancy our firing showed where we were. Poor Dunbar fell against me, mortally wounded. I was covered with his blood. A ball hit me in the thigh, cutting it slightly only; at the same time, two of the 10th and one Sikh also fell. I immediately picked up an Enfield rifle belonging to the 10th man, and his cartridge-box, and began blazing away. I then shouted out that Dunbar was killed; that the first officer in command had best give orders. This brought another volley on us, and another man dropped. We then tried to join the main body, and ran from tree to tree: the Europeans seeing us coming (all Sikhs nearly), thought we were the enemy, and fired into us, killing several; in fact, I fear as many of our men were killed by their own comrades as by the enemy. In the night, it was difficult to tell friend from foe; and, after having to dodge round a tree, you, in the dark, could hardly tell where your friends were, and where your foes. At last, most of us got together, and beat a retreat towards a tank, near which was a high bank: we got to the other side of this bank, and lay there all night, the enemy firing into us every five minutes; and, foolishly, our men would return the shot. It was bad policy—it showed where we were; and we could not afford to throw away a single shot. Young Anderson, a very nice young fellow of the 22nd native infantry (a volunteer), was standing up behind the hedge; he was shot through the head, and jumped up like a buck—of course, killed on the spot. About daylight we counted our forces, and found that we were about 350 strong—100 missing; afterwards, about 50 of these joined us, being concealed in a village close by; the rest were killed. We could see the enemy, and tried to make out their number. There were the three Dinapore regiments drawn up in order, with bugles sounding the advance; about 2,000 men, with long matchlocks, belonging to, and headed by, Baboo Koer Sing; and more than 1,000 of the disbanded sepoys, who had managed to join him; and a large rabble armed with swords, spears, &c.—not formidable in themselves, but who were occupied in killing all the wounded, beating them like dogs. We tried to make the men charge; but they were tired, wet, and a great number wounded. My leg, from lying on the damp ground, and from the bleeding, was so stiff I could hardly walk; however, I soon warmed up. Unfortunately, the doctor was one of the first wounded; and, though he did his best, poor fellow! he could not bind up the wounds properly. There were no dhoolies, so that the wounded had to march with the rest. Then commenced our retreat. They completely surrounded us, and fired into us all the way back—twelve miles—men dropping every

minute; and some, badly wounded, were, I fear, left behind and killed by the enemy. By the time we reached the boats, a hundred must have been killed—and then commenced the massacre. The boats, which we expected to have been taken away, were all there; so, with a cheer, we all rushed to them, when, to our dismay, we found they had fastened them securely to the shore, and had dragged them up out of the water, placing, about 300 yards off, a small cannon, with which they blazed into us. (I forgot to say, that all the way they pitched into us with four small cannons.) The men, to escape the shot, got into the boats; and, of course, as long as they were in them, it was impossible to push the boats off: so a number of men stripped themselves, throwing away their rifles and everything, and some of them managed to reach the other side. The wounded men, of course, could not swim, and some of us knew that we could never reach the shore; so out we jumped, and managed to get two of the boats off: well, then we were at the mercy of the wind and stream, for not an oar had they left us. The wind was favourable, and we started off splendidly, when, lo and behold! we gradually turned towards the shore; and then I saw they had tied our rudder, so as to bring us in again. I told the men to cut it; but no one moved, and so I got a knife and climbed up to the rudder. It was one of those country boats, covered in except just at the stern. The moment they saw what I was at, they blazed at me; but God in His mercy preserved me. Two bullets went through my hat, but I was not touched. The rope was cut, and we were saved; but about half-way across we struck on a sand-bank, and then the bullets poured in so fast, that nearly every one jumped overboard. One young officer jumped over as he was, with his sword on, and down he went; another (Ingilby) was shot in the head, and either drowned or killed. I threw my pistol overboard; my coat I had thrown away early in the morning, as, being a coloured one, it made me conspicuous among the soldiers, who were all in white. How I swam on shore I know not, as it is not an accomplishment I am a 'dab' at. When once on shore, we were pretty safe; and 250 out of 450 reached the steamer alive. Since then, nearly 100 more, from wounds, exposure, &c., have died; making a loss of 300 out of 450—the worst that has befallen us yet; nearly every one was wounded."

A lady, apparently one of the fugitives from Arrah, dates her letter, of the 28th July, from "Boat off Dinapore," and describes the events in which she had participated thus:—

"You cannot imagine the horrors we and many others have had to go through, but, thank God! we have still been spared, though we had a very hard run for our lives, and are now refugees without home or anything but a few clothes, which we had just time to secure. Our house is burnt to the ground, and everything in and about it. On the evening of the 25th we got a private note from the brigade-major in Dinapore, under official cover, to say the troops were expected to mutiny every moment, and to make our arrangements accordingly. We had been so often frightened before that we did not think so much of it, but got a boat anchored close to our house, and as many of the ferry-boats on our side of the river as we could. Went to bed, and about four o'clock in the morning heard that sepoys were gathering on the opposite banks; did not believe it, but got up and went to the boat; saw nothing unusual ourselves, so went home again. Presently another alarm came, and we all coolly walked to the river side, and, to our dismay, saw something very like sepoys opposite. Before we knew where we were, they had, many of them, got into boats and were firing at us, and we saw the houses and works beginning to smoke.

"We got into our boat half dead with fright, and made off as fast as strength could get us. It was awful; ten minutes more and we could not have escaped; or if our villagers had proved treacherous nothing could have saved us, as we should, if we had got from the banks, have been fired at on passing, as they have done but too effectually in many places. We took the river for Dinapore, and all the way down we saw nothing but fires—bungalows, villages, anything the villains could fire.

"We got near Dinapore, and found all the sepoy lines in a blaze; and after about six hours we got the news that 3,000 of the native troops had mutinied, and made direct for Knockar on their way up to Arrah, and the stations up country. It is dreadful that nothing was done to prevent these three regiments from marching off with arms and ammunition, and that the 10th were not even allowed to fight them.

"All Dinapore is perfectly incensed about it · and what should we be? We have had a good deal of news since of their doings; it is perfectly awful. We met a steamer going up with five companies to our rescue: they got but half-way, and had to come back for want of water. ——— might have sent some detachments on elephants; but it is too late by a couple of days. The first thing they fired on the east side was our new house; and then they crossed and destroyed everything, and every building belonging to the works: but, before that, they butchered a poor inspector, his wife and daughter; and burnt, robbed, and committed all imaginable atrocities: my poor pet buggy horse was killed in his stable, and every living thing destroyed. They fired the coal heap, and wantonly threw the sheep, &c., on the top. Out of all the houses and immense works and materials collected for the bridge, not a stick is left. What the sepoys could not take or destroy, the villagers plundered.

"We had no time to get the treasury from Knockar-house; and it, of course, is gone. It is a sad thing—the work of years; and property to an enormous extent. All our European inspectors escaped, mostly without a single thing save what was on their backs; except one, a fine young man: poor fellow! he was butchered—was too late to get into the boats. It is feared many between us and Arrah are gone. As for Arrah, we are in great alarm about it. Some of the up-country engineers and civil servants fled to a small bungalow they had fortified. Arrah we know is in full possession of the rebels. The prisoners are let loose, and are destroying everything. But the fate of the poor people we cannot tell. There has been no news since five in the evening of the 26th. If they stand out some six or eight days, against 2,000 or 3,000 sepoys, it will be by a miracle. It is a sad thing that human lives and property should be left in charge of such generals. Our own unfortunate position prevents my dwelling upon that of many others. But there have been dreadful accounts from up-country; official reports of engineers' deaths—wives and all, in some cases. The country is in a fearful state all over. Patna is expected to go next. What we shall do, or where to go to, I know not; the steamers going down are too full of up-country refugees to leave room for us. Dinapore is so full, that for any amount we could not get a single room. We have no help but to live as we have been doing, which is, I must confess, very wretched—five of us in an open boat, with a thatched bamboo chopper over part of it to keep off the sun. I need not tell you we are very harassed both in body and mind; but if God gives us health we shall yet be very thankful."

The conduct of Major-general Lloyd in this unfortunate affair, appears to have been early brought to the notice of the government of Bengal; which felt itself called upon to relieve that officer from the responsibility of further command of the division: and the following paragraph in the "official narrative of events within the presidency, up to the 8th of August," as transmitted by the governor-general in council to the Court of Directors on that date, expresses very plainly the feeling that prevailed upon the subject at the seat of government:—

"Major-general Lloyd has been removed from his command (at Dinapore) for his culpable neglect, and the commander-in-chief has been requested to institute the usual preliminary inquiry preparatory to his trial by court-martial."*

It is only fair, that an officer whose professional reputation had been so rudely assailed by private individuals, and whose conduct had been stigmatised by his superiors (*previous to inquiry*) as involving "culpable neglect," should be allowed to vindicate himself in the same pages that record his alleged misconduct. The following passages from a letter addressed by the major-general to his brother, the Rev. A. F. Lloyd, dated "Dinapore, September 3rd," may enable a disinterested reader to form a just estimate of the whole affair:—

"On the 25th of July, 1857, I was far from well; and on that day the crisis occurred here; and, in consequence, my manner may not have been so firm and decided as it used to be. But my acts will, I think, bear the strictest scrutiny; and although from my gouty feet I am physically unequal to active bodily exertion, I assert, that in judgment and intellect I am fully equal, if not superior, to any of the younger commanders at Dinapore. The way I have been vilified and abused by the press, forces me thus to assert my own qualifications in a style which might otherwise be thought unbecoming. However, the shortcomings of some of those who had previously talked much, but, when the time came, did little, have been visited

* Parl. Papers (No. 4), 1857.

very hardly on me; and the difficult nature of the country, and the peculiar one of the locality of the Dinapore cantonment at this season, as well as the small available European force at Dinapore, have been quite lost sight of by those who have seen fit to publish their dogmatical opinions as to what should or should not have been done on the occasion of the late outbreak here. Dinapore cantonment is a narrow strip of land, bounded on the north by the river Ganges, and on the south by a deep muddy nullah and bay; and it is swampy ground—rice-fields—in short, a perfect sea in the rains; and this description answers for the nature of the country from Dinapore to Koelwar Ghaut on the Soane—with this difference, that the swamp extends in a great degree to the Ganges and Soane, westward of Dinapore, and renders the country quite impassable for artillery in the rainy season, and very difficult for the passage of infantry. I must here remark, that from the 27th of June to the 25th of July, there was nearly incessant rain, but the river Ganges had not risen to within eight or ten feet of its highest level.

"On the 4th of June (without any apparent cause, except it be that the 17th regiment of native infantry at Azimgurh* had deserted with their arms, after shooting the interpreter and quartermaster only, though they had all the rest of the officers in their power, escorting them in safety to Ghazeepore), it seems to have been determined by the military authorities at Benares† to disarm the 37th regiment of native infantry; and ultimately this was attempted, but in such a manner, that though the men of the 37th had lodged their arms in their bells of arms, they were fired on with grape and musketry. The Sikhs present, and most of the 13th irregular cavalry, joined them in resisting this attack; and as it was everywhere stigmatised as 'Feringhee ka Daghah,' it caused the instant revolt of the 6th regiment, at Allahabad, on the 6th of July,‡ and revolt at Fyzabad on the 8th of June.§ It created the greatest excitement in the three native regiments here on the 7th of June; and had it not been for the great exertions of the European officers, the men of those three regiments would have deserted with their arms that very night. Subordination was, however, preserved, and the men were reassured and remained faithful. I had landed 150 men of the Madras fusiliers, with the intention of disarming the native corps; but, as I was quite aware the men might have decamped with their arms in spite of anything I could do, I was glad to be able to defer such a measure for the present, particularly as it was of great importance to push on European troops towards the north-west, as the only means of saving our officers and men still holding out in those parts.

"Contemplating the possibility of a mutiny of the native troops here, and feeling sure that in such an event they would make off towards Arrah, it was with satisfaction I heard that measures had been adopted by the magistrate of Shahabad (of which district Arrah is the Sudder station), to have all the boats on the Soane river collected on the western bank; and in case of an outbreak of the native corps at Dinapore, they were to be destroyed or sunk, so as to hinder the crossing of the river. When the time came, the man entrusted with the duty—a Mr. Pahlen, of the railway works—thought only of his own safety, and fled with his iron boats, without an attempt to carry out the plan.

"As I was quite aware of the likelihood of a mutiny of the native troops here, and feeling sure that in such an event they would make off towards Arrah, I, in June last, issued written instructions relative to the course to be pursued by the European troops acting against them, and this was fully made known to Colonel Fenwick, the commanding officer of the 10th, who was then the senior. Subsequently Colonel Huyshe, of the artillery, joined (senior to Colonel Fenwick, though I was not aware of this till after the 25th of July), and I took an early opportunity to inquire from him whether he had made himself acquainted with the orders given, and arrangements for meeting an outbreak—whether Lieutenant Smothel had told him all those things; and I received a reply in the affirmative. The colonel said the bullocks could be harnessed in a moment, as they were close by, in the tan-yard, or old magazine-yard, and he would not be caught napping—an expression I particularly remarked.

"On the 24th of July I made up my mind, as a precautionary measure, to have all the percussion-caps in the native magazines at the western extremity of the cantonments removed, so as to render the sepoys almost harmless, without subjecting them to the degradation of being deprived

* See vol. i., p. 207. † See vol. i., p. 224. ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 252. § *Ibid.*, p. 393.

of their arms, with the contingent probability that, so disgraced, they would take to flight and disorganise the whole country around, thereby causing serious embarrassment to government when all its force was urgently needed above. The same consideration having influenced me since June last, no overt acts of a mutinous nature had been evinced by the native corps, and they were all performing their duties as usual. The whole of the caps were safely removed on the morning of the 25th, leaving the men with only fifteen each, which they would have been allowed to retain, had not the 7th and 8th regiments shown a sudden spirit of mutinous feeling when they saw the carts with the caps pass along the road, at which time the 40th regiment made a decided demonstration in favour of the cause of order and discipline, being ready to oppose any attempt to rescue the caps. This demonstration decided me on depriving the men of their remaining caps. But wishing to avoid driving them to oppose or to disperse, and thinking that the men would feel it quite madness to attempt resistance with only fifteen caps per man, I, finding no commanding officer of a native corps had any doubt of the success of the measure, gave orders for their collection in the lines by the native officers quietly by 1 P.M., it being then near 10 A.M. It was thought they would be given up without any demur. The two commanding officers of European troops urged me to at once effect the disarming the native troops on their mutinous demonstration in the morning. Colonel Fenwick was then, and had often been before (when there was no apparent reason, unless that it not being done involved less duty, particularly night duty, on his men), urged to disarm the three native corps; and could it have been attempted with a probability of success, it would have been with the certainty of rendering the three corps useless, and a burden to the state. But, otherwise, the result would have been the same as occurred in the afternoon; the sepoys would have fled with their arms on the first approach of the guns and Europeans; and this dispersion I was most anxious, if possible, to avoid. About 2.30 P.M., the 7th and 8th regiments rose in open mutiny: the 40th did not at first join; but being fired upon by men of the 10th from the roof of the European hospital, they went off and joined the mutineers. I had no horse in cantonments. My stable was two miles distant; and being unable at the time to walk far or much, I thought I should be most useful on board the steamer with guns and riflemen, in which I proceeded along the rear of the native lines, the river being only 200 yards, or thereabouts, distant from the right of the advancing column of guns and Europeans, and expecting to get some shots at the sepoys on shore, or escaping by the river. Considering that I had fully previously given instructions for the attack and pursuit of the sepoys by the guns and her majesty's 10th, under their respective commanding officers, I left it to them to follow up the mutineers by land. On embarking, I sent Captain Turner, deputy junior-adjutant-general, to order the guns to advance, as I thought they were long in setting off; and I sent Lieutenant Needham, deputy assistant-quartermaster-general, to order the commanding officer of the detachment of her majesty's 37th foot to place himself under Colonel Fenwick's orders.

"The guns and European troops advanced; and, debouching from barrack squares, found that the mutineers were making off towards the western end of cantonments. The guns opened at a long range on the whole mass, who were then near the native infantry magazines. Her majesty's 10th and 37th commenced firing on them also at impossible distances, and the whole of the three regiments fled *en masse;* even the sick in the hospitals went. Instead of flying along the Arrah-road, as was expected, and where, as it ran along the bank of the river, the steamer would have been on their flank and done good service, they went off across the swampy fields, behind the magazines, across the nullah, which was full of water, and beyond which Colonels Fenwick and Huyshe found it impracticable to follow them. By this time, the steamer (which had run down and sunk some boats loaded with fugitives from the rear of the lines, who had been observed and fired on by the Europeans on the roof of the hospital, and who had returned the fire from their boats, showing they were sepoys) having arrived at the vacant lines opposite the magazines and hospital, the state of the case was reported to me by Captain Turner, who had arrived there. Colonel Fenwick, also, was in the vacant lines; and as I saw the mutineers in the distance, on the other side of the swamp and nullah, in an apparently unapproachable position, I turned towards the Arrah-road; and, believing I saw

some sepoys beyond Daudpore, on that road, within range from the steamer, I went on some distance, but found only unarmed people, apparently villagers, on whom, of course, I did not fire.

"The mutineers' position being on the road from Patna, *viâ* Phoolwaree, towards Arrah, with the road to Gyah open in their rear, it was uncertain which road they would take; or they might have taken all three, and visited the three places. Two guns and a detachment were therefore sent off, to protect Patna, leaving only 500 men and four guns at Dinapore. The high-road to Arrah was quite impassable for guns, and even the infantry would have had a difficult and slow march along it, to reach the Koelwar Ghaut, on the Soane.

"It is, perhaps, to be regretted, that some were not sent that night or next morning; but only a small party, in comparison to the strength of the mutineers, could have been detached: no guns could have gone; and as the mutineers avoided the road, and kept to the fields, where they could scarcely have been effectively followed by a small party of Europeans, they would probably not have been of much use. However, as the readiest means of following them, to prevent their crossing the Soane, I next day, the 26th, sent off some riflemen in a steamer up that river, expecting that, at this season, there would have been sufficient water; but, unfortunately, the steamer could not get up high enough, and returned in the evening without having effected anything. Troops being required at Buxar, this steamer was started off next day with some of her majesty's 5th fusiliers, arrived from Calcutta; and in the evening, when the other steamer arrived from Patna, she was at once sent off with another detachment, to be landed at a point nine miles from Arrah—to march thence and bring away the civilians, &c., there besieged. This was a much nearer way than their marching by the Arrah-road; the boats at the Koelwar Ghaut, moreover, having been all removed by the rebels after crossing to the other side of the river. Most unfortunately, this steamer ran on to a sand-bank, and could not be got off. No other steamer was available all day. In the evening, a steamer and flat arrived from Allahabad, full of passengers for Calcutta. It was at once arranged that they should be all landed, and accommodated in the church, and that the steamer should, with her own flat, embark the head-quarters and 250 men of the 10th, and some Sikhs—go and pick up the other flat at the sand-bank, and tow up both flats, with a detachment (altogether consisting of about 500 men), to the ghaut on the Ganges, nearest to Arrah. This was all arranged, and Colonel Fenwick was to command. Early next morning the commander of the steamer changed his mind, and said he could not tow two flats; consequently, the party had to be reduced by 100 men; and therefore Colonel Fenwick remained, and sent Captain Dunbar in command—an officer of whose unfitness for such a command I suspect Colonel Fenwick may have been unaware; at any rate, he subsequently proved himself to be utterly so. He marched his men fasting (though he might have given them a meal, as he had taken three days' provisions with the detachment) towards Arrah—pushed on, against advice and common sense, in the dark—got his column into an ambuscade, from which they were suddenly fired upon by the rebels, and were thrown into utter panic, broke, and scattered. Captain Dunbar was killed, and about thirty killed and wounded. Next morning, the panic seems still to have prevailed. The men were weak and hungry; and, unfortunately, a retreat was resolved on, though they were but half a mile from Arrah. The mutineers, of course, grew very bold on seeing the Europeans retreat, and followed them keenly. The retreat was hurried, and seems to have more resembled a disorderly flight than a retreat: the men were scarcely under any control, and, consequently, their loss was fearfully great. They rushed into the boats, threw away arms and accoutrements into the water, and leaving seven officers and about 145 men dead, the remainder, with many of them wounded, re-embarked on the steamer, and, returned with the disastrous news to Dinapore. This unfortunate result was entirely caused by the mismanagement of poor Captain Dunbar. Well handled, and marching by daylight, the force was ample; and no blame can, with any justice, be attached to me for the disastrous consequences. There were now not enough men to send another party, and it seemed to be unavoidable to leave the little beleaguered garrison at Arrah to its unhappy fate. Fortunately, Major Vincent Eyre, with three guns and 145 Europeans, had marched from Buxar towards Arrah, of his own accord, to co-operate with the attack he expected us to make. Hearing of the disaster to our party, he bravely

pushed on—managed admirably his small force, defeated and dispersed the rebels with considerable loss to them, and relieved the hard-pressed little garrison of the fortified house at Arrah. Major Eyre's position was at one time critical; but the 145 Europeans of the 5th fusiliers with him charged the rebels, some three thousand strong, with such gallantry and determination, that they fled, scattered before them like a flock of sheep, and abandoned the field."

Writing again to his brother, from Dinapore, on the 17th of September, the major-general says—"You will see that my endeavour to preserve the three native regiments here in a serviceable state, has resulted in my being severely punished by the loss of my divisional command. As to disarming the regiments here, it was an impossibility. I had no cavalry; and as all proceedings were narrowly watched by the sepoys, the appearance of any movement of guns or European troops towards them, would have been the signal for the flight of the sepoys with their arms. I could never have disarmed them, from the nature of the locality. If you were at one end of a lane, and I was a mile away up the said lane, and could run faster than you, it would be self-evident that you could never catch me; and such was the position here."

It is not necessary to dwell further upon this unpleasant subject: but whatever may have been the military blunder that permitted the desertion of the native regiments from Dinapore on the 25th of July, it can hardly be consistent with justice, that the catastrophe of the night of the 29th, near Arrah, should be charged against an officer who was not within twenty-five miles of the scene of disaster, and had no possible means of directing the movements of the troops engaged. It should also be remembered, that the veteran soldier had served his country for more than half a century, and that he wore upon his breast an honourable distinction awarded for merit and valour in the field.

In the state of European society in India at this time, frenzied outbursts of popular feeling had ceased to surprise those who were enabled, by distance, to look calmly upon events as they progressed. We read, therefore, in the Calcutta *Phœnix*, that a "scene of a most painful character took place at Dinapore, on the arrival there of the remnant of the forces sent against Arrah. As soon as the news of the repulse, and consequent loss, spread among the women of the 10th regiment, they rushed in a body to the bungalow of General Lloyd, and would have literally torn him to pieces, had he not succeeded in barricading his bungalow."

The paragraph is recorded as a fact, without comment or attempt at explanation: not so, however, the following occurrence, which met with the most severe reproof from the general commanding the forces in Bengal:—

On the night of the 16th of August, an affray, the original cause of which is not known, took place between some men of her majesty's 10th regiment and a party of sepoys of the 40th regiment, about a hundred in number, who had refused to desert with their comrades on the 25th ultimo, and remained true to their allegiance. These men were encamped at the back of the north quarters of the grand square, near the river, and were peaceably and inoffensively occupied, when, about nine o'clock in the evening, a sudden attack was made upon them by the men of the 10th European regiment; and, in the *mêlée* that ensued, one subahdar, two naiks, and one sepoy were killed, and eleven sepoys and one woman were wounded. The alarm occasioned by repeated discharges of musketry was prodigious; and when the authorities reached the scene of disturbance, the sight presented to them was most distressing. Wounded sepoys lay around, dead and dying: one poor fellow had five bayonet thrusts; one shot in the centre of the forehead; another with his mouth and jaws shattered by a shot—and all screaming with alarm, or groaning in their agonies. The occurrence was immediately reported to the commander-in-chief and to General Outram, and a court of inquiry assembled to investigate the affair; but no conclusion could be arrived at, other than that suggested by a probability that the attack was perpetrated by the soldiers of the 10th regiment, in revenge for the slaughter of their comrades at Arrah. Such, at any rate, appears to have been the opinion of General Outram; who, in a letter of the 19th of August, stated, that the military duties of the town could not safely be entrusted to the 10th regiment, under the lax discipline and exasperated feelings it displayed towards natives of all classes just at that time.*

* Parl. Blue Book (No. 4), p. 153.

An attempt was made to give the affair a more distinct character, in consequence of the recent murder of a canteen sergeant belonging to one of the European regiments; and the Calcutta *Englishman,* in giving currency to the report, expressed its regret that such serious quarrels should arise; but, at the same time, intimated, as a matter of course, that "in the present temper of the European soldiers, it cannot be expected that they will allow their comrades to be assassinated without taking prompt vengeance."*

Upon his expulsion from Arrah, Koer Sing, with the greater portion of his discomfited army, retreated with all possible expedition to a fortified residence belonging to him at Jugdespore, about twelve miles distant; whither Major Eyre—who, on the 8th of the month, had been reinforced by the arrival of 200 men of the 10th regiment—immediately followed him; and, on the 12th, the rebel force was again signally defeated and dispersed, after sustaining severe losses in their useless resistance and eventual flight. The result was communicated by Major Eyre, in the following despatches:—

"Koer Sing's Palace, Jugdespore, Aug. 12.

"Sir,—I have the pleasure to report the total rout of the rebel force under Koer Sing this day, by the force under my command, as per margin.† The enemy mustered, as far as can be ascertained, about 3,000 strong, of whom 1,500 were sepoys. The action commenced at the village of Dulloor, at 11 A.M., where a strong position had been taken up, and intrenchments raised. Here they made a resolute stand for about an hour, when they fell back upon the dense and formidable jungle, which extends from thence about a mile and a-half to Jugdespore. A running fight was kept up to that place, which we entered in triumph at one o'clock, and immediately occupied Koer Sing's residence, where much promiscuous property fell into our hands. Two guns were captured in the action.

"Koer Sing has fled to the south, and I hear that his army is dispersing; and I trust the blow now struck may be the means of effectually destroying his influence. In my next I will give full details of my march from Arrah, and of the services performed by my force, making special mention of those who distinguished themselves. A return of killed and wounded shall be sent with my next despatch: our loss was trifling; that of the enemy severe.

"I have, &c.—V. EYRE, Major."

On the following day (the 13th) Major Eyre transmitted a detailed account of his operations, in which he says—"Leaving Arrah at 2 P.M. on the 11th, I marched eight miles, and encamped for the night on the banks of the Gagur Nuddee. Resuming the route next morning at 6.30, I proceeded without difficulty as far as Rumneaon, where, for two miles, the road passed over rice-fields, and was in many places under water. Had heavy rains fallen, this road must have been impassable for guns.

"At 9 A.M. I halted to refresh the troops and animals for an hour; at 10.30, we detected parties of the enemy's horse and foot occupying the village of Tola Narainpore, evidently with the view of disputing our passage of the river immediately beyond it. I forthwith pushed forward skirmishing parties in that direction. This elicited a sharp fire, which was maintained on both sides with great spirit. As our main body approached nearer, I advanced two guns to the front, and opened a fire of grape on a party of the enemy, whose heads I could just discern in ambush about 300 yards distant. This caused them to rise in some confusion, discovering large masses who had been lying in close concealment. The men of her majesty's 10th now became so impatient to be led to the charge, that, instead of continuing the fire from the guns, as I had intended, I yielded to them the honour of putting the enemy to flight. With loud and continued shouts they advanced and charged, led on in the most noble manner by Captain Patterson, impetuously driving all before them. The sepoys fell back on the large village of Dullaur, across the river, where intrenchments had been thrown up. There they endeavoured to make a stand; but were driven out by the joint efforts of the gallant 10th and 5th fusiliers—the latter under Captains L'Estrange and Scott.

"Thence our route lay through a dense and difficult jungle, for one mile and a-half, to Jugdespore, throughout which a running fight was maintained, during which two guns were captured. Jugdespore was but

* *Englishman,* August 24th, 1857.

† In round numbers:—Artillery, three light field guns—36 men; her majesty's 5th—140 men; her majesty's 10th—190 men; Rattray's Sikhs—140 men; yeomanry—16 men: total, 522.

feebly defended; and at 1 P.M. we took possession of Koer Sing's noted stronghold, wherein we found large stores of grain, ammunition, and other materials of war. Koer Sing has fled to the Jutowra jungle, south of this, with a few followers; and the villagers around Jugdespore are sending in tokens of their submission."

Among the individuals recommended by Major Eyre to the favourable notice of the commander-in-chief and of government, for their gallantry and zealous exertions, he specially distinguishes the defender of Arrah in the following paragraph:—

"Mr. A. C. Wake, of the Bengal civil service, at the head of his Arrah Sikhs, nobly sustained the reputation already acquired by his heroic defence of the fortified house at Arrah, against overwhelming odds."

Following up his success at Jugdespore, Major Eyre, on the 14th, again writes of victory:—"Early this morning, I detached a company of her majesty's 5th fusiliers and a hundred Sikhs, with the yeomanry volunteers (the whole under Captain L'Estrange), to Jutowra, where Koer Sing has a residence. The party has just returned with information that the place is empty, though Koer Sing had recently been there. He is reported to have gone towards Rhotas: the sepoys have dispersed entirely, and the country hereabouts is quite quiet.

"I am destroying the town, and preparing to blow up the palace and principal buildings around it. To-day I partially destroyed a new Hindoo temple, on which Koer Sing had recently lavished large sums. I did this because it is known that the Brahmins have instigated him to rebellion.

"Captain L'Estrange reports having destroyed Koer Sing's new palace at Jutowra; and Lieutenant Jackson, with the volunteers, on their way back to the camp, set fire to the residences of Oomar Sing and Dhyal Sing, the two brothers of Koer Sing."

The reports from Major Eyre were transmitted to government by desire of the commander-in-chief, with the following letter, the last paragraph of which is significant, as expressing Sir Colin's view of the policy in which the war in India should be carried on:—

"*The Deputy Adjutant-general to the Secretary to the Government of India.*

"Head-quarters, Calcutta, Aug. 21st.

"I have the honour, by desire of the commander-in-chief, to forward, for submission to government, letters in original, relative to the military operations that have been carried on by Major V. Eyre against the mutineers, under Koer Sing, in the Arrah district.

"I am to request you will be good enough to inform the governor-general in council, that his excellency highly approves of the judgment evinced by Major Eyre throughout these movements, and of the gallantry and perseverance of the officers and men under his command, in bringing them to a triumphant conclusion.

"Sir Colin, I am to add, recommends to the favourable notice of his lordship, the persons brought prominently forward in these despatches; but regrets to have to disapprove of the destruction of the Hindoo temple at Jugdespore by Major Eyre, under a mistaken view of the duties of a commander at the present crisis.—I have, &c.,

"W. MAYHEW, Major."

Upon the removal of General Lloyd, pending the court of inquiry, the command of the Dinapore division of the presidency was given to General Sir James Outram, who had then recently returned from the Persian expedition. Under the guidance of that energetic officer, no time was lost in gathering together the different European detachments as they arrived up country from Calcutta, and in organising a movable column for the purpose, as we have seen, of relieving Lucknow.

The effect of the mutiny by the native regiments at Dinapore, was both calamitous and wide-spreading; since whole districts, containing, together, a population of from twenty-five to thirty millions of people, were agitated by it. At Segowlia (a small military station not far from the Nepaul frontier), it will be remembered, that the officer in charge (Major Holmes) had taken upon himself to proclaim military law*—a step which did not meet with the approval of the government; and the unfortunate officer, who had only a party of the 12th regiment of native irregular cavalry to depend upon for carrying out his mandates, very soon ceased to exercise the authority he had assumed. On the 24th of July, these troops broke into open mutiny; and, while the major and his wife were riding out, four of the troopers rode up to the vehicle, and beheaded both of them as they sat. This being the signal, the rest of the regiment threw off all restraint. They first proceeded to murder the Europeans at the

* See vol. i., p. 450.

station; and among them, the surgeon, his wife and children, fell a sacrifice to their indiscriminating vengeance: they then plundered the treasury and the houses of the Europeans, and finally departed with their booty towards Azimgurh. This terrible and sudden atrocity caused great alarm; for the 12th irregulars were looked upon as a corps whose known gallantry was a pledge of its fidelity. As soon as the events at Dinapore became known at the seat of government, the authorities did not hesitate to adopt the views of the unfortunate Major Holmes; and, on the 30th of July, martial law was declared, not only in the northern districts of Sarun, Tirhoot, and Chumparum, but also in the districts of Patna, Behar, and Shahabad, south of the Ganges. No further mutinies took place in those places during August; but the various stations were kept in a constant state of excitement and apprehension, by the threatened irruption of insurgents from other quarters.

CHAPTER V.

POPULAR FEELING IN THE MADRAS AND BOMBAY PRESIDENCIES; ENMITY OF THE MOHAMMEDAN TROOPS; DISQUIETUDE AT MADRAS; OUTBREAK OF 27TH BOMBAY REGIMENT AT KOLAPORE; MURDER OF THE OFFICERS; NARRATIVE OF THE OUTRAGE; DEFEAT AND PUNISHMENT OF THE REBELS; CONSPIRACY DETECTED AT POONAH AND SATTARA; THE NIZAM'S DOMINIONS; OUTBREAK AT HYDERABAD AND AHMEDABAD; DISTURBANCES AT MEAN MEER, JELPIGOREE, GUZERAT, AND PUNDERPORE; BARODA ABANDONED; THE SAUGOR AND NERBUDDA PROVINCES; INDICATIONS OF MISCHIEF AT JUBBULPORE; ARREST OF THE GOND RAJAH AND HIS SON; PRAYER TO DEEVA; EXECUTION OF TRAITORS; DESERTION OF THE 52ND REGIMENT N. I.; LETTER TO COLONEL JAMIESON, AND REPLY; AFFAIR AT KONEE; MURDER OF LIEUTENANT MACGREGOR; DEFEAT OF MUTINEERS AT KUTTUNGEE; PERILOUS STATE OF THE COUNTRY; AFFAIR WITH BHEELS IN KANDEISH; A PLOT DETECTED AND PUNISHED IN BOMBAY; RECAPTURE OF NIMBHAIRA; ALARM AND PUNISHMENT AT KURRACHEE; THE KOTAH MURDERS; MUTINY AT DEOGHUR; PANIC AT MYNEE TAL; STATE OF CENTRAL INDIA; ASSAM; CAPTURE OF THE RAJAH OF DEBROGHUR; TROOPS DISARMED AT BERHAMPORE; GHOORKA VICTORY AT MUNDOREE; STATE OF REVOLTED DISTRICTS IN DECEMBER, 1857.

BEFORE proceeding to describe those minor operations in the field which filled up the interval of time between the commencement of the outbreak in the North-West Provinces of Bengal and the close of the year 1857, it will be proper to refer to the state of feeling that prevailed during that period among the native armies and populations of the sister presidencies of Madras and Bombay; and to glance briefly at certain facts, of themselves calculated to provoke disaffection in those quarters; although, happily, the practical effects of such feeling were neither permanent or serious.

The insubordinate conduct of the men belonging to the 8th regiment of Madras light cavalry, when under orders for service in Bengal, and the disgraceful consequences that resulted to the whole corps, have already been noticed. The affair, ostensibly a mere question of pay, was at the time productive of no serious inconvenience, except to the delinquents themselves; but the Madras government was not long in discovering, that the spirit which prompted the irregular conduct of the 8th light cavalry, was not confined to that regiment only. The mistaken economy, or parsimony, by which the rates of pay and pension to the native troops were materially reducd, had aroused a feeling of discontent (among the cavalry especially, which consisted chiefly of Mohammedans) that might have required but little effort to nurse into open mutiny—an event rendered still more probable through the excitement kept up amongst the troops by means of the exaggerated reports that were disseminated, from time to time, respecting the state of affairs in the northern districts of the presidency. Another source of disquietude was also furnished by the policy of the supreme government, in regard to questions of succession among the families of the native princes; one instance of which, about this time, became a tangible point, around which native discontent might find nourishment, although the grievance was not sufficiently popularised to ripen into mischievous results. The cause for disquietude was, curiously enough, almost identical with that which had given offence, and produced such

fearful consequences, in Oude, at Bithoor, and at Delhi; namely, the refusal of the Company's government to recognise, in the heir of a deceased native prince, any inherent right to ascend the vacant throne, however justly he might be entitled to do so by the laws of his country. Upon the recent death of the nawab of the Carnatic, his uncle Azim Jah, who had been theretofore recognised by the Court of Directors, in their official documents, as the legal heir and representative of the nawab, claimed the musnud by right of succession; but his pretensions were, for some state cause or other, ignored, or else disregarded, by the Company—a circumstance that occasioned much ill-feeling among the people, who had been accustomed to look up to the family as that of their natural rulers. Moreover, the troopers of the Madras army were chiefly collected from among the Mohammedan population of the Carnatic; and it was not unnatural that a race so haughty, and impatient of interference with their traditions and usages, as to maintain an habitual state of discontent and rooted hatred to its European conquerors, should seize upon such an occurrence as a national wrong, and, like the mutineers of Bengal, or the insurgents of Oude, should sympathise with the living descendant of their ancient sovereigns, and desire to avenge his wrongs. Fortunately, however, for the welfare of this portion of India, there had not yet been any successful attempt to import into the *reasonable* grievances of the Madras army, any question respecting the "conversion" of the troops; no alarm had been excited among them on the score of "greased cartridges;" nor was there any unpardonable insult to be avenged, as in the case of the 3rd light cavalry at Meerut;* and thus the direct personal stimulus was wanting that might otherwise have fanned the smouldering fires of discontent into the lurid flames of rebellion.

There was also a solid ground upon which, at this crisis, the government of Madras could reasonably depend for security, owing to the curious but undeniable fact, that between the Mohammedans on the Ganges and in Oude, and the Mohammedans of the Carnatic and the Deccan, there was not the slightest sympathy or union of interests. Among each, there are yet extant, traditions of old and bitter animosities; and the severe struggle which the Mussulmans of Southern India maintained against their ultimate conqueror Aurungzebe, is still a theme which fills their bosoms with inextinguishable hatred towards the descendants of the conquerors by whom their fathers were enslaved. This feeling extends towards the inhabitants of all the northern provinces, whom the Mohammedans of the south look upon as their natural and hereditary enemies, and hate with an intensity only exceeded by that with which both hate their Christian rulers.

As regards this long-cherished animosity of races, it has long been notorious that it pervades all classes, and that the sepoys of Madras would rejoice in any opportunity that might bring them into collision with those of Bengal. Where regiments of both presidencies have been quartered at the same station, it has been with the utmost difficulty that conflicts have been prevented; while frequent encounters in the bazaars, in which the combatants on either side have been armed with *lattees* (heavy iron-shod sticks), and in which the Bengal sepoys have invariably been overcome, afford the plainest evidence of the feelings of determined hostility with which the rival services regard each other.

Another reason for such confidence existed in the fact, that the larger, and by far the worthiest, portion of the Madras army consisted of a race utterly antagonistic in spirit and habits to the Mohammedan element with which it was associated, but did not mingle. It was therefore a check upon that most excitable branch of the service, and was able of itself to have crushed any effort at revolt, had such been offered. The Hindoo bulk of the native army of Madras, unencumbered by the trammels of caste, and unswerving in its loyalty, would have been alone sufficient to extinguish the torch of rebellion upon its own territory; though, possibly, in the struggle to do so, deeds might have been perpetrated that would have brought indescribable misery among the European and native Christian inhabitants.

Notwithstanding these various grounds for reliance on the fidelity of the native troops of the two presidencies, there were sufficient indications of an uneasy feeling among the civil populations of both to excite apprehension, and to demand incessant vigilance on the part of the authorities. In the latter end of August, the defiant tone of the Mussulman inhabitants of

* See vol. i., p. 55.

Madras became obtrusively prominent in their intercourse with the European residents; and it was deemed prudent to increase the precautionary measures against a possible danger, by placing a volunteer corps on active duty. The impression entertained by the Europeans at this time, may be collected from the following letter of a member of the Company's civil service, dated "Madras, August 25th;" in which the writer says:—

"Daily, on entering my office, I have about twenty prostrate foreheads before me; and yet those, and others, are people who would murder you if they had a chance, and who cheat to the utmost whenever they can. Lately, the Mussulmans in Madras have been very insolent in their looks and behaviour, and are evidently intending mischief. We are only in Madras, soldiers and all, about 2,000 Europeans against 3,000,000 natives. If the sepoys are faithful, it will not matter; but if not, Heaven help us. The fort has been provisioned for 10,000 men for six months, and sixty sailors have just been landed from the various ships. We have one ship of war opposite Triplicane, ready to batter it in pieces if the 35,000 rebels there show fight.

"The Mohurrum, which commenced on Monday, lasts ten days; and it is in the latter part of that period that a disturbance is expected. The volunteer guard will be on duty from Thursday till Tuesday. Fortunately for the inhabitants, our company is near our house (St. Thome); for, it being five miles from the fort, in case we had to retreat we should get intercepted, and be cut to pieces if the rebels fought well. We are forty strong, and shall relieve guard night and day without intermission, during our period of duty."

The much-dreaded festival of the Mohurrum passed over without the expected explosion; and, after a short time, Madras settled down to its accustomed repose.

Bombay, like its sister presidency Madras, was, as yet, affected but slightly by the storms that troubled Bengal and the North-West. The Bombay troops, though not altogether equal in fidelity to those of Madras, nevertheless had passed through the fiery ordeal very creditably until a later period, when they fell into a lamentable error. The chief native community of Bombay consisted of the Parsees, who embraced nearly all the wealth and influence of the place. These were, to a man, firm and consistent adherents of the government, and greatly strengthened the hands of Lord Elphinstone in his efforts to preserve order in the capital; which, consequently, was undisturbed by any rebel demonstration; although the adjacent districts, north, south, and east, demanded extreme vigilance. The first point at which the mutinous spirit showed itself in this direction was at Kolapore—a station situated about 180 miles south from Bombay; where, on the night of the 1st of August, the men of the 27th Bombay native infantry, without alleging any grievance, or affording the slightest hint of their purpose, broke into open mutiny, murdered several of their officers, plundered the treasury of 45,000 rupees, and deserted. The *emeute* commenced about ten o'clock in the evening; and the mutineers proceeded in parties to the respective bungalows of their European officers. The native adjutant, and two havildars of the regiment, who were loyal men, had fortunately, although at the last moment, become aware of their intentions; and, by anticipating the murderous ruffians in their visit, gave some of the intended victims opportunity to escape. Exasperated by their disappointment, they commenced firing into the bungalow of Major Rolland, who was in command of the regiment. The family of this officer had been warned of the approaching danger by the mother of the native adjutant, and had escaped; but the unfortunate woman to whom they were indebted for safety, paid with her life for her devotion to the Europeans. Upon learning what was going forward, Captain M'Culloch hastened down to the lines, and managed to gather around him about fifty men; but they would neither fire upon their mutinous comrades, nor obey his orders to rally round their officers. He was therefore compelled to leave them, that he might seek the safety of others. In the meantime, Lieutenant Norris, and Ensigns Heathfield and Stubbs,* had ran towards the quarter-guard, calling upon the men to follow them; but they were answered with threats and imprecations. The unfortunate gentlemen, who were ignorant of the locality, or bewildered by the darkness of the night, wandered for some distance in search of an asylum, and reached a village called Solunkore before daylight on the morning of the 3rd of

* Lieutenant Norris was quite a young man; and Ensigns Stubbs and Heathfield mere boys.

August; and there, while taking some food, they were murdered by men of their own regiment, who had happened to cross their track. The villagers afterwards threw their bodies into the Doodgunga river, where they were subsequently found, and recovered for the rites of sepulture.

Many of the incidents connected with this unexpected outbreak are detailed in the following extracts from letters of the surviving officers, and from reports forwarded to the seat of government. The first selected is from a narrative of facts, chiefly referring to the murdered officers—gathered from the confessions of mutineers, and the testimony of native eye-witnesses; which, as they agree in the main with that of the surviving officers of the regiment, may probably be depended on as correct. This document says—"On the night of the 31st of July, no apprehensions were entertained by the English at Kolapore; no precautions had been taken, nor any place of rendezvous or refuge appointed, in case of a mutiny amongst the sepoys. The night was very dark and rainy. After mess, about ten o'clock, the officers separated as usual; some went to have a game at billiards, some went home to bed. The major (commanding the regiment) was at home; the doctor and his wife were spending the evening at the house of a friend; Norris and De Lancey, who lived together, had gone home to bed; Stubbs (who was adjutant of the regiment) was one of the party at billiards; his younger brother had gone home to bed. The alarm was given in the billiard-room that there was a row in the lines. Stubbs' servant brought him his cloak, and ran to awake his brother. Stubbs went off to the lines, where he was soon joined by the major. They tried to get the faithful portion of the regiment together; and a few did follow them, but could not be got to act in quelling the mutiny, saving the arms and treasure, or the lives of the officers, more than by giving them warning to fly. Heathfield and Jones rushed into Norris's house, and begged him and De Lancey to 'Get up quick;' saying, 'The men have mutinied, and are coming up here.' Norris, at first, would not get up, nor take alarm; but, on De Lancey's request, he got up and loaded his gun—De Lancey loaded his pistols, and they went towards the lines, having previously been joined by Ensign Stubbs. On the way they met Captain M'Culloch, who advised them to go back to their house and wait till he sent them word what to do. They returned, and sat in the verandah listening to the firing and noise in the lines. Suddenly, an havildar rushed in and said, 'For God's sake fly for your lives! There are 150 men coming to murder the officers; they are now in the mess!' Norris's house was within two doors of the mess. The four officers rushed through the house, Norris calling out, 'Come along, I know a capital place.' De Lancey, however, stepped into his room for his sword; and this saved his life; for when he attempted to follow his comrades, he could not see them for the darkness, but found himself alone with his sepoy servant, who urged him to 'run, or he had no chance of escape, as the men were mad with drink, and longing to kill the Europeans.' He made for the residency, not without fear that the irregulars quartered there might also be in mutiny, and fire on him; but he resolved to risk it, having no other place in view, and afraid to call out to his friends, lest he should attract the attention of the mutineers, who were plundering the major's house next-door. At the residency he found the major and his wife; and, by degrees, with much danger and difficulty, all the Europeans of the place assembled there. Mrs. Rolland, and the other ladies and children, had escaped as by miracle—for the most part in their night-dresses; and their first act on reaching the residency, was to kneel down and thank God for their safety.

"De Lancey volunteered to assist Captain Schneider that night, and went off to command seventy men of his irregulars, protecting the magazine, &c. Stubbs, M'Culloch, and other officers, got together about a hundred men, and took up a position at the mess-house; but the men were seized with a panic, fired off their guns, and rushed into the mess, and would not be persuaded to come out again.

"The night of the 1st of August came, and no tidings of the missing officers. Four thousand pounds had been taken from the treasury, lots of ammunition carried off, and the shops and the major's house looted. A poor old woman, mother of the havildar who had given the alarm at Major Rolland's house and at Norris's, was found murdered in her house. The mutineers had gone; but all was confusion and distrust in the camp—not a native could be

trusted, and there were no European soldiers. When De Lancey found that Norris was not in the fort or the neighbourhood, nor to be heard of anywhere, he volunteered to scour the country for the three missing officers, if he might have five mounted men; but he was told 'they could not be spared—all were wanted to protect the station.'

"Meanwhile, the three poor fellows were seen by some Coolies on the Phonda-road. They carried their boots over their shoulders, and walked barefoot, because of the deep mud and difficult roads. They are supposed to have left the main road on the 2nd of August, and turned to the left till they reached the village of Solunkore before daylight on the 3rd. Here the villagers gave them some food: they were eating it in a temple, when a party of fifty mutineers came up; a woman told them there were three Kaffirs in the temple, and they instantly surrounded it and shot the two unarmed men (Stubbs and Heathfield.) Norris ran a little distance, and turned to fire upon the murderers; but before he could draw the trigger, three bullets entered his left side. The mutineers passed on; and the villagers, fearing to be blamed, threw the bodies into the Doodgunga river. The bodies of Norris and Heathfield have since been found and buried.

"Thus fell three promising young men, the eldest not twenty-four years old, beloved and regretted by all who knew them. His commanding officer says of Norris, that 'he was a great favourite with his brother officers; and, from his abilities, would have been a great ornament to the service which has lost him. Nothing but their innate fiendish disposition could have induced the mutineers to murder him, as he was always conciliatory and kind towards the men.'

"One of his brother officers speaks even more warmly of him, as 'the best fellow in the regiment, and my greatest friend, with whom I have always lived, and never had a quarrel, or anything like a quarrel. Poor, dear old Norris, whom I loved as a brother! I miss him more and more every day; he was so good and kind, and never hurt a living thing. I am so unhappy I scarcely know what to do. How I feel for his poor parents! It seems almost like a dream; and I can scarcely imagine I shall never see him again.'

"Heathfield is also spoken of as an officer of great promise for the very short time he had been in the service, and was much esteemed and loved in the regiment; as was poor Stubbs, 'whose sweetness of temper won him all hearts.'

"It has been said, that these three 'missed their way to the residency;' but there is no reason to suppose they intended to go there, or thought they would be more secure at Colonel Maughan's than elsewhere. In fact, they knew nothing of its being a partial mutiny. All the troops at Kolapore were native to a man; and the three officers probably thought to escape, as Norris's words would imply, to some of their old haunts in the ghauts, where they were frequently in the habit of hunting and shooting.

"Since their deaths, Kolapore has been, like many other places in India, a scene of terrible and bloody retribution. Up to the 6th of September, daily courts-martial were sitting. Six men have been blown from guns, eleven shot, and many more hung; the gaol was still full, and the work going on. Such are the scenes of 'evil' from which these three young souls have been suddenly and awfully 'taken.' May God have mercy on their murderers! 'Vengeance is mine, saith the Lord.'"

The second extract is from a letter dated "Kolapore, 12th of August," which proceeds thus:—

"On the 1st instant, at half-past 8 P.M., Stubbs, Dr. Broughton, young Heathfield, Keith, and myself, after having dined at mess, were playing a game at billiards, when suddenly there was a violent knocking at the door, and in rushed the native adjutant and a drill havildar; and as soon as they had recovered their breath, said there was a mutiny in the lines. We were all so excited, and everything in such a state of confusion, that I cannot well describe the events of that night; only I know that, at three o'clock in the morning, the major, Captain M'Culloch, Stubbs, De Lancey, Keith, and myself, took refuge, with 100 men, in a little school-house near the local corps' lines, after having walked the whole night through pelting rain, among ploughed fields, dressed in white mess jackets and trowsers. At five o'clock in the morning we marched down with our 100 men, all the local corps (about 600 men), and 50 of the Southern Mahratta irregular horse, to our regiment's lines, where we expected the mutineers would defend themselves. We found, however, that about 210 men had gone away, taking

their arms and lots of ammunition with them. The rest of the regiment either quietly joined us in the lines, or had run away and hidden themselves in the fields and villages about, when they heard the firing. The mutineers had broken into the treasure-chests, and taken away about 60,000 rupees. They had torn the regimental colours, and trampled them in the mud; they had taken away or destroyed all the arms and ammunition in stores; they had killed one old woman, the native adjutant's mother, and she had only saved his children by hiding them under the beds; they had riddled the major's door and windows with balls, and broken open several of his boxes. The resident got information that the mutineers had shut themselves up in a strong square building, with loopholed walls, and flanking towers at the corners, near the city of Kolapore. He accordingly marched all the local corps out to attack them. When they got there, however, they were greeted by a volley from inside, fired through the loop-holes in the wall. He then marched the locals straight home. This was on the morning of the 2nd inst.; from that until the 10th, nothing was done. Our men were kept under arms all day, ready to turn out the instant the bugle sounded; and small parties of cavalry were continually scouring the country, to get intelligence of where the mutineers went, and to warn the head-men of villages not to give them food or shelter. On the 6th, a party who had been out at a village about sixteen miles off, said that the people of the village had told them that the three unfortunate young officers who had not been heard of since the night of the row, had been caught and murdered here by the mutineers, and they showed the marks of bullets and the blood on the floor of a native temple. They said their bodies had been thrown into a river that runs near the place; but they have not been found. On the 3rd, a man named Hossein Ali came in from the city to our lines, where he went to our subahdar-major's house, and said to him, 'All the Englishmen in India are to be killed. Get the regiment to rise; the city will join you. We will kill the officers, and then the Mussulman religion will again be the religion of India.' He also said that a native officer of the S. M. horse would join them with 100 men. The old subahdar put food before him, and said he would go and call some other native officers, and they would consult about how it was to be done. He got two other faithful officers into the house, and told them quietly to keep the man engaged in conversation, and not let him go, while he himself ran up and told the major. He then went back, and brought the man quietly up through the lines to the major's house. He was then tied and sent into the city, where he was put in irons in the gaol. The next day four of our officers and I went into the city and tried him by court-martial, after having his irons knocked off. He was then taken out, and shot by six of the S. M. horse in the gaol-yard. The man who commanded the firing party was the native officer who, he said, was to join them with 100 men. In the meantime, about ninety men had come in from the fields and villages about, who said they had only run out there on hearing the firing, to place their wives and children in safety, not knowing where else to go to; several men had also been brought in by the village authorities, and by the parties of irregulars who were riding about the country. They were all sent into the city of Kolapore, where they were put into the gaol in chains, and guarded by the rajah and his people. At night we all sleep at Maughan's, where there is a very strong guard kept; we have also outlying pickets of horse and foot in every direction, and a regular chain of videttes all round camp.

"We telegraphed, on the night of the 1st, to Sattara about the row; Kerr, the adjutant of the S. M. irregulars, started on the morning of the 2nd, and was with us, bringing fifty men, on the morning of the 3rd; having ridden with his men the eighty miles in twenty-four hours, and swam their horses over three very deep and rapid rivers, which in the rains are considered quite impassable. He is a very fine fellow, and a capital specimen of an irregular horseman; the other day he rode 240 miles without stopping. Immediately the row occurred, Maughan telegraphed to Bombay for Europeans; but they have not been by any means so expeditious as Kerr; for, though a steamer was dispatched from Bombay immediately, with 200 of the 2nd Europeans to Wargoten, and they arrived there on the 3rd, they have not been able to get here yet on account of the nullahs and rivers being all so flooded. A troop of horse artillery, too, started from Poonah, but they have not arrived here yet for the same reasons. It was at one time feared the whole country had risen: we might have been cut to pieces for all they

knew; so that they are very much to blame for not having made more haste. Up to the 10th, the mutineers had met with no check; on that day, however, we had the great pleasure of doing for a few of them. On the night of the 9th, Maughan received intelligence that twenty-five of the mutineers, with muskets in their hands, were coming back in the Kolapore direction, from a place sixteen miles out on the Wargoten-road, where they had all gone to at first. Kerr mounted at twelve o'clock at night, and set off through the rain, with thirty men, to meet them. He rode out about twelve miles, and caught three men; but he heard from them, that at half-past eleven o'clock the main body of them had marched in and occupied the same position which Maughan had tried to take before. Kerr left his men round about the place, to see that they did not go away during the night, and rode in to ask Maughan to give him some more men, and let him try to take the place. Accordingly, at ten o'clock next morning, Captain M'Culloch and I set off with thirty volunteers from our regiment, and Kerr brought out thirty more of his irregulars. When we got there, we found the fellows inside all ready to receive us, with two sentries walking up and down between the wall and the lake, and a man at each of the corner towers, who occasionally fired when any of us came too near. We passed behind the small native huts which line the road, to a little stone temple, which they had not been able to occupy, as it is solid stone, without a door or window; in fact it is a monument, not a temple. From here we could see what sort of a place it was. It was a double square, hollow in the middle, like a farm square in Scotland, with a low, tiled shed inside the wall, for putting horses and cattle in. The four doors were of tremendously hard wood, into which a musket-ball did not penetrate half an inch; and the main gate was of the same wood, bound and studded with iron, and about eight or ten inches thick. The two men who were walking up and down the place in front of the little door which looks out towards the lake, began firing at us behind the monument, and our fellows returned shot for shot; but as neither of them hit, it was not of much use, only keeping our fellows from going nearer. M'Culloch then told me to take some of our men and some of the S. M. horse round the lake, to a place near the rajah's house, where there were trees and bushes which afforded capital cover for skirmishers. From here we soon dislodged the two men, one of whom was hit on the thigh, and they ran inside the square. We could not, however, get very near the square, as there was a small temple at that corner, which they had occupied, and from the little windows of which they fired at us. We remained here behind the trees for a long time, answering their shots, on the chance of some balls going in through the loopholes or windows. After a while a fellow came riding round the lake, to say that all our officers had come down with twenty more men, and that they had got two of the rajah's guns, and were going to blow the main gate open, and storm the place. I was told accordingly to collect my men, and prevent any of the fellows escaping by the road towards our camp. I therefore formed my men up, and made the horsemen mount, so as to be ready to chase them if they came past. I was here concealed by a bank from the fort. The fellows with M'Culloch then began blazing away with the guns at the main gate, and I expected every minute to hear that they had broken the gate open and gone in, and was feeling very much disgusted at not being able to go and see the fun; but I felt obliged to stay and watch that road. The guns soon stopped firing, and I supposed all was over. However, I was soon undeceived; for Kerr and the major came round to the lake where I was, and said they were going to bring the guns there, to see if they could open a way in. They said that the guns could only be brought to fire obliquely, and therefore did not have much effect on the gate, for the balls merely went through, leaving only a small round hole in the wood, but not breaking it so as to make it passable. The guns were then placed in a new position, and we began firing at the little side door. Two balls went through it, but only left little round holes, as in the other door; and no two balls hit on the same spot; for the balls were too small for the guns, and the fellows could not aim them at all—so much so, that several balls went right over the place, and did considerable damage in the city. While here, a native gunner was killed from the walls, and one shot cut my trowsers on the left leg, but did not touch the skin. The major, seeing that the guns were not likely to open a way into the place, said to me, 'Will you take a party and turn those fellows out who are firing from the windows of that little temple?' I got twelve

men to volunteer, and we rushed up the road with a shout, six of the men firing their muskets at the windows while running up, the remaining six reserving their fire for closer quarters. I ran up to one window and fired a cavalry carbine, which I had used all day, right into the place, and one of the men did so to the other. We found, however, that the fellows who had been there had left it, and gone into the main building. From round the outside of this temple, we could keep them almost entirely from firing from that side of the building; for if one shot was fired from a loophole, it was immediately answered by a dozen; and we were so near, that a lot of our balls always went in. The biggest gun was here hauled up close to the little door. Here two natives were killed; one was hit on the mouth, and the other had the whole of the back part of his head carried away. A ball grazed the toe of my left boot. Here seven men came out of the place and gave themselves up; one of them had his eye shot out, and another his left arm broken by a cannon-ball. All of a sudden we heard a whole lot of shots inside the place, and were told that Kerr had got in on the opposite side by a gate, which they had neglected to guard. We should have battered the little door down in a few more shots, but we could not get it opened at once, as they had piled a lot of big stones inside against it. We rushed at a little door which had not been tried before, because it was so difficult to get at. We found it not so strong as the others, and broke it in with a pickaxe and the butts of our muskets. Several men were shot down inside, and three prisoners taken. It is very extraordinary that not one of our men was touched, though they fired a lot of shots at us. Six men took refuge in a little room in the middle of the square. This was made of immense blocks of solid stone. There was a small door looking towards the main gate, up to which there were four stone steps; there was a little stone verandah round it, to which the window looked, and which was raised about four feet above the ground. The window was about two feet above the verandah, and about four feet square. The door and wooden shutter of the window were shut. We sent a lot of balls through the door and windows; and they returned them, each on the chance of hitting the other. They hit one colour-havildar on the head, and one sepoy on the knee. After a while, finding we could not turn them out without having some of our men hurt (which we did not wish), we resolved to smoke them out, and accordingly threw a lot of lighted grass before the door. One man, seeing that they were to be burnt out, sprang out of the little window like a tiger, with his loaded musket in his hand, evidently resolved to sell his life dearly. I happened to be standing close to the window, and shot him through the head with the carbine I had used all day. He fell all in a heap, stone dead. On finding the smoke insufferable, they came out one by one, only to be shot down by our men immediately. The square was now an awful sight, with eight or ten dead bodies lying on the ground, the whole place streaming with blood, and the prisoners, some of them, frightfully wounded."

A singular feature connected with the mutiny of this regiment, was presented by the fact, that no non-commissioned officer took part with the mutineers; and also that only one-third of the regiment were Hindostani men, the rest being Mahrattas, and Deccan and Concan Hindoos: the virus of sedition had affected all in this instance, without distinction of country.

Another account, after describing the first movement of the mutinous soldiers, and the flight of the three officers, announces the punishment of the rebels, and the entire suppression of revolt in that quarter of the presidency of Bombay. The writer says—"The mutineers, by threats of instant death, made numbers join them. They plundered the tumbril of 45,000 rupees, and the stores of several thousand rounds of cartridges. While all this was going on the Kolapore infantry came up, and surrounded the mess-house. Some fifty of the 27th, still faithful, were there also, with the whole of the officers of the regiment. They had not been there for any length of time before a sentry took the alarm, or purposely discharged his piece, and every one followed his example. The 27th ran like cowards into the mess-room, out of which they refused to stir. Nothing then remained but to retire on Bowrah, a place distant about half a mile. The fifty men of the 27th occupied the school-house as a picket, and lit a fire, round which they coolly seated themselves; while Major Rolland and Captain M'Culloch performed sentry-go—a duty which their own men declined! Next morning, 120 of the Kolapore infantry, and a party of the irregulars, went to dislodge 150 of

the mutineers from a position they held in the city. On arrival, it was found to be impracticable without guns. The position was surrounded by high, strong loopholed walls, and, without scaling-ladders, nothing could be attempted. After returning some shots our force retired without accident, save a slight graze which Colonel Maughan received from a fall.

"Late in the day a new character appeared on the scene. The whole of the European community had retired to the residency, the compound of which was strongly guarded by the Kolapore infantry. They were all anxious and praying for succour, and they had not long to wait for it. Covered with skirmishers, they soon saw a small body of men riding to their relief. As they advanced nearer, they described the leader to be Lieutenant Kerr, of the Southern Mahratta horse; and he had fifty sabres at his back. His welcome was a warm one. His face, radiant with daring, inspired every breast with confidence; and as they glanced at his swarthy troopers, reeking with their recent ride, they felt that if their gallant leader were only permitted, his horse's hoofs would soon be red with rebel blood. The march of Lieutenant Kerr was wonderful. As soon as the mutiny broke out at Kolapore, a telegraphic message was sent off to Colonel Malcolm at Sattara. When it was received, Lieutenant Kerr was at the engineer stores, in the European guard, putting irons upon a man who had enlisted in the horse with a view of corrupting the allegiance of the troopers. While so engaged, the colonel's orderly galloped up, and gave him a note stating that he required him at his house, and that he was to prepare to march at once with fifty sabres upon Kolapore. In a very short time Lieutenant Kerr and his men were in their saddles. When they started they were loudly and heartily cheered by the men of the 3rd European regiment, who wished them God-speed. The rivers Khonia-warna, Punch-gunga, and the nullahs, were brim-full; the roads fetlock-deep; even the elements seemed to conspire against the little party: yet without a sick horse or man, and all, comparatively speaking, fresh, Lieutenant Kerr did the whole distance (seventy-six miles) in twenty-four hours, and entered Kolapore in the manner we have described. The celerity of this march requires no comment at our hands; it speaks for itself; and we can only hope that the government will not look over a service which turned the tide of victory against the mutineers.

"On the morning of the 3rd of August, two hours before daybreak, the mutineers left the Ghaum, and took the road to Farala, where they remained until the 6th instant. They then descended into the Concan by a passage near the ghauts.

"Lieutenant Kerr offered to attack the rebels before they left Farala, but Colonel Maughan would not permit him. It is the general belief, that had he been allowed to have done so, he would have ridden them down, and sabred them to a man.

"The Mahratta horse were also endeavoured to be tampered with; but the traitor was discovered, tried, and shot forthwith. The rajah of Kolapore, and all the native chiefs in the neighbourhood, have evinced the best of feeling throughout. It is a pity that more promptitude was not displayed by Colonel Maughan. Had he attacked the rebels with the forces at his disposal, he might easily have overcome them. The risk, however, was great; as, in the event of a reverse, the consequences would have been fearful. He had not only his troops to protect, but a number of helpless women and children; and such a responsibility renders even the bravest irresolute. Up to the 9th instant but little seems to have been done beyond strengthening our position. On the evening of that day, twenty-six of the mutineers returned to Kolapore, and shut themselves up in an enclosure close by a tank, in front of what formerly was the quarter-guard of the native regiment in the old camp. This position they managed to strengthen, and there they were attacked. After nine hours' hard fighting, the place was carried at the point of the bayonet. Lieutenant Kerr first received information of the arrival of these men when he was out on picket duty. He instantly went up and surrounded the place with his irregular horsemen. He then left Dr. Broughton in charge, and galloped off to camp to give the news to Major Rolland. This officer immediately went to the lines for volunteers. All volunteered, but only 100 were taken. The rest remained ready in their lines. Lieutenant Kerr led the storming party, and did his duty nobly. He has been thanked in orders for his 'devoted bravery.' Two men were killed in this attack, and some few wounded. Lieutenant Kerr got a smash over the shoulder from

the butt of a musket, but had ample vengeance by shooting his assailant dead, and running another man through with his sword. The storming party first burst in a small door of the enclosure, three feet wide, and then jumped in amongst the mutineers, shooting and bayoneting all they met. They then burst in another door of the inner keep, and killed all they encountered.

"The remainder of the mutineers have been since captured and destroyed—some in the Concan, and others in the districts. Many have been blown away from guns; and such a terrible example has been made as is likely to keep the Southern Mahratta country quiet for years to come. Colonel Le Grand Jacob is at Kolapore, and has assumed the chief command of the field force. The garrison has also been reinforced by two companies of the 2nd European light infantry, two 12-pounder howitzers, mountain train, and the 4th troop of horse artillery. All danger may therefore be said to have passed away.

"The 27th regiment was disarmed on the 18th, and all went off quietly. Indeed it could not be otherwise. The guns were loaded with canister, and laid. The infantry also had loaded. Colonel Jacob, who speaks fluently in Hindostani, addressed the 27th regiment on the subject of the late disgraceful proceedings. He then called Lieutenant Kerr and two of his brave sowars to the front, complimented them on their distinguished conduct in the attack on the enclosure, and explained their deeds to the Europeans, who instantly evinced their approval with three hearty cheers.

"There were seven more arrests on the 18th. Two hundred will die in all. Two courts-martial are at work—one a native, and the other a European. Twenty mutineers were to die on the evening of the 19th. Those concerned in the murders of the officers are to be hanged; the remainder will be disposed of between guns and musketry. Respecting the latter kind of punishment, volunteers from the 27th regiment are to form a strong firing party. The Southern Mahratta horse have earned a reputation for valour and fidelity which some may equal, but none surpass. Without a murmur they have been on duty, night and day, since the 31st, in awful rain, and under no cover. The lives of the European society, and the interests of the state, were entirely in their keeping, and nobly have they done their duty. Naib Russuldar Sheik Shamoodeen has been recommended for promotion to rissaldar, with the 'Order of British India;' and a gallant little Mahratta sowar, already mentioned, who saved Lieutenant Kerr's life in the attack at the enclosure, is also recommended to be promoted to the rank of kote duffadar, with the 'Order of Merit.'

"There was also a detachment of 250 men of the 27th regiment of native infantry at Rutnagherry. It was deemed expedient to disarm them, and accordingly arrangements were made in Bombay for that purpose. The disarming took place on the 12th instant. The detachment of the 27th yielded up their arms without a murmur, and were quietly marched back to their lines. Major Stuart, of the 86th, with the majority of his troops, then left for Goa *en route* to Dharwar, leaving a detachment of European artillery and sailors for the protection of Rutnagherry."

The Kolapore mutineers were within twenty miles of Goa, when they heard that a steamer, with European troops, had arrived there. They then at once turned their faces towards the interior, and marched up the ghaut again, where they were disposed of in the manner already described.

The following extracts, from a communication dated "Belgaum, August 23rd," record the punishment inflicted upon a portion of the Kolapore mutineers. The narrative is in the form of a diary.

"Aug. 10th.—Intelligence reached us to-day of the slaughter of twenty of the Kolapore mutineers by their own regiment. It appears these men could not get on at all below the ghaut where they at first went. They could get no money and no food, so they came back, and, on being observed, barricaded themselves in a temple. The officers led out the regiment, who broke into the place where the men were, and after a sharp hand-to-hand fight in close quarters, they bayoneted the whole. A few of the men of the regiment had trifling wounds. Now there are but twenty-five of the mutineers loose in the country.

"Aug. 11th.—Two companies of the 2nd European light infantry came in this morning. The poor fellows were drenched to the skin, and had eaten no food for two days. The officers all marched on foot; and they were, for the most part, lame when they arrived. These companies are to go on to Dharwar, on being relieved by two companies of the 86th. We have now 400

available Europeans; and I think, with them and the artillery, we are equal to anything. I attended the court-martial on Sheik Usman—a greater rogue than the moonshee. He appears to have directed his letters in English. I saw the letters written inside in the native character, and also the English translation; to the effect that everything was in readiness here. Several leading men in the town, and in the native regiments (no names), were ripe for the insurrection. The plan for taking the fort, making the commander prisoner, and cutting the throats of all Christians, was also laid out. The English were a parcel of fools, and did not 'smell the rat.' There were many other subjects discussed in the epistles, but the pith I have given you; and if these had not been intercepted we should not have been in the land of the living. I afterwards rode up to the camp, and passed the European lines. The soldiers looked much more comfortable with their clean kit, and were enjoying their pipes.

"Aug. 13th.—To-day most exciting events have happened. Two men have been sentenced to death, and are to be blown away from guns to-morrow. The moonshee's trial came to a close to-day, when he was found guilty. Another man, a Perdassie, was tried by a court-martial at the artillery mess-room. The chief witness was the adjutant of one of the regiments; and his testimony was corroborated by the jemadar. This man, it seems, had come to try and incite the sepoys to insurrection; and the jemadar, an havildar, and naik, directly they were aware of his intentions, informed the adjutant, who accompanied them to the lines, when they hid him in a hut, behind a plain deal door with chinks in it. They then introduced the Perdassie, and the adjutant took down on paper the mutinous conversation. Under such circumstances the rascal was, of course, convicted, and to-morrow will meet the fate he deserves. I shall go and see him executed, as I think that every European ought, by his presence, to show to the natives his concurrence with the justice of the sentence; and I am sure, when we consider for a moment that had those letters of the moonshee not been intercepted we should all have had our throats cut, it takes away all pity that one might otherwise have felt for these wretched men. I read the translations of the moonshee's letters, three in number. Like those of the Perdassie, their plans were all arranged as nicely as possible. One was to the moulavie of Poonah, telling him the English were quite in ignorance as to what was going on. He also wrote to Kolapore; and the mutiny in that place is attributed to him. S—— has been indefatigable in getting evidence, and keeping spies. It was entirely through his means that these letters were intercepted. These are indeed exciting times. God grant all may be well yet in Bengal, and that no such insurrection may break out here! S—— had to announce the sentences to the prisoners this evening, and to obtain a confession, which I believe he got with little trouble.

"Aug. 14th.—This day the traitors were blown away from guns at half-past 4 P.M. I mounted my horse, and on the way met the prisoners in a cart, guarded by a detachment of the 64th; presently we arrived at the place of execution. It was on the little course. There was a square formed. On one side were the Mahratta horse; on the other some Shetsandi police from the villages at the bottom; and in the direction in which the guns were pointed were the rabble, and at the other face were the 29th and 15th native infantry and the 2nd Europeans drawn up; and between them and the guns all the 'Sahib log' stood. Every one was present, from the general downward. The adjutant-general read the sentence out to the prisoners, and they were then led to the guns; and at a given signal off they went. That rascal of a moonshee was drawing 150 rupees a-month for instructing officers of regiments in Hindostani, at the very time he was plotting their death. I should have mentioned that an havildar and four men of the 29th were given up by the regiment this morning for plotting against government.

"Aug. 16th.—I went down to the lines, and was present at the parade assembled to promote the jemadar, havildar, and naik respectively, on account of the painful discharge of their duties in making known the plot got up by the Perdassie. The general addressed each of them; he also called out the adjutant and complimented him, and informed him he had brought his conduct to the notice of the commander-in-chief. This was a more gratifying spectacle than that of the day before yesterday. The general has been indefatigable; he told me of the number of providential interferences that had occurred for our benefit; but, under

Providence, nothing has tended more to the safety of the Southern Mahratta country than the judicious measures taken by General L——, and the sudden throwing in of detachments of European troops. General L—— has throughout acted promptly, firmly, and judiciously; and, aided by Mr. S——, the superintendent of police, has frustrated the plot, which, had it not been discovered, would have caused the rising of all the native regiments in the division."

This event at Kolapore was not without an irritating influence over the adjacent districts of the Southern Mahratta country. At Poonah, Sattara, Belgaum, Dharwar, and other places, the traces of a wide-spread Mohammedan conspiracy were detected; but, fortunately, the germs of insurrection were nipped in the bud. At Poonah* a plot was concerted, between the moulvies of that place and those of Belgaum, for blowing up the arsenal, and murdering the Europeans and native Christians of the place. This was timely discovered by letters intercepted at the post-office; and the authorities were enabled to guard against the impending evil. Many arrests of Mussulman conspirators were made, and the natives of the cantonment bazaar were disarmed. From the out-stations the European families were called in for safety, and were sent under military escort to Bombay. Much of this alarm was not justified by subsequent events; but, at the moment, "discretion was esteemed the better part of valour;" and timely caution had more advocates than unnecessary daring had admirers. The Poonah conspirators, having been tried and convicted of high treason, were securely lodged on board the Company's receiving-ship *Akbar*, preparatory to transportation for life to the Straits settlements.

At Sattara,† the commissioner, Mr. Rose, had reason to believe the rajah and his family were in communication with the Mohammedan conspirators at Poonah, and determined to nip the mischief in its bud. Accordingly a force, consisting of two guns, a party of her majesty's 14th dragoons, with some Southern Mahratta horse, and some men of the 22nd native infantry (the whole under the command of Colonel Malcolm, and accompanied by Mr. Rose and his assistants), marched into the city of Sattara before daylight on the morning of the 6th of August, and surrounded the palace, placing the guns in position in the front. The commissioner then directed his officers to inform the rajah that it was necessary he should take up his residence for a time at Poonah, and that carriages were then in readiness for the conveyance of himself and family. His highness, offended at the unceremonious announcement, at first refused compliance; but, after satisfying himself that he had no choice but to obey, he consented to the removal, and, with the ranee in company, was safe on his way to Poonah before eight o'clock; whence, upon his arrival, he was transmitted, with several of his adherents, under a strong guard to the naval depôt at Butcher Island, in Bombay harbour, where he remained under strict surveillance, until the storm of rebellion had passed over his territory. Some timely exhibitions of punishment followed this abduction; six prisoners, implicated in the outrage at Kolapore, who had been taken at Sattara, having been blown away from guns; and the two events struck wholesome terror into the minds of the surrounding populations.

While these occurrences were progressing, the three presidencies were alike anxious about the state of feeling in the country around Hyderabad, in the Deccan; and, as the territory of the Nizam bordered upon Nagpore in the north-east, and, on the south-east and on the west, adjoined districts belonging to Madras and Bombay respectively, its condition naturally became an object for serious attention. The two largest cities

* Poonah, formerly a capital city of the Mahratta states, is situated at the confluence of two rivers, the Moctai and Moota; about 98 miles S.E. from Bombay. It stands in an extensive plain 200 feet above the level of the sea, and is surrounded by hills, most of which were formerly crowned by fortresses. The great street of Poonah is spacious and handsome, many of the houses being adorned with mythological paintings and devices. The ancient palace, or fort, is surrounded by massive and lofty walls, with four circular towers; and has only one entrance. A Hindoo college has been established at Poonah by the government; and there is also a spacious and convenient English church, and an excellent library in the cantonments, for the use of the soldiery.

† Sattara is a fortified town, situated between the Krishna and Tourna Ghaut, in the province of Bejapore, fifty-six miles south of Poonah. The place is singularly devoid of the usual features of an Indian town, consisting only of one long street, without a temple or other building to denote that it is a Hindostani settlement. The fort crowns the summit of a hill about 800 feet in height, at the bottom of which the town is built; and in the neighbourhood are many hill-forts belonging to Mahratta chiefs, some of which are of considerable strength, and have, at times, occasioned embarrassment to the government.

of the Nizam—namely Hyderabad, in the south-east portion, and Aurungabad, in the north-west—contained at the time, besides the establishment of the residency near the former city, many English families belonging to military and civil servants of the Company, which, by the terms of various treaties, had a right of maintaining a large military cantonment at Sekunderabad, a few miles north from Hyderabad city. The infantry cantonment was three miles in length, well provided with all requisites for a military station; and the cavalry lines were situated about two miles north of the cantonment. The military station for the troops of the Nizam was at Bolarum, a short distance from Sekunderabad. Matters had continued perfectly quiet in this quarter until the 16th of July, when it was communicated to the resident political agent that a number of the people in the city were much excited, and that a scheme was in agitation to coerce the Nizam to attack the British residency, which was situated outside of the city, but some miles distant from the English cantonments. Accordingly, early in the evening of the 17th, about 4,000 budmashes, led by 300 Rohillas, marched upon the residency, ostensibly to demand the release of a jemadar of the 1st Nizam cavalry, who had been delivered up to the resident as a mutineer, by order of the Nizam. Major Davidson, who was then at the residency, acted with promptitude and vigour: an express was at once sent off to cantonments for aid; and he then marched out with the European guard and three guns to attack the insurgents. Upon coming in front of them, he opened a fire of grape with such rapidity and effect that the rebels were stricken with terror, and fled, leaving many of their companions on the ground, among whom were several of the Rohillas. Some prisoners were made; and among them the Rohilla chief, who was mortally wounded, and afterwards died. So quickly had the affair been managed, that, when the cavalry and horse artillery arrived from Sekunderabad, the rebels had been dispersed, and the city of Hyderabad resumed its ordinary aspect. This was almost the only approach to an outbreak that occurred in the portion of the Deccan near the borders of the Carnatic.

An officer of the 30th Madras native infantry, in a letter descriptive of this affair, writes thus:—

"I must tell you that last Friday evening, the 17th of July, the resident got information that the Rohillas were assembling in large numbers for an attack. Well, in the evening, about half-past six, Georgie and myself were sitting in the verandah, when we heard the three alarm guns sound the signal for the troops to fall-in and be off at once to the general parade. I went off to the mess of the 7th cavalry to find out what was amiss, when I was met by a cavalry officer rushing home as hard as he could go for his horse. He shouted to me, 'The alarm is sounding'—magic words, as you may suppose. I turned, ran home as fast as my legs could carry me, got out the horse and carriage, dressed and put dear G—— and the son in, and rattled off to the barracks, where we found all the riflemen out, and the cavalry getting to saddle. By this time an express came in to say that they—*i. e.*, the Rohillas—were attacking the residency. Off galloped the cavalry and horse artillery; we remained at the barracks; all the ladies together at the adjutant's house. The whole force was out: we were all bivouacked on the parade-ground till about 1 A.M. About seven, the report of guns told us that the work had commenced. But we were, as the saying is, one too many for them. They came on and got nine rounds of grapeshot, which knocked them over like ninepins. They then got into a house in the bazaar, from which they kept up a fire on our fellows and the residency all night. This house was so situated that the guns could not be brought to bear upon it, so it was resolved to wait till the morning, and then have at them with the infantry. However, at 4 A.M. they walked off. We know of twenty-nine Rohillas picked up dead; how many wounded, of course, we cannot find out; but the quantity of blood on the floor of the house, when taken possession of in the morning, told that they must have suffered heavily. The troops turned out splendidly; so people have little fear of the Madrasees following suit with Bengal. The residency has now been strongly fortified. It is supposed we shall have a row to-morrow again, as it is Friday (the Mussulman Sunday), on which day they think it a mark of zeal for their prophet to try and murder us; but as our sepoys are stanch, they are likely to get more than they bargain for. On Friday last all the ladies (our depôt excepted) were put into the arsenal and European hospital. You may imagine the scene; drums beat-

ing, bugles and trumpets sounding the alarm, and, in all directions, carriages rushing off to the above-mentioned places. All the Europeans who lived in the city came rushing into cantonments, or took refuge in the residency. We had not a single man on our side touched, though they were being fired at all night. The 12th lancers were telegraphed for from Poonah, and are likely to be here in about a fortnight. Their approach is hailed with great glee."

On the 30th of July, the 26th regiment of native infantry mutinied at Meean Meer, about noon. Major Spencer, who commanded the regiment, immediately went into the lines, and for some time appeared to have succeeded in pacifying the men; but he, with the quartermaster-sergeant, the havildar-major, a pay havildar, and some others, lost their lives in the vain attempt to maintain order. The major appears to have been slain from behind, by blows dealt him with a hatchet. The miscreants attempted to inveigle some other officers into their lines; and Lieutenant M. White had a most narrow escape. Just as he was on the point of dismounting, to aid, as he imagined, his commanding officer, he was warned by a sepoy that he would be murdered, and got away with difficulty, and with a slight scratch from a sword. The mutineers fled rapidly to the eastward, across the grand parade, and got into the dense jungle without being overtaken. About thirty of the mutineers were killed by the new Sikh and Punjabee battalion, and seven were captured and summarily executed.

Accounts were afterwards received from Mr. F. Cooper, deputy-commissioner of Umritsir, of the almost total destruction of the 26th regiment. The mutineers continued their flight without ceasing, for a distance of forty miles, up to the left bank of the Ravee, which they in vain tried to cross opposite Ujuala. On Mr. Cooper's reaching the place, about 4 P.M. on the 31st of July, he found that about 150 men had been shot or drowned by his police, aided by the villagers; 160 were captured on the island in the river; 35 were counted drowning in trying to get off. Numerous fugitives were brought in from all quarters during the night: 237 were summarily executed when taken; 41 died from fatigue; and about 21 more had been apprehended in neighbouring villages. In round numbers, 500 men were thus accounted for. If to these be added the furlough and sick men, the Bhoojoore men, the Sikhs and Punjabees, and some guards which remained, the total strength of the whole regiment is approximately given.

A letter from Peshawur, of about the same date, describes an exciting affair that had recently come off at that station, as follows:—"I am always picturing to myself the horror of people at home when they hear of the succession of atrocities perpetrated by the scoundrel sepoys, and of the narrow escape we have had of losing India. We disarmed the 10th irregular cavalry here, and then disbanded them for not charging the 55th native infantry (who were in open mutiny), when ordered to do so. We managed to get these 'doves,' as they are called, dismounted within a hundred yards of the guns; sent a party to seize their horses at their pickets; then commanded them to lay down their arms; then sent searchers to relieve them of their paraphernalia; made them take off their coats; then ordered them to take off their boots. Fancy a cavalry regiment hard at work taking off each other's boots, under the influence of artillery! Each man was then given eight annas (1*s.*); the whole secured, and marched off to the river side, where they are to be embarked in boats and sent down the Indus, where I expect every mother's son will have a chance of being drowned in the rapids. To-night we pick out horses to complete the battery from the disbanded cavalry. We had a night-alarm a short time since; you know we (the artillery) all sleep at the guns. I awoke and heard 'boom,' 'boom:' hearing guns fired (for so it seemed) at regular intervals from the fort, we thought the city had risen, and a night-alarm all through the cantonments was the consequence: we were all at our rendezvous in notime. This was caused by the explosion of little mines in the city, in honour of a wedding. Well, next morning, the persons concerned, and those who worked at the mines, were tied up, and received such a flogging as they will not easily forget. In these times of danger and treachery, we don't bother ourselves about the quirks of law, but hang, shoot, or flog, as circumstances arise. We stand no nonsense here. The general swears he will maintain discipline."

At Jelpigoree the elements of discord were at work also. In the neighbourhood of this station, at which the 73rd Bengal

native infantry was quartered, no European troops whatever were in cantonments, and every facility was therefore afforded to the evil-disposed of the regiment to coerce, or, if need be, to destroy their English officers. An effort to that end was made towards the end of July; but the corps was not then ripe for revolt, and the plot was discovered in time to render it harmless. The details of this affair are given by an officer of the 73d regiment; who says, in a letter dated 30th July—"We have been a little unsettled lately, in consequence of a discovery that there were some twelve or fifteen men in the regiment who were disposed to mutiny, and, if possible, kill their officers. We at once arrested the ringleaders, tried them by court-martial, and sent them to the gaol, heavily ironed. The putting on of irons is almost the greatest indignity which can be offered to a high-caste sepoy, so we naturally felt anxious during and after the process. However, all went smoothly, and they are now on their way to Calcutta. After this we breathed a little more freely; but the sequel will show how nearly we brought the storm on our own heads. A day or two after, information was brought us by a faithful sepoy, that two men had been to him, regretting that they could not get up a party to attack the officers at mess; they expressed themselves as ready to do so if they could induce three more to join them. Our informant promised to join them. The next day they got their party augmented to six, and made their arrangements for that very evening; they were to have a boat waiting on the river, which runs close under the mess-house, to make a dash at the officers while at dinner, jump into the boat, and escape into Bhotan. They dared not trust themselves on this side. as the regiment would not join them. We heard all this just as we were going to a grand entertainment given by our regiment to the irregular cavalry. We thought it better to go, and we therefore went. We remained three hours in the midst of them all, knowing that some few were contemplating our murder in the evening. Up to this time we had had no opportunity of consulting as to what was to be done; in fact, nothing was settled till I mounted my horse, and went down to the lines in a tremendous storm of rain. I had the whole party arrested. They were taken up by sepoys, guarded by them all night, and packed off by them in a boat next morning for Calcutta. This seems to prove fully that we may rely on the regiment as a body; they never would have imprisoned their own companions had anything like a mutinous spirit been rife among them."

Throughout the country between the northern districts of the Bombay presidency and Malwa, many events occurred sufficiently marked to show, that in all directions the native troops were in an agitated state, as if wavering between the opposite principles of fidelity and revolt. It was, however, worthy of notice, that the troops so affected, were, in very few instances, of the Bombay army; being chiefly Mahrattas or Rajpoots, or men of various contingents, imbued with the same ideas as the Hindostanis and the Oudians. Towards the close of July, a few troopers of the Guzerat irregular horse, at Ahmedabad, attempted to get up a mutinous demonstration, by rushing through the lines of the corps with a green flag, and calling on all true followers of the people to join them, and exterminate the unbelievers. The effort, however, failed; and, in an attempt to seize them, two were killed by the Coolie police corps. Captain Taylor, the commandant of the regiment, was wounded in the affray; and the mutineers were eventually secured, and sentenced to be hanged. The execution took place in presence of the whole force at the station; which was drawn up in line, the Guzerat irregular horse being placed in front of the European troops, and facing the gallows; so that if they had dared to attempt a rescue, their destruction was certain. The mutineers were permitted to address the men of their regiment previous to being turned off; and one of them, profiting by the opportunity, called aloud to them—"Why do you not do as they did at Neemuch, and charge these Kaffirs?" But the reply to his question came in a low murmur of reprobation from the ranks before him, and the traitors met their doom without sympathy.

At Punderpore—a sacred town about 108 miles south-east of Poonah—an *émeute* occurred in July, during which the *mamlutdar* (or native magistrate) was killed; but the disturbance was quickly repressed, and no serious result followed to the Europeans in that quarter. About the same time, some engineers of the Baroda Railway Company, stationed at that town, created unnecessary alarm by precipitately abandon-

ing the station and fleeing into Surat, where they declared that a large body of insurgents were marching towards the Guicowar's capital. The momentary panic was, however, without any permanent injury to the quiet of the city; and the terrified fugitives were derided for their pusillanimity, instead of being thanked for their timely warning.

The Saugor and Nerbudda provinces were in a somewhat precarious state during the whole of August. At Jubbulpore, the conduct of the troops had not ceased to excite alarm since the first symptoms of disorder became apparent in June; but still the two following months passed away without any attempt at actual mutiny. At length, certain symptoms among the men of the 52nd regiment, induced Major Erskine (then in command) to take extraordinary precautions against danger, and to fortify and provision the residency. An officer of the 52nd, writing of this occurrence on the 17th of July, says—"This is a beautiful place, so we all came here one evening, and such a business you never saw. There were ten ladies, with ever so many children, and a number of sergeants' and writers' wives. The next morning we began intrenching ourselves, bricking up all the verandahs, only leaving holes to fire through. We put quantities of sand-bags on the top of the house, all round; cut down all trees within a certain distance of the house; laid in stores of grain for three months; and staked the ground all round to prevent a rush. We also managed to find two old 4-pounder guns, which we planted on the front side of the house, where they present an imposing appearance. During this time our men kept quiet, and have done so ever since. Of course, we did not admit them within the fortifications; but permitted them to give us two guards, of fifty men each, at some distance outside. We number, inside, about forty-five fighting-men, twenty women, and as many children. We feel quite safe now, and nothing but guns can dislodge us. We have just heard that a force is coming up from Kamptee, consisting of the 33rd Madras infantry, two squadrons of horse, and a detail of artillery. They are going to pass through this country to avenge the atrocities of Jhansie, Nusseerabad, Banda, Nowgong, &c. Two companies of our regiment are to accompany the force, and O—— and myself are the lucky ones to go. Won't we just avenge our countrymen! Our orders are to destroy, burn, kill, and hang; and if the order is not carried out it won't be my fault. Some of the worst atrocities took place at the stations I have named. At Jhansie, for instance, fifty-three Europeans, including civilians and officers, were starved out and had to surrender. The rebels tied them to trees—ladies and gentlemen; then laid down the children in front; and, after cutting the latter in two, cut the men's heads off, and then ended by violating and murdering all the women. I have seen the depositions taken by the chief commissioner here, of natives who were eye-witnesses,* and had escaped; but they are too heart-rending to relate. Cawnpore is said to have gone, and every European murdered—among them Captain and Mrs. Wiggens, of our regiment, and two children. No punishment can be too great for these brutes; and our revenge will be awful, as we have no fear now of speeches about the mild Hindoos. We expect to be out about six or seven months; so, should I not be able to write, that will be the reason. The revolver you sent me is always round my waist, loaded. I could get £50 for it now, as there are only two others here. I have but a short time to write, having the charge of the west side fortifications. We are, of course, improving every day, and shall soon be impregnable. My own battery consists of a musket from my company, a double rifle, two double guns, besides the Colt. If you could look in upon us you would not think we were a very lugubrious set, but rather that we were met on some festive occasion. At this moment I hear the piano and singing. We are a queer lot, we Britons: day after day we hear of atrocities too horrid to write about, and of the murder of friends and relatives, and never seem to think of our own fate. Laughing, talking, eating, drinking, music, singing—all seems to go on much as usual."

The movable column from Kamptee, mentioned in the preceding extract, duly arrived at Jubbulpore, where it halted for a day or two, and then proceeded on its mission of justice. A small detachment was afterwards sent back to the station, for its better protection, in case any disturbance should occur.

* This would seem to be tolerably conclusive as to facts previously recorded of the sepoy atrocities, notwithstanding they have been questioned by parties at a distance from the scene.

For some time, nothing occurred to increase the anxiety which the European inhabitants of Jubbulpore, in common with those of the surrounding districts, naturally felt in the unsettled state of the country; but at length, some appearance of mystery in the conduct of several of the influential inhabitants, towards the latter end of the Mohurrum,* excited suspicion of impending evil; and, by the exertions of Lieutenant Clarke, the deputy-commissioner of Jubbulpore, information was obtained that it had been the intention of the rajah of Gond (Shunkur Shah), and his son, Ragonauth Shah, accompanied by several zemindars with their followers, and in concert with some sepoys of the 52nd regiment, to attack the cantonments on the last day of the Mohurrum, murder all the Europeans, burn the cantonments, and afterwards plunder the treasury and city; and that it had not taken place on the appointed day for two reasons—first, that they were uncertain how many of the sepoys would join them; and, secondly, because two of the jemadars of the rebel party had refused to act with them. It was also ascertained, that the attempt would probably be made during the Dusserah.†

Upon receiving this information, Lieutenant Clarke sent a chuprassy, in the disguise of a fakir, to find out more of the alleged conspiracy; and the scheme succeeded admirably; for the rajah and his son were completely deceived by the disguised emissary, and, without hesitation, disclosed to him their intentions, as well as the means they had resolved to employ for carrying them into effect. Acting upon the report of the chuprassy, a party of twenty sowars, with a strong body of police, was assembled at Lieutenant Clarke's bungalow; and, accompanied by that officer, proceeded towards the rajah's house, in a village about four miles from Jubbulpore. When about a mile from the place, the lieutenant galloped forward with some sowars, and surrounded the village, until the foot police arrived; when, the arrangements being complete, the rajah and his son, with some thirteen people in his house, were arrested, and conveyed to the military prison in the English cantonments without the slightest difficulty.

* The Mohurrum is a fast, kept by Mohammedans in commemoration of the death of Hossein and Hussein, the two sons of Ali, by his cousin Fatima, the daughter of Mahomet.

On searching Rajah Shunkur Shah's and Ragonauth Shah's house, several papers of a rebellious tendency were found. One of them was a prayer by Shunkur Shah, invoking his deity to aid him in the destruction of all Europeans, to overset the government, and to re-establish his own. The paper was found in a silk bag in which he kept his fan, by the bed from which he rose as the lieutenant and his party entered the house. The prayer was written on a scrap of paper torn from a government proclamation after the massacre at Meerut; and the remainder of the proclamation was afterwards found in the house. A second prayer, differing immaterially in one or two words, was also found, in the handwriting of Ragonauth Shah. The following is a literal translation of the prayer of the rajah:—

Shut the mouth of slanderers, bite and
Eat up backbiters, trample down the sinners,
You, "Sustrsingharka."[1]
Kill the British, exterminate them, "Mat Chundee."[2]
Let not the enemy escape, nor the offspring of such,
Oh! "Singharkah!"[3]
Show favour to Shunkur,
Support your slave!
Listen to the cry of religion,
"Mathalka."[4]
Eat up the unclean,
Make no delay,
Now devour them;
And that quickly,
"Ghormatkalka."[5]

1 A name of the goddess Deeva; signifying "Destroyer of the Enemy." 2, 3, 4, 5—other names, expressive of her various attributes.

On the second night after the imprisonment of the conspirators, a report was forwarded to Lieutenant Clarke, from the regimental lines, that it was the intention of some of the sepoys to attempt to rescue them. The Madras force was immediately turned out, and remained under arms all night. The prisoners were removed, for greater safety, from the gaol to the residency, where no attempt of the kind was likely to be made. In the course of the night, a few shots were fired in the lines; and a picket was fired on, but from a long distance; after which, eight of the worst men in the 52nd regiment set fire to a bungalow, and deserted, taking their arms with them.

A court was held on the following day, for the trial of the rajah and his son; and proof of their complicity in the plot for the

† The Dusserah is a Hindoo festival, continuing for ten days, which are appropriated to religious ceremonies, and to the public exhibition of the idols to whom offerings are presented.

destruction of the Europeans being conclusive, they were sentenced to suffer death by being blown from guns—this mode of execution being resorted to in preference to hanging, in consequence of the excitement then visible in the lines of the 52nd, which suggested an idea of a possible attempt at rescue; an event that would have been facilitated by the delay afforded while constructing the gallows. Accordingly, at eleven o'clock on the morning of the 18th of September, two guns were advanced a few hundred yards in front of the residency, covered by a company of her majesty's 33rd regiment—a strong party of Madras light cavalry being on either flank; and the two principal offenders were brought upon the ground, under a guard of armed police, and an escort of the 33rd. The old man walked up to the guns with a firm stride and haughty demeanour; and but for the defiant tone in which he breathed his last aspirations for revenge, his snow-white hair and venerable appearance might almost have excited a feeling of compassion in the breasts of those he had plotted to destroy. The son, Ragonauth Shah, was less determined in his manner, as he placed himself in front of the gun that was to annihilate him. The requisite preparations occupied but a few moments. A signal was given, and instantaneously the torn and shattered remains of two human beings were strewn, in a shower of blood, over the residency compound. Of these the kites and vultures had a share; but such parts of them as could be gathered up at a later period of the day, were given over to the ranee—terrible memorials of what once had been a husband and a son.

The rajah of Gond, although for many years shorn of territory and power, had still possessed the ancient name of his dynasty; and the traditionary *prestige* of his family afforded the disaffected a rallying-point which they were ready to avail themselves of. In former days, the Gond rajahs had held absolute rule over a large extent of country, and could trace their descent through the mists of sixty generations. Cast down from their independence as sovereigns by the Mahrattas, who despoiled them of their territories, the living descendants of the family were in utter poverty, when the armies of the Company beat down the spoiler and oppressor. The government commiserated the fallen condition of the once-powerful family, and hoped, by restoring to it a share of its former importance, to secure its gratitude, and, at the same time, strengthen the southern frontier of its acquisitions against future aggression by the neighbouring states. This considerate policy was accordingly adopted; and the result we have seen.

An officer present at the scene of death, describes some of the incidents as follows:—

"I have just come back from seeing the rebel rajah and his son blown from guns. It was an awful sight; but they richly deserved a far worse fate. Fancy—it has been found out that we were all to be roasted alive when caught! *He prayed, as he was being lashed to the gun, that his surviving children might be spared to burn us!!!* We went down to where the two guns were drawn up, with a detachment of infantry and cavalry, to prevent surprise—the cavalry rushing about to keep the people back from the front of the guns. Soon afterwards the prisoners arrived, looking very apathetic and *nonchalant*; their fetters were knocked off on the ground. I was quite close to them, as we officers were inside a circle, close to the guns, into which the crowd was not allowed to come. They were then bound to the mouths of the cannon. The way is this:—You stand with your back to a cannon mouth, which is pointed to the back of the heart: you have now a very good idea of it. The artillery officers, when all was ready, gave the command in a loud, clear voice, 'Division! ready! fire!' A boom—a thud, as of a body falling—and all was over.* You know I have a very soft heart, and would most likely have fainted,

* A medical officer of the Bombay presidency gives the following description of an "execution parade:"—"This first parade was a horrible sight, but the blowing away from guns is most appalling. After the explosion, the grouping of the men's remains in front of each gun was various and frightful. One man's head was perched upon his back, and he was staring round as if looking for his legs and arms. All you see at the time is a cloud like a dust-storm, composed of shreds of clothing, burning muscle, and frizzing fat, with lumps of coagulated blood. Here and there a stomach or a liver comes falling down in a stinking shower. One wretched fellow slipped from the rope by which he was tied to the gun, just before the explosion, and his arm was nearly set on fire. Whilst hanging in his agony, under the gun, a sergeant applied a pistol to his head, and three times the cap snapped, the man each time wincing from the expected shot. At last a rifle was fired into the back of his head, and the blood poured out of the nose and mouth like water from a briskly-handled pump. This was the most horrible sight of all. I have seen death in all its forms—never anything to equal this man's end."

or got sick at home, if I had seen the same before these massacres; but I can assure you, that although I felt the awful solemnity of two souls going, with a prayer for murder upon their lips, before their God, yet I went up afterwards, with almost gratified feelings, to look at their faces, still thinking of Cawnpore, Delhi, Meerut, Jhansie, Bareilly, Fyzabad. The old man's face was quiet and severe (he never had moved a muscle the whole time before), as was also the young one's (a man of forty.) Their legs and arms fell close to the cannon mouths, they being tied; the head and upper part of the body being blown about fifty yards in front. Quite untouched their faces were, and quite quiet. It is a very quick death, as they can feel no pain, the region of the heart being at once blown away. This is nearly the only form in which death has any terrors for a native. If he is hung, or shot by musketry, he knows that his friends or relatives will be allowed to claim his body, and will give him the funeral rites required by his religion; if a Hindoo, that his body will be burned with all due ceremonies; if a Mussulman, that his remains will be decently interred, as directed in the Koran. But if sentenced to death in this form, he knows that his body will be blown into a thousand pieces, and that it will be altogether impossible for his relatives, however devoted to him, to be sure of picking up all the fragments of his own particular body; and the thought that perhaps a limb of some one of a different religion to himself might possibly be burned or buried with the remainder of his own body, is agony to him."

The execution was over, and the troops had returned to quarters before the hour of noon; and then, with a view to assure the sepoys that only the guilty had any cause to apprehend severe measures on the part of the government, Colonel Jamieson, with two other officers, went down to the lines, and remained talking to the men for some time—ultimately leaving them with an impression that all was quiet, and that their visit had produced a good effect. About sunset, however, one of the sepoys, who had already given proofs of fidelity, reported to the adjutant, Lieutenant Miller, that some plot was brewing, and that he expected the whole regiment would desert during the night. To have then acted on the offensive, and deprived the men of their arms and ammunition, would have been the wisest course; and, in all probability, would have been resorted to; but, unfortunately, three officers of the regiment were out on detachment at Saleemabad and Patun, and any extreme measures would, it was felt, seriously compromise their safety. The officers had assembled at mess; when, between nine and ten o'clock, the regiment rose in a body, excepting one native officer and ten men, and quietly left their lines, taking with them their muskets and the ammunition in their pouches; all their other property being left behind. The mutineers remained for some time in the vicinity, and afterwards moved off round the city, taking the road to Patun: in passing, they fired a few shots, but without effecting any damage; they, however, announced their intention to return in two or three days to plunder the city.

The Tuhseddaree of Patun, on the left bank of the Herun river (where a company of the regiment, under the command of Lieutenant Macgregor, was stationed), was distant about twenty miles from Jubbulpore; and thither, in the first place, the mutineers directed their steps, for the purpose of taking up the detachment, and also another of about forty men at Kuttungee, a station yet higher up the river. Both these detachments joined the mutineers, except a jemadar of the Kuttungee party, who alone remained faithful. Upon arriving at Patun, sentries were placed over Lieutenant Macgregor, whom they compelled to accompany them on their march—announcing their intentions respecting him by a letter to Colonel Jamieson, of which the following is a translation:—

"*To his Excellency, the Lord of Clemency, the Bountiful of the Age, his Excellency Colonel Sahib Bahadoor: may his power be perpetual!*

"After respects, the representation is this—that Shaikh Dianuth Allee (havildar-major), and Salar Buksh (naik), and Dirguz Sing (naik)—[here follow the names of ten sepoys]—and others whose names are unknown, these sepoys, sir, send here; and this regiment the havildar-major ruined, and said that the Major Sahib and Mason Sahib told the Madras sepoys to seize all the arms of the regiment and kill the men; then you will receive thirty rupees per man as reward, and be promoted to subahdar bahadoors. This speech the havildar-major made to the havildars on duty. If he had not said this we would not have deserted and saved our lives by flight, as only from the havildar-major's speech we deserted: it is proper that these men should by some means or other be sent to us—let them be seized and sent; we have committed no injury to the government; and as for the muskets and cartridge-boxes which we brought away with us, we have left our property in lieu thereof; having sold it, take the price; each sepoy left about thirty rupees' worth of property;

also send pay for one month and fifteen days. We are men of honour, and are doing government service here. Your lordship answered, that 'the Madras sepoys are not under my authority;' then, having become helpless, we came away here by your order to save our lives; and on the 19th of May, when your officers fled, then we, being faithful to our salt, did not say anything to your lordship, and at that time the Madras regiment was not present; and when the Adjutant Sahib was attacked by a sepoy with a bayonet, if we had not been true to our salt, why did we seize the sepoy and make him over to you? And your highness is our lord and master; but when we did not find any way to save our lives, we fled and came here; and we had regard to your lordship's salt; if not, at that time we might have killed you. And if you do not let those sepoys go, then this Sahib* we will not kill, but, having bound him, will take him to Delhi; and if you will send those sepoys, then we will cause the Sahib to arrive where you are. Moreover, having seized those sepoys, send them with a guard of police, and it will be well; and if life remains, we will again be present in your service; we will not run away. This letter is written on the part of all the sepoys and non-commissioned officers. All sepoys, non-commissioned and commissioned officers, send salam."

Having dispatched this letter to Jubbulpore, a portion of the mutineers proceeded to Saleemabad, about thirty miles on the Mirzapore-road, where Lieutenants Barton and Cockburn were on duty with a detachment of the regiment. Upon their arrival, the two officers were ordered by the rebels to depart for Jubbulpore—the men who had been under their command bidding them farewell with, apparently, much regret, and with tears in their eyes. They were also permitted to bring away with them some 2,000 rupees of treasure; but the mutineers appropriated 1,400 rupees to themselves, as "their pay up to date."

The above letter from the sepoys would have been unnoticed, but for the hope that, by replying to it, some of the men who might have been induced to leave with the regiment against their will, would, upon reflection, return to their duty, and bring with them the captive lieutenant. The following letter, written in Hindoo, was consequently transmitted to the mutinous troops:—

"To Buldee Jewarree, subahdar, and as many non-commissioned officers and sepoys who are well-wishers of the state, this advice is given—that the acts you have committed were without reason, and your ignorance and folly were great; in fact, what has happened has happened. But there is one way for your good, which, if you pay attention to, for your whole life you will remain saying, 'Bless the Colonel Sahib, and all the officers who wish our good.' The advice is this:—You have deserted, and all know that the punishment for desertion is great; but you do one thing, and you will not be punished here by us; on the contrary, we officers will solicit the governor-general to forgive your offences. The work is this:—Having brought Mr. Macgregor with you, come here without fear, and never think that any one will practice deceit with you, because when we have once written that no harm shall come to you, it shall not come. Again, what you write to send the havildar-major, &c., such a bad thing we cannot do, or ever will do; and when we showed them your petition, they expressed their willingness to go; but we will never let them go. Understand all of you, that up to this time nothing so bad has been committed which might not be pardoned; but if Mr. Macgregor is in any way hurt, or any robbing takes place, you will not escape by our endeavours to save you. Understand, also, that you have committed a very bad action; but the Colonel Sahib believes that many men have been taken away against their will, and to these men only is this advice given; for why should good men be ruined in company with the bad characters? Understand, also, that no further communication will be held with you, and not one single letter will be written; therefore, if you intend following this advice, do so quickly, because, after a delay of one or two days, your pardon will be hopeless. Whatever you do, do on seeing this letter. Why do you strike an axe in your own feet?

"P.S.—On arrival here you must make over your muskets to the colonel; afterwards—as the order comes from the governor-general—your pardon will be seen."

This attempt to conciliate was, as might have been expected, fruitless. The mutineers were determined to detain Lieutenant Macgregor in their hands as a hostage, until the ten men of the regiment, who had remained faithful, were delivered up to them to be massacred. It was impossible to purchase the liberation of even a British officer by an act so treacherous and cruel. A handsome reward was offered for the restoration of the lieutenant; but beyond that, no effort seems to have been made for his deliverance.

The regiment that had thus identified itself with the rebel cause, took up a position, on the 26th of September, at Konee, on the west of the Herun river, about twelve miles below Kuttungee. The corps then consisted of about 500 rank and file, having with them 1,000 insurgent matchlockmen; and as there was a probability that they would seize and destroy the boats on the Herun, Colonel Miller, in command of the Kamptee movable column at Sringampore (*en route* for Jubbulpore), dispatched a company of the 33rd Madras native infantry, with twelve troopers of the 4th Madras cavalry, in charge of Lieutenant Watson, accompanied by Major Jenkins, assistant-quartermaster-general, to secure the boats. About three hours after their departure, and just as the column had prepared to re-

* Lieutenant Macgregor.

sume its march, two troopers galloped into the camp, with intelligence that the advanced party had been surprised by the rebels of the 52nd regiment; that the two officers had been killed, and the men were retreating upon the column. Colonel Miller forthwith set his troops, consisting of 384 men, with four guns, in motion, and advanced to the village of Golera, about three miles in advance of Sringampore. He had scarcely had time to get into position, when the 52nd were seen marching along the road, in columns of sections. Two guns were fired at, or rather, into them, on which they left the road, and advanced through the jungle on either side, accompanied by the matchlockmen. Colonel Miller, finding the jungle practice rather to his disadvantage, fell back upon some open ground, followed by the enemy. A brisk fire was kept up for half-an-hour, and the enemy was driven back. The column then advanced slowly through three or four miles of very jungly country driving the enemy before it, and halting occasionally, to favour them with a few rounds from the guns, by way of accelerating their flight.

On reaching the open country near Kuttungee, the cavalry was pushed on in pursuit, the enemy being discovered in full retreat among the hills in rear of the town; but, from the nature of the ground, the horses could not follow; and before the infantry could get up, the greater number had effected their escape: a few only were killed; and some prisoners taken on the hill and in the town, were summarily disposed of by the provost-marshal.

On the column approaching Kuttungee, it was agreeably surprised by Major Jenkins and Lieutenant Watson, whose deaths had been reported, riding up to it. They had succeeded in cutting their way through an ambuscade in the dark, and had concealed themselves on the hills, until the advance of the column enabled them to rejoin it. Lieutenant Watson had been wounded on the cheek by a musket-ball, and knocked off his horse. His escape was miraculous. Major Jenkins' charger had two bullets through him, but brought his master safe before he dropped. At the entrance to the town, the column came up with the mutilated remains of Lieutenant Macgregor. His throat had been severed; a bullet discharged into his breast, and his body pierced with bayonets. This foul murder had been perpetrated at three o'clock the same morning, immediately before the mutineers attacked the advanced party before mentioned.

The capture of one of the ringleaders of the mutiny, is detailed in the following extract from a report of Lieutenant Pereira, commanding the rifles of the 1st Nagpore irregular corps. He says—"On seeing a number of men in red jackets, supposed to be mutineers, running hither and thither among the thick jungles skirting the hills of Kuttungee, I advanced the rifles in skirmishing order, and proceeded in that direction. On arriving at the base of one of the hills, private Ramchurren saw a man hid behind one of the bushes. He cried out, 'Who are you?' and, on receiving no reply, havildar Huttah Tewarree and private Ramchurren immediately seized the man. Private Shaik Emam, who was one of the files adjoining, immediately went to their assistance, and seized the man's musket, who was just on the point of full cocking it. On seizing him, they discovered he was a colour-havildar of the late 52nd Bengal native infantry. He begged for mercy, and said that he would give them a hundred rupees to shoot him dead. They replied, 'We are government servants, and don't require your money; government pays us well.' At this time I came up to them, and ordered him to be brought on as a prisoner. On arriving near the encamping-ground, I caused him to be brought before the commissioner of the Saugor and Nerbudda territories, who asked his name; to which he replied, Buldeo Sookul; and then he was ordered to be executed. This man is supposed to have been one of the principal ringleaders of the mutiny."—Lieutenant Pereira concluded by recommending the havildar and two privates to the favourable notice of the commanding officer; the result of which was the promotion of the former to the rank of jemadar (lieutenant), and of the two latter to the rank of havildar (sergeant.)

The subjoined extracts afford some interesting details connected with the mutiny of the 52nd regiment, and also throw some light upon the movements of the rebels in the districts to which the writers refer. The first selected is dated from Jubbulpore, October 8th, 1857; but is written by one of the officers in charge of the detachment at Saleemabad. This gentleman says:—

"I will now give you, as well as I can recollect, an account of my escape and the mutiny of the regiment. On the morning of the 18th of September I got an express from M——, dated September 17th,

8 P.M., saying that they had every reason to believe that the regiment intended to mutiny that night, and to take the treasury and magazine with them, as well as to release all the prisoners. The letter went on to say, that I was to act to the best of my judgment, and that the colonel would bear me out in anything I did or ordered. I at once told my men; some would not believe it; but all took the native oath to remain true, and, under those circumstances, I had not the heart to leave them. I told them I did not wish them to fight the regiment, as I made sure it would come my way to proceed to Mirzapore. I wanted, on the arrival of the regiment, that one man should go and tell them that my company would not join them; at the same time I felt sure, that if the whole regiment had mutinied my men would not stand. I got no more news that night. I did not sleep at all; but, at daylight, I went outside, and, by the gloomy looks of the men, and their talking together, knew that something was wrong. I walked among them for some time, longing to see my native officer; at last he came. I asked him what was the matter; he threw up his hands and said, 'The regiment has gone, and these men won't obey, but are going off to Delhi.' I said I should order them to march into Jubbulpore; he said, 'You had better not; mount your horse and be off.' I then saw that nothing but a bolt would save us, so I went and called C——, ordered our horses, put on my revolver, and took my double rifle, giving my gun to C——. I saw we could not leave without being seen, so I thought I had better go away openly. We found our horses saddled outside, and a number of my men all round them. I saw they had put a sentry over my luggage and the government treasury. I walked quietly up the road, followed by some of my better-disposed men; they saluted me, and many wanted to shake hands; some actually cried, but not a single man offered to accompany me, so hopeless did they consider my escape to be. On we rode, at a foot pace, for fear of tiring our horses, expecting to see the mutinous regiment at every turn of the road. After going fifteen miles we arrived at a village, where we heard that the regiment had really gone, but were not coming this way. I found a dozen irregular cavalry there; and, though I could not trust them, I knew, if they wanted to murder us, they could always overtake us, so I ordered them to mount and come on with us, and made them bring along whatever government treasure there was in the village; and, after having a draught of milk, on we went, having first sent on a trooper at a gallop with a letter to say we were coming. At every village through which we passed the people turned out, and only looked at us, as our small cavalcade was too strong for them. When we got within a few miles of the station, we found a buggy which had been sent out for us, and a couple of bottles of beer. It was quite dark, and pouring, having rained nearly all day. I was glad to see the buggy, as we then knew that the station was all right. We arrived at last at about half-past nine o'clock, and were received with cheers. Of course every European was in the residency; and ladies, in all stages of undress, rushed out of their rooms to shake hands. My dress consisted only of a coloured flannel shirt and canvas trowsers, shoes, and a leather hat, besides being dripping wet; so that I myself was not very presentable. I then heard that poor Macgregor had been taken prisoner; but all were in great hopes that he would be released, as a free pardon and 5,000 rupees were offered to any party who would bring him in. As soon as the Madras column heard of the regiment going, they retraced their steps; and, on the 27th, as they were marching through some very thick jungle, they were attacked by our regiment and about 1,000 Bundeelas. They were only two marches off, and we could hear the guns plainly. The mutineers were driven back with some loss; those who were taken prisoners were hung up at once, to the intense delight of the European artillerymen. Poor Macgregor was murdered that morning: he was found with his arm broken, five bayonet wounds, and a shot through the neck. He was brought in, and we buried him with the usual military honours. He was our senior lieutenant, and had been brought up at the school I was at, at Worthing. I was one of the committee of adjustment of his estate, and had to go to his old quarters, where everything reminded me forcibly of him; and although we were not great friends, it is most distressing, after being for nine years together, to see a brother officer lose his life in so terrible a manner. It was only on hearing of his horrible fate that I could realise my providential escape; and I am convinced, that if I had waited five minutes, I should have been made a prisoner. That day was an eventful one for me. I can assure you, that it is not a comfortable feeling to be surrounded by men who, after being under one's command for so many years, suddenly throw off all obedience and discipline. I felt perfectly powerless, besides having a junior officer with me, whose life depended on my acts. On seeing how things were going on, I thought perfect coolness our best safeguard, and this I kept up to the time of leaving Saleemabad. I left orders with the company to provide carriage for my tents and luggage, and called to my colour-sergeant to bring me whatever money he had of mine. To my great surprise he brought it, and I put the money in my belt. Two days after my arrival here, in came my things—nothing missing; so they actually obeyed my last order. * * * Some of our men are being brought in prisoners, and will be hung. Two men of the 1st company came in this morning; they could not look me in the face. I hear they have just been hung. * * * Great dissatisfaction is felt at the order that no sepoy is to be hung except it is proved that he was present at a murder. Who is to bear witness to the murders of our unfortunate countrymen at Cawnpore, Futteghur, Shahjehanpore, &c.?"

The following is from Jubbulpore, dated October 9th:—

"We are still at Jubbulpore, you see; and I do not see much prospect of our being able to get away in a hurry, as it is rather dangerous to go along the road without an escort, and I am not likely to get one at present. My last would tell you of the mutiny of the 52nd; how one detachment of the regiment allowed two officers to escape, while another had made a prisoner of poor Macgregor; and how the two companies, with the Kamptee column, had been quietly disarmed—that Dumoh had been abandoned, and the column was on its march back to Jubbulpore. On the 26th the column was at Sringampore. The next morning the column was to march to Kuttungee (ten miles) at daylight; but at two o'clock A.M., the grenadier company of the 33rd, under Lieutenant Watson, started with

the intention of securing the boats on the Herun river. Major Jenkins, quartermaster-general, went with Watson. After riding about three miles, they had got about 200 yards in front of the company. Suddenly a bugle in front of them sounded the fire; 'snick, snick' went some muskets, then a regular volley. 'Holloa,' said Jenkins, 'here we are in the midst of them.' Dark though it was, they could see they were surrounded by sepoys; they were the rebel 52nd advancing to attack the Kamptee column. One sepoy stepped close up to Watson, and fired in his face; the ball only gave him a gash under the eye. He rode the man down, but he himself fell in doing so. He regained his feet, but fell again and again. Somehow he managed to catch hold of Jenkins's stirrup, and ran on; his horse trotted up to him, and he contrived to mount. Both then cantered on, but immediately came on the rear-guard. 'Halt, who comes there?' called out the leading file. They gave no reply, but dashed through unhurt, though exposed to the fire of the whole guard. Was it not a wonderful escape? Jenkins's horse had two balls in him, and Watson's boy, carrying his rifle, was shot dead; they hid in the jungle till the column came up in the forenoon; they were received with shouts and cheers, for every one thought them killed. The mutineers had no bayonets fixed. The grenadier company fell back on the column in good order; which, being warned of the state of affairs, advanced at daylight, and soon came in ight of the mutineers, advancing steadily along the road in columns of sections: when within 300 yards of them our guns were unmasked; but just as they opened fire, the mutineers wheeled backwards right and left, and got into the jungle, which was very thick, and came quite close to the road. It is believed, that in the course of the morning the mutineers lost about 120 men; there were many hundred Bundeelas with them. Our loss was trifling; a few men wounded, and a trumpeter killed. On coming near Kuttungee, the body of poor Macgregor was found, pierced with eight or nine bayonet wounds, a shot in the neck, his arm gashed and broken; we were all grieved to hear of his sad fate; his body was brought in here, and buried the next day at noon. A wounded havildar and sepoy were taken prisoners at Kuttungee, and hung on the spot. After the column moved on, the mutineers returned, cut down the bodies, and buried them with military honours! The column came in here on the 1st, and Colonel Miller assumed command of the station. We intended to have left this on the 7th; but on the 5th the road was found to be unsafe: it has been unsafe any day for the last three months! Bergee, fifteen miles from this, on the high-road to Kamptee, was burnt by rebels. On the 27th or 28th ult., a large kafila was plundered at the Silwa Ghaut, five miles further on. Sixteen mutineers of the 52nd were at Bergee on the 4th; they cut off the noses of some Bunyahs who had gone to buy ghee; and one of them, known to be the principal in the murder of poor Macgregor, sent a message to Captain Moxon, 52nd—that they hoped to serve him the same way; he had offered 200 rupees for the colours; they had intended to collect a party, and attack Jubbulpore; that they would bring the colours with them, and he might then take them if he could! Yesterday morning a party from this were sent to clear the road of the villains; and as Cumberlege, with the 4th cavalry, *en route* here, was only three miles beyond Bergee, it was hoped that the rebels might be captured or done for. I hear to-day that the expedition was unsuccessful; it is said that the rebels have retired to a hill like a natural fortress. I imagine some effort will be made to dislodge them, as the infantry have not returned, and the cavalry are still on the other side of the river. Gunnesgunge, another place on the road, is also occupied by rebels—Gonds, I believe. The main body of the mutinous 52nd are gone up the Mirzapore-road; we heard of them at Sehora (twenty-five miles from this) two days ago. Our Calcutta dâk has been interrupted for two or three days, but is now open, so I dare say the mutineers have left the high-road. The officers of the 50th Bengal native infantry, with 250 stanch men, have arrived at Allahabad in safety. Three sepoys of the 52nd have been captured, brought in here, and hanged, and five Bundeelas were turned off two days ago. These affairs are taken as a matter of course."

At the close of September, nearly the whole of the territories of Saugor and Nerbudda were in a state of revolt. In Saugor, distant ninety miles north-west from Jubbulpore, a small garrison of 130 Europeans, with about 170 women and children, and a small force of sepoys, were, during the months of September and October, shut up in a scarcely defensible fort, surrounded by many thousand insurgents, and occasioning the most painful apprehensions for their safety; the whole country being in the hands of chiefs who were ready to rise up in open rebellion at news of any discomfiture of the British. Numerous Thakoors had risen, and were plundering the villages in all directions. Jaloun, Jhansie, and Dumoh—all important towns—were in the hands of the insurgents; and only the presence of a few hundred Madras troops stood between the authorities of these important provinces and total anarchy. The commissioner of Nagpore could send no more Madrasees from the south; in the north, Mr. Grant was unable to spare a single company from Benares; while the independent and unreliable state of Rewah lay on one side; and Banda, in a state of open rebellion, lay on the other. In this dilemma, the charge entrusted to Major Erskine, as commissioner of the Saugor and Nerbudda districts, became one of painful responsibility. As the autumn drew to a close, his reports to the government became daily more gloomy. In one letter he said—"The mass of native chiefs disbelieve in the existence of a British army; and nothing but the presence of troops among them will convince them of their error." Again and again were such representations sent to the governor-general; and as often as they came, was he compelled to answer that he had no British troops to spare.

On the 4th of October, a very spirited affair took place with some rebellious Bheels at the village of Nandoor Singoleh, Kandeish; which, in spite of a brilliant display of gallantry on the part of the officer commanding the loyal force, in which he was admirably seconded by his men, terminated in the death of that officer, and without any satisfactory result to compensate for his loss. The idea of attacking a strong position, held by from four to five hundred men well armed, with a force, altogether, of thirty men of the police corps (of whom not more than twenty took part in the affray), could only have emanated from the highest degree of military enthusiasm, and justifies the lengthened details preserved in the subjoined documents. The first of these is a letter from the assistant-magistrate of Ahmednuggur, to the political secretary to government (Bombay), dated "Nassick, October 6th, 1857;" in which he says—"I have the honour to forward the accompanying statements regarding the affair which took place the day before yesterday with the Bheels at Nandoor, and in which Lieutenant Henry, the superintendent of police, was unfortunately killed, while charging at the head of his men. From the accompanying statements, I think it is clear that, while every credit is due to the memory of the late Lieutenant Henry, for the gallant and determined way in which he led the attack, yet that the attack itself was, owing to the enormous superiority of the Bheels in point of numbers, and their strong position, a very ill-advised one. They were to the number of four to five hundred, armed with matchlocks and bows, posted on the top of a steep hill, surrounded by an abrupt scarp. They met our advance by a volley of some fifty shots, and by a shower of arrows. This strong position was, nevertheless, carried and cleared by Lieutenant Thatcher, supported by some fifteen men of the police corps.

"Lieutenant Henry was almost immediately shot down by two men; one shot passing through the lungs, and the other through both thighs. The Bheel who fired the second shot was killed by Lieutenant Thatcher. Both Lieutenant Thatcher and Mr. Taylor are united in their praises of the gallant way in which Lieutenant Henry fell in the execution of his duty. In him I have lost a highly valued friend; and the behaviour of the men of the police corps at his funeral, testified to the esteem in which he was held by them.

"Lieutenant Thatcher's conduct throughout, appears, to my humble judgment, to have been admirable. From the first, poor Lieutenant Henry underrated the strength and pluck of the enemy. Lieutenant Thatcher did all he could to persuade him to await the arrival of the reinforcements, which were daily expected from Poonah and Nuggur. Finding his remonstrances of no avail, he placed himself by the side of Lieutenant Henry, and the two raced together up the hill. His subsequent behaviour was, I venture to think, as gallant as it was judicious. Lieutenant Thatcher spoke in the warmest terms of the spirit displayed by Mr. Taylor, the inspecting postmaster, and of the assistance he afforded him. He also mentions that Amut Buksh, the rissaldar of the Poonah horse, behaved with very great gallantry. He will bring to the notice of the police commissioner the several men of the corps who chiefly distinguished themselves. Out of probably some twenty men, who took a prominent part in the fight, four were wounded—two, I fear, very severely. No idea can be formed of the number of Bheels that were killed and wounded, as they were all carried off. Lieutenant Thatcher himself wounded two men, and he believes mortally.

"Up to the time of writing this, I have heard nothing further of the movements of the Bheels. I trust, therefore, that the attack of the day before yesterday may have cowed them. The reinforcements from Poonah have arrived, and those from Nuggur will most likely arrive during the course of the day. The Bheels can, therefore, I think, never have such another opportunity for assembling so numerously.

"I have the honour to be, &c.,

"(Signed) F. S. CHAPMAN,

"First Assist. Magistrate of Ahmednuggur."

The paper referred to in the above, is a statement of Lieutenant Thatcher, assistant-superintendent of police; which ran as follows:—

"Lieutenant Henry arrived at 6 A.M. on the 4th instant. I had previously been at Nandoor with a party of thirty police, watching the enemy, who, to the number of between 200 and 250, were occupying a strong position in the hills. On the first day of my arrival at Nandoor, I sent off an express to the magistrate of Ahmednuggur, desiring a reinforcement of 150 men and two guns. I had previously heard that Lieutenant Carr was on his way to join

me with fifty men from Poonah. I had also sent in to Nassick, to the first assistant-magistrate, for more men; but as I had only left sufficient men there to carry on the duties of the place, I stated at the time that I did not expect him to be able to comply with my request. The above will show what appeared to me the necessity for reinforcements before commencing an attack.

"On the night of the 3rd instant, I made a night march on the village of Dappoor, in order to prevent the enemy from gaining the ghauts, and also with a view, when reinforcements arrived, to attacking them from higher ground. As I have before stated, Lieutenant Henry arrived at 6 A.M. on the morning of the 4th, and, of course, took the command. I gave him all the information I had as to the number of the enemy, who were then reported to be increased to 500, and to be posted in different positions. Lieutenant Henry appeared to treat my information lightly, and to think I had been imposed upon. My words to Lieutenant Henry were, to the best of my recollection, to this effect:—'Mr. Henry, you having arrived, of course have taken the command; but I warn you, we have not sufficient men to lick these fellows. My advice is to wait until reinforced by Mr. Carr and the Tannah party; and (pointing to a road above the hill) go and get above them.' His reply was, 'It is a d—— hard case if we have not sufficient men to thrash all the Sinur Bheels.' Lieutenant Henry then called the mamlutdar and two foujdars, and told them to go to Ragojee, and say, 'Henry Saheb *aya*, and orders you to come to Nandoor Singoleh, on which village he is going to march now; if you have any petition to make, come and make it in a proper manner.' Henry told the officials to speak to Ragojee coolly, and tell him if he did not come quietly, he (Henry) would come and take him.

"At 7 A.M. we marched on Nandoor; and as we were going there, I pointed out to Henry the officials talking with Ragojee. Henry cantered up to them; and on this I turned round to Mr. Taylor, who was riding with me, and said, 'Henry's going will cause a fight; he had better leave the niggers (meaning the officials who were parleying with Ragojee) alone.' I halted the men under some trees, at a distance of about a mile from where parleying was going on. I did this by Henry's order. Shortly after a sowar galloped up, with orders for me to advance. I brought the men up to Henry, and asked him how it (the conference) had ended. He said Ragojee had refused to come, and pointed me out a scarped hill, which he said we were to attack. He drew the men up in single file, and sent me with sowars to the left flank, to examine the enemy's position. I did so; and reported to him that no men were visible to the extreme left. I again pointed out my objections, in a military point of view, to attack at the proposed place, and showed him another spur of the hill of easy ascent; but it was in vain. Henry ordered the advance, and desired me to take the left, while he took the right of the line. We advanced, Henry and myself, on horseback. The position of the enemy was a most difficult one, being a high hill, with a scarped rock. On the top of the scarp, concealed amongst rocks and bushes, were numbers of matchlockmen. The first shot was fired by the enemy, and was evidently aimed at Henry. It missed him, and hit a man to rear of him. Lieutenant Henry, in a loud voice, ordered, 'Charge bayonets!' We rode together in advance of the men. At a distance of about forty yards the enemy gave us a tremendous volley. Finding we could ride no higher, we simultaneously dismounted. Henry drew his revolver, and I my sword. We both took off our hats, and cheered on the men, which was answered by a tremendous yell from our own men. We rushed to the top of the hill, together with about fourteen of our men, about twenty yards to my right rear. Henry pointed his revolver at a man, and I said, 'Your pistol is not cocked.' He put it down, staggered against me, and said, 'I'm hit in the shoulder, but never mind me; go on, old fellow.' He jumped up again; and, finding our pistols useless, we each took a musket from the men who had come up. We jumped on to the scarp, and pointed both our muskets at one man, who had evidently been watching the path. We went up; Henry again called out, 'Good God! I am hit again!' and fell. The man who fired this last shot was, I believe, shot by me just as Henry spoke. I knelt down by Henry, and asked him if he was mortally wounded. He said, 'Forward, old fellow—forward!' Seeing I could do no good, I pulled him out of the line of fire. I then, with fourteen or fifteen men, charged two of the hills on which the enemy were strongly posted, and made myself

master of the position. The fight, after this, lasted upwards of an hour, when Mr. Taylor sent me a message by a native officer that I was being outflanked. I retired leisurely, exchanging shot for shot with the enemy, until a great number of my men had exhausted their ammunition.

"On returning to Nandoor Singoleh, I broke up the remainder of my detachment, and strengthened the following treasuries:—1st, Neemohum; 2nd, Ankola; 3rd, Sinur. I had four men wounded; two, I fear, very seriously. I have no idea of the number of the enemy that were killed and wounded. I shot two myself, and, to the best of my belief, my men hit a great number. The behaviour of about half my detachment was admirable. I will make a nominal report of them. The rissaldar of the Poonah horse, in particular, behaved most gallantly. Armed with only a pistol, he tried to race in front of me. The remaining half of the detachment did not come under my observation. Having only such a few men left, I considered it my duty to detach them, as before stated, and not make any further attack. Before concluding this statement, I feel it only due to myself to state, that the attack was made against overwhelming numbers; that I strongly dissuaded Lieutenant Henry from making it, and that the position of the enemy, in a military point of view, was as strong as could be conceived. I beg to state that I received great assistance from Mr. Taylor, inspecting postmaster in the Deccan, not only in his duties as postmaster, but also by his gallant bearing throughout this fight. I beg to refer to him for a corroboration of what I have stated.

"(Signed) TORIN THATCHER,
"Assistant Superintendent of Police."

The following is the statement of Alexander Law Taylor, Esq., inspecting postmaster in the Deccan, regarding the fight with the Bheels in front of the village of Nandoor Singoleh, on the 4th October:—On Friday, the 2nd, whilst at Sungumnair, on a tour of inspection, I heard that the Bheels had risen. The same evening, I heard that Lieutenant Thatcher was in the neighbourhood, and went and joined him. I was present yesterday when Lieutenant Henry arrived. I overheard their conversation; and from the tenor, am of opinion that Lieutenant Henry viewed the matter lightly. Lieutenant Thatcher, on the other hand, remonstrated, and said he thought it not safe to attack with so few men. Lieutenant Henry said the force was quite sufficient to take double the number of the enemy; that it was a pity they had not been attacked before; and that he would lay anything not a shot would be exchanged. I, too, asked Lieutenant Henry whether he thought it judicious to attack, with so few men, such a difficult and strong position? He said, 'Yes; they will run like dogs.' Just before the assault, Lieutenant Thatcher again remonstrated, and proposed to attack by an easier ascent, and from one that afforded a more commanding position.

"When the assault took place, I was to the rear of the men, about their centre. I was about twenty yards from Lieutenant Henry when he received his second wound. I ran up to him, and found him insensible. I gave him some water, which revived him. He opened his eyes, and said, 'I'm all right now—forward.' I left him, to follow up the attack, which was being led by Lieutenant Thatcher, who was about fifty yards in front of me with about twelve men. I perceived a flank movement of the enemy to cut off Lieutenant Thatcher from where I was. I immediately dispatched the rissaldar, who was on foot, to warn him of his danger, and beg of him to retreat, which he did, disputing every foot of ground, and exchanging shot for shot. After dispatching the rissaldar, I returned to Henry, and ordered him to be removed, which was done: as soon as he was removed, he put his hand to his chest, and said he felt pain, and asked for water, which I gave him. I knew he was dying—put my ear to his mouth, and tried to catch the words he uttered, but could not. I fancied I heard him utter the name of some female; but could not catch it distinctly.

"About one-half of the armed police behaved right well; the remainder were below. When the order to charge was given, Henry and Thatcher raced with each other up the hill, cheering on the men. When the former was hit, the latter was almost touching him. There were, in all, four of our men wounded, two of whom fell by my side, severely wounded. There appeared to be between 450 and 500 of the enemy. The first volley fired was from a good fifty muskets. I counted only one of the enemy severely wounded; he had been hit by Thatcher. I can form no idea as to how many of the enemy were hit, as the wounded were dragged away. The enemy's position was completely carried. I have read Lieutenant

Thatcher's statement, and most fully concur in the version he has given.

"(Signed) A. L. TAYLOR,
"Officiating Inspecting Postmaster, Deccan."

Resolution of Government.

"The right honourable the governor in council has received, with the deepest regret, the melancholy intelligence of the death of Lieutenant Henry, the superintendent of police at Ahmednuggur. This most able and gallant officer died in the zealous discharge of his duty. Undeterred by a severe wound, which he received while leading on his men, he still advanced; and when prostrated by a second and mortal wound, his word to those who tendered to him their aid, was, 'Forward!' The fate of one so young, so gallant, so energetic, will be mourned by all the services; and it will especially be deplored by the government which Lieutenant Henry served faithfully and devotedly.

"The right honourable the governor in council directs that the thanks of government be communicated to Lieutenant Thatcher, for the gallantry so conspicuously exhibited by him on this melancholy occasion. The right honourable the governor in council also considers that Mr. Taylor, the inspecting postmaster in the Deccan, and Amut Buksh, rissaldar of the Poonah horse, are deserving of the high commendation of government, for their gallant conduct on the 4th inst. Mr. Chapman should be informed that his further report will be awaited."

Immediately upon this affair being reported at head-quarters, the 26th regiment of native infantry was dispatched to Nandoor Sinur by rail, for the purpose of dispersing the rebels: the report current respecting whom was then as follows:—

"Sinur is surrounded by about 1,500 Bheels, with matchlocks and swords, and their women armed with bows and arrows, and quite naked. Another body of them have taken up a position on the top of a higher hill than that occupied by them when Lieutenant Henry charged them, and about eight miles farther on towards Bombay. The Bheels of the town of Sinur, before joining their comrades, removed all their property, and set fire to their houses. The leader of the band was a naik in the Company's service, and had been dismissed and imprisoned for two years by Lieutenant Henry for misconduct. He gratified his desire for revenge by shooting the unfortunate officer. From the strength of the position occupied by the Bheels, and their Amazonian wives, it was considered prudent to defer an attack upon them until the arrival of a further reinforcement."

About the second week in October, a plot was discovered among the sepoys of the marine battalion stationed in Bombay; having for its object the extermination of the Europeans, and the plunder of the place. It was proposed by the conspirators, that the three native regiments in garrison should each take a separate district, and, on the last night of the Mohurrum, rise and commence the massacre; they were then to plunder the treasury, &c., and depart northward, to join the mutinous forces in Oude and Bengal. Fortunately, the superintendent of police (a Mr. Forgett) had obtained some information of the project, and, without causing alarm by a premature disclosure, waited quietly till the proper hour for action had arrived, and then seized the whole of the ringleaders without difficulty. Two of the most active of the traitors were an havildar of the marines and a private of the 10th native infantry; and of these men it was determined to make an immediate example. They were tried by a court-martial, and sentenced to be blown from guns; and on the 15th of October the sentence was carried into execution. An eye-witness of the terrible scene has thus described the proceedings:—

"The men of the marine battalion, and of the 10th regiment, were paraded upon the ground, with their arms, but without ammunition; and the guns were so placed as to sweep them down if they should make any effort to rescue their guilty comrades. A strong guard of the 95th Europeans covered the guns, and faced the native regiments. Two guns (from which the prisoners were to be blown) were placed in the centre of the space between the two forces, with portfires lighted; and the troops having taken their ground, the prisoners were marched into the area, under a guard of the 95th regiment. After a delay of some minutes, the preparations were completed, and the artillery and Europeans were ordered to load. The sentence of the court was then read to the prisoners. The man belonging to the 10th regiment (a Bengalee) was terribly affected, and begged piteously for his life. The other (a Mohammedan) was much firmer; but although he tried to look bold, and threw into his face a look of defiance and thirst for vengeance, his

quivering lip showed he, too, was shaken. The poor wretches were stripped of their uniform, and marched up to the guns, and, with their backs to the muzzles, were lashed to the wheels. It was a terrible sight, after the men who had bound them withdrew, to see the poor creatures thus bound to the guns—living men, in another minute to be in eternity. The suspense was sickening, but it did not last long. 'Ready—fire!'—an explosion, a cloud of smoke, a shower of undistinguishable fragments tossed above and around the guns, and all was over. I was at a little distance, and my feelings were much less terrible than I expected; but those who were nearer, and beside whom the ghastly fragments fell, said it was very dreadful. It is not a pleasant subject to enlarge upon. After a few minutes the native troops were marched back to their quarters; and as they passed off the ground, the guns were brought round, so as always to bear on them in case they might, in a fit of desperation, attempt a retaliation. All, however, went off quietly. The sepoys, as they marched away, cast furtive, frightened glances at the guns pointed so ominously at them; but they marched on steadily."

After this example, the trials of some other prisoners followed, and for several days the place of execution continued to be resorted to. The native troops were agitated by rage and fear; but it was only by sullen looks they dared express the feelings that, but for the extraordinary watchfulness of the authorities, would probably have broken out into maddening excitement and pitiless revenge.

The condition of Rajpootana, during the period just referred to, was very far from satisfactory; and, for some time, the town of Neemuch appeared to be one of the centres around which the rebels gathered from all quarters; the consequence being, that the surrounding districts were in a continual state of alarm and uncertainty.

The town of Mundissore, about twenty-four miles from Neemuch, had revolted from the rule of Scindia, and raised the green flag of the prophet, to show its defiance of British power. The English mails were stopped at this place, and the letters and papers wantonly destroyed. The town, also, was fortified by the rebels, who had thirteen guns mounted on the walls. Recruits were encouraged from the mutinous bands straggling about the country, and heavy bribes were offered to the native troops at Neemuch to join the rebel force. This state of things, of course, could not be tolerated; but, while making preparations to dispatch troops for the recovery of Mundissore, a difficulty presented itself in another direction, that required instant attention. The town of Nimbhaira, situated about sixteen miles distant from Neemuch, on the high-road to Nusseerabad, was in the possession of a host of rebels, paid by the nawab of Tonk, who had declared against the British government. The place was walled round, and had a considerable number of guns mounted for its defence; but it was necessary the rebels should be displaced, and the town restored to obedience. A force, consisting of seventy men of her majesty's 83rd regiment, eighty men of the Bombay 12th native infantry, and 150 men of the 2nd Bombay cavalry, with two 9-pounders and a mortar (the whole under the command of Colonel Jackson, of the 2nd Bombay light cavalry), was dispatched from Neemuch, for the purpose of expelling the rebel force from Nimbhaira. The following account of the attack and capture is from the pen of an officer engaged in the affair; who writes thus:—

"The force, as above, arrived on their ground at about nine o'clock A.M., on the morning of the 20th of October. They halted on the bank of a river which lay between them and the town, at about 700 yards' distance from its walls. A party first went forward, calling on the town to surrender and deliver up all arms. The Ameer, or representative of the Tonk nawab, came forth from the gates and agreed to surrender, but begged an hour's time for the arms to be given up. Slowly a few ragged-looking warriors came outside the gates, and placed some weapons on the ground; but it was evident, that whatever might have been their chief's ideas, they were loth to give up their means of defence; for an hour passed, and they had only given up a few guns and pistols of British make—plunder which had evidently been taken at the late mutiny at Neemuch. One half-hour more was allowed, and then a herald went into the town and proclaimed, that if a complete surrender of arms were not effected in a quarter of an hour, the town should be attacked. The herald was made mincemeat of within the walls. British troops were not to be treated thus; so 'whish' went a shell from our side into the midst of the town, and hostilities began. The cavalry hemmed the enemy in at the gates. The 9-pounders were drawn up within 500 yards of the town, the infantry within 100 yards—whence they commenced a rattling fire at all heads that appeared above the walls; and now there was warm work on both sides. The enemy returned our fire well, but were careful in concealing their persons. The fire of musketry and matchlocks through the loopholes was tremendous; but aim appeared to be a thing of little importance, or our loss would have been severe. From half-past one to half-past five this work was continued; but the

stubborn gates remained firm, and little or no impression was made upon the walls. Then the guns advanced through deep mud, under a galling fire, to within about 100 yards of the walls, where our infantry had been keeping up a continued fire of musketry from the beginning of the fight.

"Our plan now was to blow up the gates, make a breach, if possible, in the walls, and take the town by assault with the whole of the infantry, and a party of dismounted Bombay cavalry—the party to be led by Colonel Jackson, commanding the force. Everything was in preparation; Sergeant Taylor had the bag of powder on his shoulder to blow up the gate, and was ready for a run. Her majesty's 83rd had been told-off as coolly and steadily as if for parade, and every one was worked up to the highest pitch of eagerness and excitement, when, lo! our hopes were doomed to be disappointed; the order was passed that, evening coming on, the troops were to retire; and most slowly and unwillingly they fell back. Nothing could exceed the bravery of all the troops; the 12th native infantry, firm as a rock, caring nothing for the balls that flew like hailstones around them, were only eager that our own 83rd—who, of course, behaved as British soldiers do—should not be before them on the walls. In the action, one corporal of the 83rd was killed within thirty yards of the fort. Dr. Miles, 83rd foot, was severely wounded; and an officer, Mr. Charles Burton, of the officers' volunteer corps, was slightly wounded; fifty of the cavalry had volunteered their services to dismount and join in the assault; and one jemadar (or native subaltern officer), who was bravely advancing to the walls, was shot through the liver, and now lies in a dangerous state; seventeen men of all ranks were wounded. The troops, when they went out of action, had tasted no food since the day before, and now they were too tired to eat; they slept on the damp ground, on which the rain had fallen heavily that day, with no tent or covering of any sort over them. The gallantry of the native troops on this occasion, afforded us, their officers, peculiar gratification, as the previous mutinous behaviour of some of the men (all of whom we hope are captured now, or have fled not to return) had cast a stigma on the two corps as a body, which we were only too glad to see their bravery and loyalty this day wipe out.

"In the morning the commandant of the force received intelligence that our brave enemy had deserted the fort—a contingency we could hardly have prevented with our small force, and mud up to the horses' knees all round the fort. The end seems a poor one after the high hopes that had been entertained by the force, and considering the facility with which, with another hour's daylight on the previous evening, they might have triumphantly stormed and cut their way into the town; many were the lamentations among the British soldiers that they had been robbed of a chance of avenging the horrible murders of their countrymen and countrywomen. Any native is fair game to a British soldier now; he takes him as the representative of the Bengal sepoy as a race. But our political point was gained. The troops walked quietly in, the British flag was erected on the principal building, and Nimbhaira, and the territory of which it is the principal town, is now British property, to yield the government a revenue of £2,000 per annum. The individual who cut up our herald, or messenger, into little pieces, has been captured and blown away from a gun."

At Kurrachee,* the chief port of Scinde (situated about 105 miles east of Hyderabad), a design of the 21st regiment of Bombay native infantry, to revolt and massacre the Europeans, was happily frustrated under the following circumstances:—About eleven o'clock on the night of the 14th of September, two of the native officers of the regiment reported to Major M'Gregor, the commanding officer, that they had overheard some sepoys declare, that at twelve o'clock the same night the whole corps were to rise, and loot the treasury, murder their officers, and make off for Hyderabad. The major at once mounted his horse, and rode quickly to the town, where he communicated the report to the authorities. The 2nd European light infantry immediately fell-in under their commanding officer, Colonel Stiles; and the first step taken by him was to strengthen the mess-guard, and order all the ladies of the station to rendezvous there—the soldiers' wives and children being protected at the quarter-guard of the regiment: a strong guard was dispatched to the collector's treasury; and the remainder of the regiment (about 200 strong) marched down, with Major Blake's troop of horse artillery, to the rear of the lines of the 21st regiment. Having wheeled into line opposite the parade-ground, with half the troop on either flank (loaded with canister), the "assembly" was sounded, and the men of the 21st regiment, taken by surprise, had no choice but to obey the order to fall-in at quarter-distance column. The roll was then called, and twenty-seven men were absent,

* The seaport of Kurrachee (or Corachie) is situated near the western extremity of the coast, in lat. 24° 51′ N., long. 67° 2′ E., near the base of the southern extremity of the Pubb, or Brahooie mountains, on a level space intervening between them and the sea; and is the only port in Scinde for vessels drawing more than ten feet of water. The port is protected from bad weather by Munorah, a bluff rocky headland leaving a space of about two miles between the extreme point and the coast to the east. On the promontory of Munorah, which is about 150 feet in height, a fort was built in 1797. The position of this fort was thought to be such as to be unassailable by shipping; while, on the other hand, musketry from the rocks could clear the decks of an enemy. In 1839, however, the fallacy of this opinion was shown; as in one hour, the fire of the *Wellesley*, of 74 guns, dismantled the fort, and it was immediately occupied by British troops. The country from Kurrachee to the coast is very low; and when the snows melt, and the rains fall in the remote mountains of the north, it is flooded by the Indus. The estimated population of the town is about 16,000.

having decamped with their loaded muskets. This scrutiny having been perfected, the whole were ordered to pile arms, and file away on the reverse flank, to a distance of about fifty yards. The 2nd Europeans and artillery then took up a position between the arms and the regiment; and the men of the latter were ordered to take off their belts. Their lines were then searched, and all swords, fire-arms, and ammunition were taken away; the muskets and belts, being in the meantime piled on commissariat carts, were taken under guard to the arsenal, and there deposited. Several of the muskets were found loaded with ball. The 21st was then formed in close column, when they were addressed by General Scott, who called upon the good soldiers of the corps to come forward and assist their officers in finding out the traitors who disgraced the regiment, and, by that means, to keep up the good name it had always hitherto maintained. The regiment was then dismissed, and the Europeans and horse artillery marched back to their barracks, which they reached about 5 A.M. Several of the ringleaders in the plot so fortunately counteracted but an hour before it was to have been carried out, were secured within a few hours, and lodged in the quarter-guard of the 2nd regiment. A court-martial was assembled on the 16th, for the trial of the prisoners; which closed its proceedings on the following day, at half-past four o'clock, previous to which a large gallows was erected in front of the 21st lines. Very soon after the time mentioned, the four companies of the 2nd European regiment arrived on the ground, followed by the prisoners who had been condemned, in gharries, escorted by a strong guard; the disarmed men of the 21st regiment followed the execution party, and, after them, marched the 14th native infantry and the horse artillery.

The prisoners were then taken out of the gharries, and their names called over by the brigade-major; and the first seven, who were sentenced to be hung, and three others condemned to be blown away, were marched to the rear of the gallows, between their late regiment and that erection. The proceedings of the court-martial, and the sentence, were then read in English by the brigade-major, and translated into the native tongue by Major Goldsmid. The seven prisoners for the scaffold were then marched up its steps, which they ascended without hesitation, or requiring assistance. One man only spoke when on the drop. He stated it was his first offence, and it was no use hanging him; he had done fourteen years *nokrie*. The ropes being adjusted, the culprits were faced about to meet the gaze of their late corps: after some little delay, the signal was given, and, in a few moments, the forfeit of their treason was paid.

It was now found that, on account of the confined range, the execution from the mouth of the guns could not be carried into effect in the square, where the scaffold was still bearing its fruit. The brigade was, consequently, moved off to the plain between the sappers' lines, and there the three guns were unlimbered, and the prisoners sentenced to be blown away, met their terrible doom in silence.

Upon the occurrence of the night of the 14th becoming known, the European community was entirely taken by surprise, as not the slightest suspicions had been entertained of an ill-feeling among the native troops. Precautionary measures were, of course, instantly resorted to for protection, in case of any further indications of danger; and the public were apprised that the arsenal was appointed as a place of general rendezvous, if circumstances should require them to vacate their homes. All the males at the station, of proper age, were also enrolled as a volunteer corps, for the purpose of acting as mounted patrols every night, so as to relieve the European troops from that duty, and preserve them in a state of efficiency in case of a serious outbreak. The following considerate order was issued upon the occasion:—

"(Circular.) Kurrachee, Sept. 16th.

"By desire of Major-general Scott, C.B., commanding the division, all able-bodied non-military men possessing a horse and arms, and willing to volunteer for patrol duties in and about the station, are invited to report themselves to Major Goldsmid, or to Captain Johnstone, who will give them instructions regarding the duty to be performed.

"It is suggested that, for the present, none should offer themselves who have family ties which render it a primary duty to remain at home and protect their household.

"(Signed) H. B. E. Frere,
"Commissioner in Scinde."

A close search for other of the traitors than those executed, was kept up for several days; and of forty-three who were seized,

fourteen were hanged, three killed in the attempt to escape, four were blown away from guns, and twenty-two were transported. The twenty-seven absentees at roll-call were nearly all apprehended in the neighbourhood, and were also summarily disposed of.

The following communication from a European resident at Kurrachee, gives a lively idea of the incidents connected with this affair. The writer, dating September 17th, says—

"Now that the danger is over, we can well afford to laugh at our fears. The alarm was heard between eleven and twelve o'clock, and the noise and bustle in the camp was prodigious; parties were rushing from house to house, rousing the inmates, and directing them to proceed with all haste to the 2nd European regiment mess-house. Within a few minutes the streets were filled with Europeans, sick ladies in chairs, some in carriages, others on foot; equestrians galloping about in all directions; gentlemen on foot, leading their female relatives and friends to the mess-house. One gentleman, living a short distance, for whom a gharry had been sent by a friend, bundled his wife and children into the gharry, seized a couple of coats and trowsers to stand a week's siege, and jumped into the gharry in drawers and slippers. The shock he has received, I hear, has laid him up with an attack of nervous fever. Parties on the road were making anxious inquiries as to the whereabouts of the mutineers; the sound of a horse's hoofs would send the timid, for protection, under a bridge, or behind a lamp-post. The scene in the mess-house was worthy the pen of a Cruikshank. The ladies, God bless them! with the greatest resignation, were looking out with anxiety for the reports that were, at intervals, brought in of the progress of the disarming; and the gentlemen, some armed to the teeth, trudging about the verandah and doorways, looking daggers at the dark night which hid the mutineers from their fierce gaze. The work of loading and unloading of guns, the clicking of locks, and clashing of swords, gave confidence to the timid. Fortunately not a single fire-arm exploded, either by design or accident; for we do verily believe, that a single shot would have set the whole cantonment in a blaze, and the gentlemen in drawers into fits. The tramping of a horse, or the rattling of a gharry, called forth the cry of 'There they come.' The mess-house compound was also crowded with native men and women, chiefly servants of the parties in the mess-house. Almost every one possessed of jewels, silver ware, &c., had them in small bundles or boxes with them, and all appeared prepared for the worst.

"In another part of the camp (the commissariat lines), some of the residents went to the mess-house, others to the depôt, and others even so far as the second European hospital. We have heard of one family, consisting of twenty souls, who, on the first alarm, put out the light. The females and children covered themselves in their bedclothes; whilst the men kept a sharp look-out with their loaded pieces. But ladies would faint, and children would squall, in spite of all the appeals and threats of their friends; and the consequence was, that they were all obliged to proceed in a body to the quarter-guard of the depôt, where they arrived just in time to be told that all was over. The women in the depôt were in a great state of excitement; but Captain Herne and others were moving amongst them, and affording every consolation to dispel their fears.

"Those near the artillery lines rushed into the barracks; the convalescent sick were all armed and turned out. The Suddur Bazaar was as quiet as could be wished: the Parsees, to their credit be it said, were mostly all in their own houses; each shop had twenty or thirty individuals, armed with guns, pistols, and swords; and woe betide the mutineers if they came across them. Scarcely a single native was to be seen moving about. The tops of several houses were covered with inmates, and with muzzles of guns pointed to the streets; but the moment a horseman was heard approaching, the heads would disappear. In one house a person was seen at a window with his gun levelled to the road, and immediately behind him was a table with a candle burning—a beautiful target for a pot-shot.

"Almost every European's house in the camp was deserted, and the evil-disposed had a capital opportunity of enriching themselves; but, fortunately, the police were on the alert; and as the mutineers would not commence the row, the camp was saved from being sacked and plundered."

Another correspondent, dating from Kurrachee, October 12th, writes thus:—

"We have had difficulties in our garrisons all over Scinde, owing to want of more European soldiers. The panic of —— was beyond belief, and he would have denuded Scinde of defence had his requisitions all been available; but great caution became obviously necessary here when the various native regiments perceived our weak European resources. Instructions of the general have been admirably carried out; and at the three large stations in Scinde (Shirkapore on the frontier, Hyderabad on the Indus, and Kurrachee on the coast), mutiny has been arrested just in time—and only just; for at Kurrachee, on the night of the 13th of September (when the 21st native infantry were discovered partially under arms), had not our little army, and the general with it, been down on the 21st native infantry lines at midnight, this whole station, in half-an-hour more, was to have been a scene of mutiny and outrage from end to end.

"The intention of the rebel portion of the 21st was to rob the treasury during the confusion of the hour (on a remarkably dark night), and to carry money and arms to their disarmed friends at Hyderabad, where, about a week before, the artillery affair had flared up, and our good Brigadier Morris had run the guns into Hyderabad fort before the men could get at them. Shirkapore is where Captain Merewether now commands part of the Scinde horse, and General Scott had sent some artillery to strengthen that garrison. There were at Kurrachee a few guns, to the use of which some of the Europeans had been for a few weeks' training—a measure which was of material benefit at the crisis. Ladies may blunder in attempting any detail of means adopted for defence: but, as India now is, their grateful hearts should be the first to render thanks to a great and good Providence for watching over Scinde; and many hearts will pray for blessings on all the authorities, and on our general.

"The Shirkapore mutiny was the last to occur, and its spirit had been somewhat checked by the

dire examples made of the rebels here, and the utter defeat of the plot at Hyderabad—a plot which, at the latter place, had commenced, and if carried out, would have united the 21st native infantry here with the artillery mutineers at Hyderabad and at Shirkapore, and then the robber tribes on the frontier, with innumerable horse, would have come down to join the insurgents. The chiefs of these horse warriors are mentioned by Sir C. Napier, 'Anee Khan,' and 'Dhil Morad.' They now have the honour of being our prisoners, on board the ship *Feroze*, on a voyage to Bombay, as the orders were to send them there.

"It is impossible not to wonder, in our rejoicing, at the manner in which Scinde has hitherto been held with dignity; and we pray to preserve it so—all the more easily when more Queen's regiments are at the general's disposal. He seems particularly to congratulate himself upon the circumstance of the insurgent attempts in his division being decidedly thwarted without shedding European blood. Not one drop has flowed in Scinde. Yet it has been necessary to make summary examples of rebels convicted under courts-martial, who have been executed on parade in the presence of the general."

KOTAH,* a frontier town of importance, on the Chumbul, in the territory of Scindia, was the next to furnish its contribution to the aggregate of crime and cruelty. On the 13th of October, it happened that the political agent at Kotah (Major Burton), who had been for some time absent at Neemuch with his family, returned to his official residence, accompanied by two of his sons—aged, respectively, nineteen and twenty-one; but, fortunately, leaving the females and younger members of his family with their friends at Neemuch. His reception by the rajah was courteous, and the usual ceremonial visits were duly exchanged on the 14th—not the slightest ground appearing to warrant a suspicion of evil; but, at noon on the following day, information was conveyed to him, that two regiments of the maharajah's contingent had mutinied. Upon the heels of this unwelcome intelligence, the troops appeared before the residency, exclaiming that the major must be destroyed; and they forthwith made an attack upon the building, which they set fire to. The unfortunate gentleman, with his two sons, defended themselves as long as it was possible for them to do so, against the overwhelming odds that surrounded them; but were ultimately overpowered and murdered. The premises were then plundered, and the bodies of the victims were exposed for the gratification of the rabble of the place. In the midst of this deplorable work, the rajah of Kotah continued to profess fidelity to the Company's government; but he was powerless to resist the excitement of his troops, the bulk of whom, consisting of four regiments of infantry, and the whole of his artillery, had revolted, and proposed to march to Delhi, to assist in the establishment of the king, as not any of them would credit the news of the capture of the city, or that the prospect of a restoration of the Mogul empire had vanished for ever.

Some interesting particulars relative to the death of Major Burton and his sons, are furnished in the following statement, drawn up by one of his surviving children at Neemuch:—

"Major Charles Burton, political agent of Kotah, and his two youngest sons—fine, brave, spirited boys, between the ages of nineteen and twenty-one—have met with a tragical fate at Kotah, having been attacked suddenly, without one moment's warning, by a couple of regiments of the maharajah, cavalry and infantry, who revolted, and, dividing into several parties, surrounded the agency-house almost in a few moments. The political agent was himself the first to discover their approach; and, as he had only returned to Kotah three days previously from an absence of four months, he believed the number of people he saw advancing merely to be some of the chief subordinates coming to pay him the usual visit of ceremony and respect. In a second he was cruelly undeceived; the mutineers rushed into the house; the servants, both private and public, abandoned him with only one exception (a camel-driver); and the agent, his boys, and this one solitary servant, fled to the top of the house for safety, snatching up such few arms as were within their reach—the fiends pursuing; but the cowardly ruffians were driven back for the time by the youngest boy shooting one in the thigh. When there, they naturally hoped the agency servants or their own would have returned with assistance from the chief; but no—all fled, and no help came. In the meantime, the mutineers proceeded to loot the house; and the besieged saw from their position all their property carried away. A little while, and two guns were brought to play upon the bungalow, the upper part of which caught fire from the lighted sticks which the miscreants from time to time threw up. Balls fell around them, the little room at the top fell in, and they were yet unhurt—and this for five long and weary hours. Major Burton wished to parley with the mutineers, in the hope that they would be contented if he gave himself up, and might permit his boys to escape; but the latter would not allow of such a saorifice for their sakes, and, like brave men and good Christians, they all knelt down and uttered their last prayor to that God who will surely avenge their cause. All now seemed comparatively quiet,

* Kotah was formerly a part of the Boondee principality; but circumstances have brought it into alliance with British rule. It is situated on the great route from Hindostan to the Deccan, and possesses the noted pass of Makundra. The revenue of the district is estimated at twenty-five lacs of rupees. The capital is a large walled town, containing many handsome public buildings of stone.

and they began to hope the danger over, and let down the one servant, who was still with them, on a mission to the Sikh soldiers and officers, who were placed by the chief round the bungalow, for the personal protection of the agent (and of whom, at the time, there were not less than 140), to beg of them to loosen the boat, that an escape might be attempted across the river. They said, 'We have had no orders.' At this moment a shot from a pistol was fired. Scaling-ladders had been obtained—the murderers ascended the walls, and the father and his sons were at one fell stroke destroyed.

"There is every reason to believe that many, if not all, of the agency establishment were well aware that an attack was to be made. It is to be hoped that no worse feeling than that of cowardly fear kept their tongues tied. Assistance might have been sent from the chief. A gun fired from the city walls would have dispersed the whole cowardly mob; but it is said that the rajah was forcibly kept in his palace by the people of the city, who were in fear for their own lives and property. It is also said that the magazine had fallen into the hands of the mutineers, and that others in the city were revolting; but no authentic intelligence has as yet reached the authorities here on that head. The maharajah was enabled to recover the bodies of the agent and both his sons in the evening, and they were carefully buried by his order. Dr. Salder's house was attacked at the same time with the agency-house. He was cut down outside, in sight of the agent; as was also Mr. Saviell, the doctor of the dispensary in the city; and one or two others whose names are not certain.

"No cause whatever can be assigned for this outrage. Major Burton was beloved by every one—by the chief especially. He had lived there thirteen years, and led a life of peace and usefulness. No dispute, no quarrel, had ever existed between himself or any of the natives, and he had hastened his return by some ten days at the chief's own request, as he wished to see not only himself, but all his family back again. Major Burton's absence was caused, in the first place, by his presence being required with the Kotah troops at Neemuch, by the officer commanding at that station; and when, in July, the services of the Kotah soldiery were dispensed with, the agent remained for the two months at Neemuch; he left that station on the 7th of October—arrived at Kotah on the 13th—was received by the chief with every kindness—paid and returned the usual ceremonious visit—found all quiet, and apparently peaceful and happy—and was cruelly murdered on the 15th of October, 1857."

The mutiny of a portion of the 32nd regiment of Bengal native infantry, is detailed in a communication from Bhaugulpore, dated October the 18th. It appears that two companies of the regiment, with two officers, stationed at Deoghur, in the Santhal district, were paraded on the morning of the 9th of October, preparatory to a change of quarters at Maunbhoom. There had been no appearance of discontent among the men, nor had the officers (Lieutenants Cooper and Rennie) any suspicion that their men were other than good and loyal soldiers, until, upon the appearance of Lieutenant Cooper on the parade, a shot was discharged at him by one of the sepoys, whose aim was foiled by one of his comrades throwing a cap in the fellow's face at the moment he pointed his musket. Lieutenant Cooper immediately left the ground, and meeting his brother officer, they proceeded together to the bungalow of Mr. Ronald, the magistrate, who had heard the report of the gun, and had jestingly remarked to Mr. G. H. Grant (a gentleman residing with him), that the mutiny had commenced. He had scarcely uttered the words, when the servants rushed into the room, and declared that the sepoys were approaching. Lieutenant Rennie, who seems to have been a favourite with his men, was saved by two havildars, who thrust him into a native marriage-dhooly, and so conveyed him uninjured to Bhaugulpore. Mr. Grant also managed to escape—the other gentleman remaining in the house, which by this time was surrounded and fired by the mutineers. The officers were then sought for; and Lieutenant Cooper being first discovered, was shot down, and afterwards frightfully mutilated. Mr. Ronald was first wounded in the leg only, and begged very hard for his life; but the remorseless ruffians said to him—"No! If we spare you, you will be the first to hang us by-and-bye." They then gave him the *coup-de-grace*, actually riddling his body with their bullets. They finished the atrocious work by setting fire to his clothes, and, thrusting a bayonet through him, pinned his body to the ground. Neither of these victims were suffered to be removed from the spot; and, during the ensuing night, their bodies were partly eaten by jackals. Their remains were afterwards collected, and buried by a native servant. Mr. Grant, after leaving the place, was two days without food; but on the third he reached a village, where he obtained some parched grain and milk, and learned that his *khitmutgur* (servant) was also there, hiding from the sepoys. Grant sent for the man, and by his aid obtained a dhooly, as he was now unable to walk, having a severe wound in the sole of one of his feet. He had only his night-clothes on, and was without shoes or socks. Having been placed in a covered dhooly, he travelled from this village as the khitmutgur's wife; and, taking a circuitous route, at length reached the station of Bhaugulpore in safety.

While a portion of the 32nd regiment were thus employed in mutiny and murder, two other companies were *en route* from Burhait to Soorie; while the head-quarters' companies were at Bowsee. Upon intelligence of the outbreak reaching Calcutta, it was deemed necessary to ascertain the temper of the men at the stations just named; but, pending the inquiry, orders were given to dispatch a wing of her majesty's 13th foot from Calcutta to the Santhal district, to control the mutineers. Major English, who was then under orders to proceed to the Upper Provinces with a detachment of the 53rd foot, was thereupon countermanded, and directed to assist in pacifying the district before pursuing his upward journey. The result of the inquiry into the state of the remainder of the 32nd regiment, merely proved that its loyalty was in a stage of transition, since, although they remained obedient to their officers for a short time after the defection of their comrades, they ultimately followed their steps, and, throwing themselves into the whirlpool of rebellion, were hopelessly lost.

The two companies from Deoghur, after their successful exploit, were fortunate enough, by a rapid movement, to cross the Soane river without obstruction, intending to form a junction with the rebel force under Koer Sing, and the Dinapore mutineers—an object they accomplished in spite of the most strenuous efforts of Major English and a portion of the 53rd regiment, dispatched to intercept them.

By the latter end of October, the whole of the Rohilcund territory was in the hands of the leaders of the revolt; who, growing bold by their success, dispatched a force of upwards of 5,000 men, with some guns, to blockade the passes that led to Mynee Tal—a hill station of favourable repute among the Europeans in Bengal and adjacent provinces. The movement occasioned indescribable alarm among the valetudinarian residents of the Sanatarium; but fortunately, the design was frustrated by the prompt action of a body of 300 men of the 8th irregular cavalry, under Major Ramsay; who, by a spirited attack, drove the rebels from the positions they had taken, and compelled them to retreat hastily from the neighbourhood. Three Ghoorka regiments were afterwards stationed for the protection of the district.

Anarchy now prevailed throughout almost every district of Central India; and the struggles to repossess it were fierce and continuous. On the 27th of October, a small force, under Colonel Cotton, fell in with a division of the Indore mutineers at Futtehpore Sikree, and destroyed nearly the whole of them. On the 31st, the same officer reached Muttra, after cutting to pieces 150 of the rebels at the village of Begree, on his way. On the 30th, the town of Dhar was captured by Brigadier Stuart's column; who found, in the fort, between thirty and forty lacs of rupees. At Mehidpore, the fortune of war was adverse to the cause of loyalty and order; a force of 5,000 Rohillas, under Heera Sing (late a jemadar of the Nagpore cavalry), having attacked the place, which was defended by the Malwa contingent, on the morning of the 8th of November. The fight lasted nearly eight hours, when the enemy were about to retire, with the loss of their guns. At this moment, the Mussulman portion of the contingent raised the cry of "Deen!" and joined the rebels; thus turning the scale in the very grasp of victory. The slaughter then became general; and among the officers who fell in this treacherous struggle, were Captain Mills (commanding the infantry of the contingent), Dr. Carey, and Sergeants-major O'Connell and Manson. Major Timens, under an escort of some of the 2nd Gwalior contingent, escaped to Indore, where he was kindly received by Holkar; but his lady, who had her horse shot under her, was lost sight of during the conflict. The success thus obtained was not of long duration; as, on the 13th, the force under Brigadier Stuart fell in with the victorious rebels, and routed them with great loss. Upon this occasion, the 1st, 3rd, and 4th regiments of the Nizam's cavalry, in a brilliant charge, recaptured the guns and stores taken from the Malwa contingent.

Crossing Bengal, in a north-easterly direction, the progress of the insurrectionary fever may be traced, in September, to the borders of Assam—a district little heard of by Europeans, except in connection with the experimental growth of tea. Many of the sepoys of the 1st Assam battalion came from the neighbourhood of Arrah, and were related to the men of the 40th regiment that mutinied at Dinapore; while others of them were from the territory belonging to Koer Sing. When, therefore, the outbreak at Dinapore became known to the men of the 1st Assam battalion at Debroghur, they openly expressed their sympathy with the mutineers, and proffered their services to an ex-rajah, Poorundur

Sing, whom they promised to restore to the authority and state he had been deprived of by the English, on condition that he would put himself at their head; their intent being to massacre all the Christians in Assam, and then, after plundering the stations, to march to the assistance of their friends in Bengal. Upon the plot becoming known, most of the Europeans took refuge in the neighbouring station of Seebsaugor, where the church had been converted into a fortress, and was well stored with provisions; and there they awaited the arrival of succours from Calcutta; the only loyal troops in Assam at the time being a few Ghoorkas, under Major Hannay, at Debroghur. At this crisis, the Calcutta government had no soldiers to spare for Assam; but, to meet the exigency, a force of English seamen, who had been trained as gunners, were sent by a steamer up the Brahmaputra to Debroghur, to be employed as the local authorities should think desirable. The amphibious force consisted of a hundred armed sailors, having with them two 12-pounder guns, under the charge of Lieutenant Davies, of the Indian navy, and a Mr. Roberts (assistant to the chief magistrate.) The men selected were not of the royal navy, and were engaged for service as policemen; having, while employed at Calcutta, formed a very effective little artillery force for its defence, if required. Unfortunately, in dispatching the force, some misunderstanding occurred as to the place of its destination; the men concluding that they were warned for Dacca (a town many miles from the seat of apprehended danger), and for nowhere else; and, consequently, upon their arrival at Dacca, when they were ordered off to Assam, they positively refused to go. In this unlooked-for difficulty, Lieutenant Davies behaved with promptitude and firmness. He ordered out his own sailors and guns, and, surrounding the malcontents, at once informed them that no parleying could be allowed—go they must; and, if necessary, force would be used to compel obedience. The men then said they would go; but, at the same time, declared that they had been deceived, and that they would throw down their arms as soon as they reached their destination. However, their resentment at what they considered a trick put upon them, subsided on their way, and they arrived in Assam, where their appearance tended to preserve the tranquillity supposed to have been in danger.

To secure this permanently, it became indispensable that the rajah of Debroghur should be removed from the neighbourhood, which was agitated by his presence and the plots of his emissaries; and Captain Lowther, commanding a corps of Ghoorkas, was sent from another station to seize the person of the rajah, and send him, under guard, to Calcutta. This operation was successfully carried out. The palace was at a considerable distance from Debroghur; and while the owner of it was, as he thought, securely planning the means by which he would again be independent of English rule, a band of police and Ghoorkas, with Captain Lowther at their head, were quietly threading their way, by an unfrequented route, towards his stronghold. They had a long and weary march, from the evening to the dawn of the next day, across a jungly and marshy country, sometimes on elephants, then on foot, and then in boats. But they arrived at, and surrounded, the palace just before daybreak, while all within were fast asleep. They seized their prisoner, with his wives and a number of his followers, without firing a shot; took his guns and spiked them, and then cleared the palace, and a neighbouring bazaar, of everything that could be found in the shape of arms or correspondence. The party then left with their prisoners, followed, for some distance, by about 2,000 people, who, paralysed by their daring, did not offer to obstruct them. The whole got back to their boats by 10 P.M., and soon after reached Debroghur, utterly worn out by their arduous and well-conducted enterprise.

Captain Lowther relates the history of this night-razzia in a highly amusing letter, from which the following passages are extracted. Having reached the vicinity of the palace, he proceeds thus:—

"I told-off my men rapidly, and formed them into parties, so as completely to surround and cover every outlet and corner. The main party, consisting of my own particular sharpshooters and body-guard, watched the front; another moved towards the town, there to arrest an educated Bengalee, agent to the conspirators; another to the rear, to cut off escape towards the town; while my friend, the political, crept quietly past some outhouses with his police, and, under the palace walls, awaited my signal for opening the ball.

"Before long, the ominous barking of a disturbed cur, in the direction of the party

sent after the prime minister, proclaimed that no time was to be lost. Off I went towards the guard-shed in front of the palace; my personal sharpshooters following at the double. The noise, of course, awoke the sleeping guard, and, as they started up from their slumbers, I caught one firmly by the throat; and a little Ghoorka next me felled, with a butt-end blow, another of them while they were getting to arms—I having strictly forbidden my men to fire until obliged; the remainder, as we rushed in, took to flight, and my eager party wished to fire on them, which I prevented, not considering such valiant game worth powder and shot. In the darkness and confusion no means of entrance could at once be found. My police guide, however, having been often in the palace, knew every room in it, and, thrusting himself in at a door, acted ferret to perfection; and, by dint of activity, soon brought me into the presence of the rajah, who, though young in years, is old in sin. He refused to surrender, or admit any one—a resolution which cooled *instanter* on my calling my men to set fire to the palace. He then, with a bad grace, delivered up to me his state sword. A shout from the opposite doors proclaimed an entry there. The queen-mother, and the rest of the female royalty and attendants, were seized while trying to descend on that side. Then came a chorus of shouting and struggling, and bawling for lights and assistance; at last, a lamp being procured, we proceeded to examine the palace: we wandered in dark passages and cells; while I mounted a guard at every door. The air being confined and heated within the royal residence, I sat outside until after daybreak, and then proceeded to rummage for papers and letters: several boxes of these we appropriated, and counted out the rajah's treasure—all in gold vessels and ingots. We found a quantity of arms; spiked some guns—one of them of French make. All day we were hard at work, searching for, and translating, papers. The prime minister was found at his house fast asleep. In the heat of the afternoon we went to his residence in the town, and, by dint of keeping fans going over us, carried out a thorough search. We did not get as many of his papers as we wanted, he having been told by his correspondents to destroy all letters after reading them. At sunset I carried off my prisoners, over the same bad ground by which we had so stealthily arrived. We were followed by about 2,000 infuriated Mussulmans, crying, praying, and prostrating themselves before the object of their lingering hope of rebellion (the rajah); but we drove them off."

The decisive measures adopted in this quarter put an end, for the present, to any actual preparations for an outbreak. All was quiet; but every one felt that a volcano was burning beneath them, and they knew not the moment when its smouldering fires would burst into a devastating flame. To add to the sense of insecurity, not a single European soldier was at this time stationed throughout the province; and the *prestige* of Koer Sing was high in the ascendant among the people.

Returning to Bengal, we find the spirit of disaffection silently but surely extending its influence among the few native regiments that still preserved the appearance of fidelity, as well as over the populations in their immediate vicinity. Fortunately, at this time, the arrival of troops from Europe rendered the threatened danger less imminent, and enabled the government to act with greater decision and effect upon many of the points that had given grounds for uneasiness. Among these was the station at Berhampore, where the 63rd regiment of native infantry, and the 11th irregular cavalry, were in cantonments.

Her majesty's 90th regiment of light infantry arrived in India about the latter end of July, and were at once dispatched up the country, by way of Chinsurah and Berhampore. At the latter place the behaviour of the native troops had excited suspicion, and it was deemed advisable that the means of annoyance should be removed from their reach before actual mischief occurred; and, with this intent, the officer in command of the 90th, was ordered, upon his arrival at Berhampore, to disarm the suspected regiments. The *modus operandi* by which this was accomplished is stated by Colonel Campbell, the commandant, in the following letter from the station, dated August 2nd. He writes thus:—

"The 90th left the *Himalaya* steamer for Chinsurah in two boats towed by steamers—large covered vessels; and we remained six days at Chinsurah, and got on extremely well; no drunkenness, no sickness, and the regiment all I could wish, so clever and orderly. I implored them daily not to poison themselves with bad spirits, but to buy beer; and, during six days, I had only three cases of drunkenness in 800 men, and only four men sick, who came so from England. We have had no casualty since leaving England. I was hurried off from Chinsurah, and

embarked the regiment again in steamers' towing-boats, and we have been four days coming here. My instructions were to land here quietly and expeditiously, and to disarm the 63rd native infantry and the 11th irregular cavalry; to take also the horses of the latter; also to disarm some native artillery here. The total force considerably exceeded mine, with the additional advantage, on the native side, of 300 of the most splendid cavalry I ever saw: as regards men, horses, and equipments, I never saw anything equal to them. The regiment was landed by me 730 strong, and I ordered the commandant here, who is lieutenant-colonel of the 63rd native infantry, to parade the whole of the troops. He wished to put it off until to-day, but I would not grant an hour. The sepoy regiment came out on parade; I drew up the 90th opposite, and on one flank, and ordered them to lay down their arms; they obeyed, and I then ordered them to take off their belts, which was done; and having secured them in carts and upon elephants, I kept the regiment of sepoys standing upon parade until the 11th irregular cavalry came up; and they came from a distance of five miles off, not expecting to find an English regiment, but only a detachment of the 35th regiment, 180 strong, whom they were prepared to fight. Their commanding officer wished to put off the parade until to-day, the same as the others; but I refused. Fortunately I did, for not a man would have been here this morning; they would have gone off with horses, arms, and ammunition. They seemed thunderstruck when they discovered our men, and had no idea that their fine horses were to be taken from them: if they had thought so, they would have gone off in a body. They told the sepoys afterwards that they were cowards to give up their arms, and that if they had waited until they came up they would have fought us, but that my men were so placed they could not escape. The cavalry obeyed orders to lay down their arms, but with a much worse grace than the sepoys; they looked at each other, and then put them on the ground. I collected them, and found all the carbines and pistols loaded. I was standing opposite to them. I then ordered all the belts to be taken off, and this was not approved of; some broke their swords, others threw their pouches into the air, but still the order was obeyed. Having collected these, I surrounded them with my men, and ordered them to lead their horses off to a safe place I had selected for them, and where they were turned out loose. The men then pulled off their long jack-boots and spurs, and pitched them away. The regiment had not mutinied; but, no doubt, would have done so, and of course I treated them as a regiment having committed no crime. They are splendid men, but savage beyond expression. Their swords are like razors. The political agent there had no idea that we should have succeeded in getting this regiment together, and told me that we had done the best work in India since the outbreak. He has reported our valuable service to the government of India, and I have reported direct to the commander-in-chief. Had I delayed as requested until morning, not a man would have been found. We are steaming up the Ganges—the weather terribly hot—mosquitoes most barbarous—heavy rains. I have to disarm and dismount another irregular cavalry regiment in two days' time, if they have not already gone off. I want to come near some mutinous sepoys; they shall remember the women and children if I do."

Another letter, of the 3rd of August, affords a further view of the affair. The writer says:—

"Soon after our arrival at Berhampore, where we had landed about 800 strong on the 1st of August, we were joined by about 100 men of the Queen's 35th, and proceeded together to disarm the native troops in cantonments, some distance from the town. We marched out some three miles in the rain, over the midan at double-quick time. On nearing the sepoys' lines the 90th deployed into three columns, one extending well to the right so as to get into the rear of the lines, the second so as to outflank them on the left; the third and larger column extended so as to outflank them on their right, or to meet them in front. This movement exposed the two guns manned by the sailors. The *Jumna* was lying in position to shell them: the sepoys, at the first order given, piled their arms; the officers (native) were allowed to keep their side-arms. A company of the 90th disarmed the guards in and about the lines, and the 35th disarmed the guards at the treasuries. The cavalry showed strong symptoms of mutiny; and had it not been for the imposing force before them, I feel fully persuaded they would have fought. Numbers of their pistols which were picked up were loaded to the muzzle, and some even loaded on parade, so it is said. Many of them began throwing away their belts, &c., and some doubled up their swords, and threw them away; their mutinous conduct was soon put an end to, however, by the flank movement of a couple of companies of the 90th at the double. It was too late for them to do much, and so they submitted to the 90th, which enclosed them in the centre of a three-sided square, and marched them off to Berhampore, where the horses were confined in Hospital-square. At this the troopers became infuriated, but they were soon put down. They are a fine-looking set of men; as also were the 63rd; and all their appointments were in excellent order. The 63rd are nearly all Hindoos and Sikhs. The cavalry are from about Delhi and Benares—all Mussulmans; they have never agreed together, which I take to be the cause of the safety of Berhampore."

The effect of this prompt and decisive action was to suppress, effectually for a time, any tendencies that might have existed among the population at this place towards an outbreak; and the 90th regiment, having accomplished its first protective duty in Bengal, proceeded onwards to aid in the suppression of rebellion in other quarters.

During the months of September and October, the portion of Bengal north of the Ganges was almost entirely free from disturbance. Patna, in September, as at an earlier period, was disturbed rather by the anarchy that prevailed around it, than by mutinies within the place itself; its greatest difficulties arising in the districts north and north-west of the city, where the revenue collectors had been driven from place to place by mutinous sepoys and by petty chieftains, who desired to exalt themselves

upon the ruins of the English "raj." The abandonment of Goruckpore by the government officials, in a moment of alarm, had had the effect of exposing the Chuprah, Chumparun, and Mozufferpore districts to the attacks of rebels, especially such as had ranged themselves under the flag of the Mussulman chief, Mahomed Hussein Khan, who had declared himself "ruler, in the name and on behalf of the king of Oude." This individual had collected a considerable force, and had organised a species of government at Goruckpore, where he collected revenue, and exercised, for a time, supreme authority—no troops being available, for several weeks, to put an end to his arrogated power.

So far back as the month of June, the governor-general had accepted an offer of Jung Bahadoor, of Nepaul, to send a considerable body of Nepaulese troops to the assistance of the Company's government; and, in consequence, 3,000 Ghoorkas were sent down from Khatmandoo, and entered the British territory northward of Goruckpore. But a very long time elapsed between the offer and the performance: the process of collecting them, at Khatmandoo and elsewhere, occupied several weeks; and it was not until the beginning of September that they reached Jounpore—a station in the very heart of the disturbed districts: and even then there was much delay in bringing them into active service; for the English officers appointed to command them, had yet to learn the difference of management required by Nepaulese Ghoorkas and Hindostani sepoys; and, moreover, had imbibed a prejudice against them, under the idea that they were incapable of rapid movement, and that their native officers were averse to the responsibility of independent action. But this impediment to their usefulness was not of long duration; and a smart affair, on the 20th of September, while it afforded the Ghoorkas an opportunity of showing their gallantry and activity, also contributed to impress the English officers with a due sense of their value as auxiliaries. Colonel Wroughton, military commandant at Jounpore, having heard that Azimgurh, some fifty miles distant, was threatened with an attack by 8,000 rebels under Madhoo Sing, of Atrowlia, resolved to send a regiment of Jung Bahadoor's force, under Colonel Shumshere Sing (a Nepaulese officer), to its assistance. They started with alacrity; marched the distance in a day and a-half, and reached the threatened city on the evening of the 19th. At an early hour on the morning of the 20th, it was ascertained that a large body of rebels had assembled in and near the neighbouring village of Mundoree. A force of 1,200 men, mostly composed of the Ghoorka regiment, was immediately sent out to disperse them—Captain Boileau commanding, Colonel Shumshere Sing leading the Ghoorkas, and Mr. Venables, a resident landowner of the district, taking charge of a small body of local horse, which he had raised and organised for the assistance of the government. Finding that the rebels were posted in a clump of trees, and in a jheel behind the village, Captain Boileau directed Shumshere Sing to advance his men at double pace. This was done in the face of the fire from several guns: the Ghoorkas charged with terrible impetuosity, drove the enemy away from his position, and captured three brass guns, and all his camp equipage. Mr. Venables, who headed his cavalry, was seen wherever the fight was most serious, and killed three of the enemy with his own hand. About 200 of the rebels were cut up in this brief encounter; and the loss, on the part of the victors, amounted to thirty-four—killed and wounded.

The fortunate result of this affair entirely dissipated the prejudices that had been entertained against the efficiency of the Nepaulese troops, who had marched fifty miles in less than two days, and then won a battle against enormous odds, in a country to which they were entire strangers. From this period their assistance was appreciated, and it was then cheerfully rendered.

Throughout the vast portion of the Anglo-Indian empire embraced within the south-western districts of Bengal and Behar—the Saugor territories, Bundlecund, the Mahratta states, and Rajpootana—the troubles that prevailed from the month of September to the close of the year, were occasioned rather by the protracted struggles of sepoys already in rebellion, than from any new instances of disaffection; in fact, there were scarcely any remnants left of the native regiments of Bengal, or of their auxiliaries of the contingents, upon which, by this time, the spirit of treason had not set its brand.

CHAPTER VI.

DELHI; STATE OF THE CITY AND ENVIRONS AFTER THE RECAPTURE; MEASURES FOR THE RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF ORDER; TREATMENT OF THE NATIVE INHABITANTS; CHARGES OF INJUDICIOUS CLEMENCY; COLONEL HOGG AND THE PRINCE JUMMA BUKHT; VISITS TO THE ROYAL PRISONERS; THE QUESTION OF PRIZE-MONEY; TRIAL OF THE EX-KING; EVIDENCE OF A HALF-CASTE WOMAN, AND OF THE KING'S SECRETARY; PROCLAMATION OF KHAN BAHADOOR KHAN; FACTS ESTABLISHED BY THE TRIAL; THE ANDAMAN ISLANDS; INTRIGUES OF THE COURT; ADMINISTRATION OF SIR JOHN LAWRENCE; COMPENSATION EXACTED; PARTIAL IMPROVEMENT OF THE CITY; THE FUTURE OF DELHI; REPORTED ATTEMPT TO RESCUE THE KING; FIDELITY REWARDED; THE KING'S SOOTHSAYER HUNG; CUSTOMS' REVENUE FOR JULY, 1858; ESTIMATED AMOUNT OF PRIZE-MONEY.

Of the successful assault and capture of the city of Delhi, the imprisonment of the king, and the merited death of several of the princes of his family, copious details have been given in previous pages of this work.* It is now for us to turn aside from the continuous progress of events connected with the rebellion in other parts of India, that the incidents subsequent to the reconquest of, and connected with, the Mogul capital, may be succinctly traced.

As soon as the storm of war had subsided, and the British flag once more floated triumphantly over the shattered bastions and towers of the imperial city, it of course became necessary to take measures for its internal regulation, and for the effective control of the native population that yet continued to lurk amidst its ruined palaces and mosques. To this end, Colonel Burn, an officer of many years' experience in the Company's service (who then held a command in Brigadier Nicholson's movable column), was appointed military governor of the city; Colonel Innes, at the same time, exercising the functions of commandant of the palace; and Mr. Saunders succeeding Mr. Greathed as civil commissioner. These appointments had scarcely been notified in garrison orders, when, as before related, General Wilson, worn out by his anxieties and incessant exertions during the siege, surrendered his important command, and retired to the hill country for the benefit of his health. In consequence of this occurrence, General Penny was provisionally appointed to the chief command of the army at Delhi.

At the time this change took place, the city was still, as it were, trembling from the effects of the shock that had resulted in its utter prostration, as the capital and stronghold of a rebel power. Its streets were, for the most part, desolate; and silence reigned through its once most busy quarters. Nearly all the native inhabitants, both Hindoos and Moslems, had fled from it in well-grounded terror, lest the English soldiers should retaliate upon them the barbarities perpetrated by the mutinous troops upon the defenceless Europeans found in the place at the commencement of the outbreak, and during the months of usurped dominion by the phantom king. To a certain extent, this wholesale evacuation by the inhabitants was of advantage to the authorities entrusted with the resettlement of the city, since it better afforded facilities for them to ascertain to what extent the traders and general population had taken part in the rebellion, and the excesses that followed its outburst. Nor did the inhabitants, on their part, show any great anxiety to return; as, although a few days after the occupation, a proclamation was issued by General Wilson, promising protection and encouragement to all not actually concerned in the foul murders and outrages of the 11th of May, very few availed themselves of the offer.

From the period of complete reoccupation in September, the city gradually assumed a state of reorganisation and order scarcely, under the circumstances, to have been expected; but, for many weeks after the crisis, its forlorn and desolate condition, as well as that of the environs, was pitiable in the extreme. Without the walls, the devastation was widely spread; but ruin had concentrated its force upon the ill-fated city. From the Lahore gate to the village of Subzee Mundee, on the road to Kurnaul, there was an almost continuous line of carcasses of camels, horses, and bullocks, with their skins dried into parchment over the sapless bones. Here and there were remains of intrenchments, where battles had been fought on the road. From Badulee Serai, a short distance from the Lahore

* Vol. i., pp. 505—530.

gate, every tree was either levelled with the ground, or the branches were lopped off by round shot. The garden-houses of the wealthy citizens were, in almost every instance, masses of ruins, with the remains of men and beasts bleaching around them. Here and there might be seen the perfectly white skeleton of one who had shared in the terrible conflicts of the siege, and had fallen unnoticed and unremembered by his fellows; while, on all sides, lay scattered fragments of clothing, cartouch-boxes, round shot, and fragments of exploded shells. Around the Subzee Mundee all foliage was destroyed. The gaily ornamented residences in the vicinity of the Serai, were now mere masses of blackened ruins, with broken sand-bags and shattered loopholed walls, that declared the fiery ordeal through which the combatants on both sides had passed. With the exception of the Moree bastion and the Cashmere gate (both on the north side of the city), the line of defence did not exhibit much trace of injury; but within the walls, the appearance of the city was fearfully desolate. Entering by the Cashmere gate, the Mainguard was seen wholly destroyed. St. James's church next appeared, battered with shot even up to the ball and cross that surmounted the edifice. Most of the houses from this point to near the palace, were mere ruins; many of them blackened by fire. A spacious structure, occupied as the Delhi bank, formerly the residence of the Begum Sumroo, had nothing but the outer walls and a portion of the verandah remaining. In a narrow street, leading thence to the Chandnee Chouk, every house bore visible proof of the showers of musket-balls that must have been poured upon the defenders of the city, as they retreated, street by street, and from house to house, towards the palace. In many of the avenues, were still to be seen the *débris* of arches which had been built up by the rebels, but were broken into by the advancing troops. The road-ways had been cut up into furrows by the action of shot and shell, that ploughed up their surface. House-doors and huge gates lay about in all directions, some of which had been well backed up by massive stone-work and heavy beams of wood; while the remains of sand-bag defences were passed at every corner. But three of the seven gates of the city were as yet permitted to be open—namely, the Cashmere gate at the north-east angle, towards the old cantonments: the Lahore gate, on the west side, opposite to the principal entrance to the palace; and the Calcutta gate, on the east, communicating with the bridge of boats over the Jumna, and the road to Meerut—the other four entrances to the city having been blocked up with solid masonry during the siege. The city of the Moguls was now, indeed, but little better than a vast and hideous ruin—its houses and streets deserted; its defences unmanned; and the sentence of utter demolition suspended over its shattered gates and once defiant towers: the carcasses of some thousands of its defenders, who had fallen in their insane struggle to establish a throne based upon treason and cruelty, had been necessarily gathered by the sweepers and camp-followers into deep pits, and were so hidden from mortal sight: and now, within the vast area of that imperial city, not one hand remained uplifted in defiance of its conquerors.

The terrible but just work of retribution was, however, carried on in a spirit of humanity that sometimes was mistaken for weakness. The women and children found in Delhi met with no harsh treatment, and were even sheltered from personal indignity by men fierce with the excitement of war, and thirsting to avenge the murders and outrages perpetrated upon their countrymen; nor were the inhabitants molested who had remained passive during the struggle, and had not aided the rebellion by their resources or their sympathy. All such were allowed to depart from the city upon application for the purpose; and even those who were suspected of treason had the advantage afforded them of an impartial trial; and when punishment was inflicted, it was because guilt was incontestably proved.

The re-establishment of order within the walls of the capital, as we have shown, occupied the attention, and called for the active vigilance, of the civil and military authorities during the first few weeks of the reoccupation. The king, and the female members of his family, with his youngest son, a youth of some eighteen years of age, still remained in strict confinement in a small building within the palace enclosure, but separate from the palace itself; and the apparently unnecessary delay in putting the dethroned traitor upon his trial, gave occasion for the expression of much dissatisfaction, and the dissemination of unfounded rumour and undeserved obloquy. At this time, however, the feelings of the whole

European community, distant, as well as in Hindostan, were painfully excited by the terrible calamity that had torn from it many of its most loved and valued members, under circumstances which afforded no room for doubt that the bereavement had been attended with brutalism which struck a sickening terror to the hearts of all connected with the victims: it was not strange, therefore, that the delay in bringing to trial the head and chief of the rebellious confederation should be viewed with impatience, and that the motives of the authorities, so long as they were left unexplained, should be misconstrued and censured; and such, in fact, was the case. Prudent delay was imputed to weakness and indecision; and every act of mitigated punishment, where a native was concerned, was, irrespective of the merits of the case, cried down as an exhibition of mistaken and mischievous leniency. The position of the authorities upon the spot, and of the governor-general at Calcutta, had thus become one of exceeding difficulty upon this subject alone. On the one hand was the impulsive and all but national cry for unmitigated vengeance; on the other, the calm and prudent dictates of high policy and humanity: and by adopting the latter, whatever Lord Canning lost in the eyes of the impetuous and unthinking as a conqueror, he more than gained, in the esteem of the civilised world, as a statesman and the representative of the sovereign of a great and magnanimous nation. The derisive *sobriquet* of "Clemency Canning," which was applied to him at this time, lost all its point when the propriety of the course he had pursued towards the natives of the vast country he governed became manifest.

Among other charges against the governor-general, which had their origin in Delhi, but found a too liberal echo in Calcutta, were some connected with the indulgent treatment of the captive king and his family; which, it was alleged, was owing to the interference of Lord Canning with the authorities at Delhi. One of these reports obtained circulation through the *Friend of India*, a paper of some influence at the time; and was as follows:—

"We would call the attention of the government of India to the state of things existing in the city of Delhi, which demand instant and stern reform. The youngest son of the king, eighteen years of age, has been declared innocent on account of his youth, and rides through Delhi on an elephant, with two British officers behind him to do him honour. The statement appears so incredible, that it may be set aside as a mere newspaper report; but we entreat the government to believe that it is one which we would not publish without such information as produces absolute certainty. The king also, it is said (but for this we have only the authority of the *Lahore Chronicle*), has a retinue to attend him, and coolly insults the British officers who visit him. It is things such as these—the honours paid to our murderers—which exasperate Europeans to frenzy."

With regard to the allegation respecting the son of the king and the English officers, a prompt denial of the calumny was at once forwarded to the *Lahore Chronicle* by Colonel Hogg, one of the officers implicated. This gentleman says—"As you have given my name in one of the editorials of your paper of the 4th of November, as one of the officers who had been seen riding with one of the sons of the king on an elephant through the streets of Delhi, I send you for publication the following statement of facts:—Having been asked to accompany the commissioner on a visit to the king, I went, along with several officers (one of them holding high official rank in the army), to the house where he was confined. Before leaving, Jumma Bukht, a son of the king, apparently a lad of fifteen or sixteen years of age, asked the commissioner if he might be permitted to go out occasionally for an airing along with any gentleman who would take him; and as I was in the habit of going out every evening on an elephant, the commissioner asked if I would mind occasionally calling for him. I replied, 'that if there were no other (?) objections I would do so;' and as both the commissioner and the officer before alluded to, appeared to think there could be none, I consented to call for him; and, accordingly, on two occasions I took Jumma Bukht out: the first time, having nothing but a pad on the elephant, and being rather afraid that he might try to escape, I put him in front to prevent him slipping off; the second time, having a '*charjamah*,' I sat in front, though, I must say, I considered it a matter of very little moment which seat I occupied.

"As to parading through the streets of the city, the first time I went out through the Cashmere gate to Ludlow Castle; and home, when it was quite dusk, through the Lahore gate and Chandnee Chouk. The second

time I passed up the Chandnee Chouk, and returned by the Llal Koa street, having been induced to go there by Jumma Bukht expressing a wish to show me the house he lived in.

"Without entering into the question of his guilt or innocence, but presuming that, if guilty, he would never have been allowed to accompany a British officer in public, I can only say that I found him a very intelligent lad: he gave me a good deal of information about the mutineers, their leaders, and their plans; and had I remained longer at Delhi, should probably have taken him out oftener; but, having returned to Meerut on the 26th of October, I had no further opportunity."

The charge of "lackeying the king's son about the streets of Delhi by British officers," therefore fell to the ground; and the alleged crime of unjustifiable indulgence to the king himself and his family (who, it was said, were treated with the most obsequious deference, and regard to state, by the authorities, through the unpardonable interference of the governor-general with the "righteous demand for blood"), resolved itself into the simple fact, that the king was to be put upon his trial for high treason to the supreme government of India; but that, in accordance with the laws of England, he was not to be treated as a felon until his guilt was proved. As to the "obsequious deference and observance of state etiquette," the following extract from a letter of Mrs. Hodson, wife of the officer by whom the king was taken prisoner and brought back to his capital, may suffice as a refutation.

"There is a report," writes this lady, "which has been mischievously spread about, and may have mischievous consequences—namely, that the king has the whole of his retinue around him, and has been restored to his own apartments in the palace. This is perfectly untrue.

"I went with Mr. Saunders (the civil commissioner) and his wife, to see the unfortunate and wretched man. We mounted a flight of stone steps, at the bottom and top of which was a European sentry. A small low door opened into a room, half of which was partitioned off with a grass matting, called *chitac*, behind which was a woman cooking some atrocious compound, if I might judge from the smell. In the other half was a native bedstead—that is, a frame of bamboo, on four legs, with grass ropes strung across it; on this was lying, and smoking a hookah, an old man with a long white beard; no other article of furniture whatever was in the room; and I am almost ashamed to say that a feeling of pity mingled with my disgust, at seeing a man recently lord of an imperial city almost unparalleled for riches and magnificence, confined in a low, close, dirty room, which the lowest slave in his household would scarcely have occupied in the very palace where he had reigned supreme, with power of life and death, untrammelled by any law, within the precincts of a royal residence as large as a considerable sized town; streets, galleries, towers, mosques, forts, and gardens; a private and a public hall of justice, and innumerable courts, passages, and staircases. Its magnificence can only be equalled by the atrocities which have been committed there. But to go back to the king.—The boy, Prince Jumma Bukht, repeated my name to his father, after Mr. Saunders. The old man raised his head, and looked at me; then muttered something I could not understand; and, at the moment, the boy, who had been called from the opposite door, came and told me that his mother, the begum, wished to see me. Mrs. Saunders then took possession of me; and we went on into a smaller, darker, dirtier room than the first, in which were some eight or ten women crowding round a common *charpoy*, on which was a dark, fat, shrewd, but sensual-looking woman, to whom my attention was particularly drawn. She took hold of my hand—I shuddered a little—and told me that my husband was a great warrior; but that if the king's life and her son's had not been promised them by the government, the king was preparing a great army which would have annihilated us. The other women stood in silence till her speech was finished, and then crowding round, asked how many children I had, and if they were all boys?—examined my dress, and seemed particularly amused by my bonnet and parasol. They were, with one exception, coarse, low-caste women, as devoid of ornament as of beauty. The begum, Zenat Mahal, asked me—a great honour I afterwards found, but which I did not appreciate—to sit down on her bed; but I declined, as it looked so dirty. Mr. Saunders was much amused at my refusal, and told me it would have been more than my life was worth, six months before, to have done so."

Simultaneously with the measures adopted by Colonel Burn for the restoration of

order within the city, a military commission was appointed to try such leaders of the mutiny as had been captured in or near Delhi; and, by sentences of this tribunal, twenty subordinate members of the royal family were executed on the 18th of November; and several chiefs of the adjacent districts, who had been found in arms on the side of revolt, were also brought in, tried, and executed. With regard to delinquents of high rank and influence, justice was stern and inflexible. With minor offenders, as time wore on, its judgment was frequently largely tempered with mercy.

One of the first causes of dissatisfaction, really based upon a solid foundation, that arose among the captors of Delhi, originated in a question of prize-money. The amount of property that fell into the hands of the victorious troops, with the city and palace, was of enormous value, and it was further increased by the heavy forfeitures declared against those convicted of treason to the state, who had been captured by the troops. This wealth, it was supposed by the men whose valour had secured it, would be regarded as booty, or prize, and would eventually be distributed among them as in ordinary cases: such, however, was not the way in which the government was disposed to treat the subject, the whole of this property or booty being claimed as reverting to the state, by way of compensation for the expenses it had incurred through the rebellion; and the troops were consequently thrown into a state of discontent and irritation by the intended wrong, which was not mitigated by an announcement from the governor-general in council, that the reward of the conquerors of Delhi was limited to a bounty of six months' *batta* (or pay) to each soldier engaged in the struggle.* Public opinion, generally, supported the claim of the men, both in England and in India; and ultimately an arrangement was made, by which a portion of the personal property of the rebels was allowed to be set apart and treated as prize-money, and to be shared by the gallant fellows who had justly won it.

At length, after a number of the chief actors in the tragedy of Delhi had expiated their crimes by an ignominious death upon the scaffold, at the hands of the common hangman, the time arrived at which

* The following is the obnoxious order of the Bengal government, in reference to the booty captured at Delhi:—"Nov. 24th.—It being understood that prize agents have been appointed at Delhi for the collection of booty captured by the British troops from the mutineers and other persons in rebellion against the government, it is hereby notified, for the information and guidance of all parties concerned, that a clear distinction exists, in cases of recapture, between property of the state originally captured by an enemy in time of war, and similar property seized by rebels or mutineers during an insurrection. In the former case, the property recaptured is, in general, property treated as property of the hostile state, and becomes subject to the laws of prize; but in an insurrection, such as the present one, the troops of the state whose property has been pillaged by its own subjects, or by foreigners aiding such subjects in their treason, when they retake such property from the plunderers, merely retake it on behalf of the government, and acquire no legal right of prize or of property, although they have strong claims on the liberality of the government. These principles apply also to the property of private individuals plundered by the insurgents, and retaken by the troops of the state. Such private property can in no case be deemed lawful prize when clearly identified and claimed by the original owner. In accordance with these principles, the right honourable the governor-general in council is pleased to direct, that officers in command of bodies of troops employed in quelling the present insurrection, shall appoint committees of officers for the purpose of taking an account of all treasure and other public property, cattle, munitions of war, stores, &c., recaptured from the insurgents and mutineers, in order to the delivery of the property so recovered into the nearest treasury, or into the custody of the proper civil or military officers: and that copies of such accounts shall be transmitted to the secretary in the military department, for the information of government. Separate accounts will also be taken by the committees of all private property captured or recaptured, and copies of these accounts will be transmitted to the military department, with statements of claims, if any, made by the owners. In all cases of clear identification of property, restitution may be made to the owners on the spot; provided that, in the case of natives, they shall prove, to the satisfaction of the committee, that they have not been guilty of any offence for which their property would be liable to forfeiture, and have, to the best of their ability, rendered active assistance to the British government: and when claims are not clearly established, or the property belongs to any persons deceased, the orders of government are to be awaited before delivery. The claims of the troops composing the field force by which Delhi has been nobly wrested from the hands of the mutineers and rebels, and by whose gallantry signal punishment has been inflicted on the insurgents there, are fully appreciated by the governor-general in council; and in recognition of their services, his lordship in council is pleased to grant a donation of six months' batta to be forthwith distributed to all the troops engaged in the operations against Delhi."—The "clear distinction" was by no means so obvious as to be satisfactory to the brave fellows for whose special edification it was now pointed out, and the "General Order of the Bengal government," was received by the troops with an expression of opinion far more energetic than complimentary to its authors.

it was deemed expedient to make known the course to be pursued in reference to the royal prisoner, who still nominally held kingly rank, although a powerless captive within the walls of the palace that once owned no other lord. The fact that the life of the king had been guaranteed to him by the promise of Captain Hodson, however much objected to at the time on the score of justice and policy, obviated all apprehension as to his personal safety; while his advanced age rendered him, as an individual totally divested of authority or influence, perfectly harmless: and these considerations, in some degree, reconciled the public mind to the idea that a punishment short of death would, in his case, satisfy the requirements of justice.

The capture of Mahomed Suraj-oo-Deen, ex-king of Delhi, was effected, as already stated, by Captain Hodson on the 21st of September; but it was not until the following month of January that the commission under which he was to be put upon his trial was made public. At the same time, the charges to be preferred against him were declared to be as follows:—

"1st. For that he, being a pensioner of the British government in India, did, at Delhi, at various times between the 10th of May and the 1st of October, 1857, encourage, aid, and abet Mahomed Bukht Khan, subahdar of the regiment of artillery, and divers others non-commissioned officers unknown, of the East India Company's army, in the crimes of mutiny and rebellion against the state.

"2nd. For having, at Delhi, at various times between the 10th of May and the 1st of October, 1857, encouraged, aided, and abetted Mirza Mogul, his own son, a subject of the British government in India, and divers other unknown inhabitants of Delhi and of the North-Western Provinces of India, also subjects of the said British government, to rebel and wage war against the state.

"3rd. For that he, being a subject of the British government in India, and not regarding the duty of his allegiance, did, at Delhi, on the 11th of May, 1857, or thereabouts, as a false traitor against the state, proclaim and declare himself the reigning king and sovereign of India, and did then and there traitorously seize and take unlawful possession of the city of Delhi; and did, moreover, at various times between the 10th of May and the 1st of October, 1857, as such false traitor aforesaid, treasonably conspire, consult, and agree with Mirza Mogul his son, and with Mahomed Bukht Khan, subahdar of the regiment of artillery, and divers other false traitors unknown, to raise, levy, and make insurrection, rebellion, and war against the state; and further to fulfil and perfect his treasonable design of overthrowing and destroying the British government in India, did assemble armed forces at Delhi, and send them forth to fight and wage war against the said British government.

"4th. For that he, at Delhi, on the 16th of May, 1857, or thereabouts, did, within the precincts of the palace at Delhi feloniously cause and become accessory to the murder of forty-nine persons, chiefly women and children, of European and mixed European descent: and did, moreover, between the 10th of May and the 1st of October, 1857, encourage and abet divers soldiers and others in murdering European officers and other English subjects, including women and children, both by giving and promising such murderers service, advancement, and distinction; and further, that he issued orders to different native rulers having local authority in India, to slay and murder Christians and English people whenever and wherever found in their territories—the whole or any part of such conduct being a heinous offence under the provisions of Act 16, of 1857, of the legislative council of India.

"FREDERICK I. HARRIOT, Major,
"Deputy Judge-Advocate-general, Govt. Prosecutor.
"January 5th, 1858."

On account of the indisposition of the aged prisoner, the commencement of this important trial was from time to time postponed, and it was not until the 27th of the month that the king of Delhi was formally arraigned before a court-martial, composed of the following officers:—

President.—Colonel Dawes, of the horse artillery, in the stead of Brigadier Showers, originally nominated. *Members*—Major Palmer, her majesty's 60th rifles; Major Redmond, her majesty's 61st regiment; Major Sawyers, her majesty's 6th carabiniers; and Captain Rothney, 4th Sikh infantry. *Deputy Judge-Advocate-general, and Government Prosecutor*—Major Harriot; and *Interpreter to the Court*—Mr. James Murphy.

The trial was to have commenced at 11 A.M.; but, owing to delays caused by a sudden change in the constitution of the court, in consequence of Brigadier Showers' sudden departure on an important command, it was half-past twelve o'clock before the prisoner was brought before his judges, although he had been kept waiting in attendance outside the Dewani Khas, under a strong guard of the rifles, from the hour first appointed.

At length the order was given to bring in the prisoner; and to those assembled in the grand audience chamber of the Moguls, the appearance of the old man as he tottered into court, supported on one side by his only remaining son, and on the other by one of his attendants, was an event of intense interest; and it became especially so when the proud antecedents of his race were compared with the wretched position of their miserable descendant. As soon as the prisoner had reached the place assigned him between the president and the government prosecutor, he seated himself on

cushions placed for his accommodation, having his son Jumma Bukht standing on his left; the background being filled up by a strong guard of the 60th rifles, who had charge of the prisoner.

The proceedings commenced by the members of the court, the prosecutor, and the interpreter taking the customary oaths. The prosecutor then read the charges against the prisoner, and addressed the court in explanation of them; concluding by stating that, although the prisoner might be fully convicted by the court, no capital sentence could be passed upon him, in consequence of his life having been guaranteed to him by General Wilson, in a promise conveyed to him by Captain Hodson. He then, through the interpreter, put the formal question, "Guilty or not guilty?" but the prisoner either did not, or affected not, to understand the meaning of the inquiry, and there was considerable delay before he could be got to reply. He at length, however, declared himself profoundly ignorant of the nature of the charges against him, or of the authority by which he was then questioned, although a translated copy of the charges had been delivered to him some twenty days previous. After some further delay, and a great deal of persuasion and explanation through the interpreter, the prisoner at last pleaded "Not guilty," and the business of the court proceeded.

A number of documents of various descriptions, and of varied importance, were then read by the prosecutor. These chiefly consisted of petitions from all classes of natives, addressed to "The Shelter of the World:" some of them were curious; many related to outrages perpetrated by the sowars and sepoys in the city and suburbs; others related to certain delinquencies of the princes, sons of the ex-king, who had seized the opportunity to extort money and valuable property from the wealthy inhabitants; a considerable number related to matters connected with the establishment of the "new reign;" and all concluded with a prayer that it might endure as long as the world lasted. Most of these state papers bore the autograph orders and signature of the prisoner, written in pencil at the top; and, his handwriting being sworn to by competent witnesses, incontrovertible proof was furnished of the active co-operation of the prisoner in the rebellious movement.

During the greater part of the day, the royal prisoner appeared to consider the proceedings as perfectly unimportant, and merely tiresome; and he occasionally found relief from *ennui* by dozing. His son appeared more animated, and laughed and chatted with his father's attendant without appearing at all embarrassed. In fact, neither of the personages most interested appeared to be at all affected by the position in which they were placed, but, on the contrary, seemed to look upon the affair as one of the consequences of their fate, to which they could offer neither resistance or regrets.

Each paper, as it was read, was shown to the prisoner's vakeel, and identified by him, although the king himself professed utter ignorance of the existence of such documents—denied his signature, and endeavoured, by gestures of dissent, to impress the court with an idea of his entire innocence.

On the second day, a document was read, which purported to be a remonstrance from one Nubbee Bux Khan to the prisoner, urging him to reject the request of the army for permission to massacre the European women and children who had sought shelter in the palace. The writer submitted that such massacre would be contrary to the Mohammedan religion and law; and stated that, unless *fatwā* (a judicial decree or sentence) could be procured, it should not be put in execution. This document, it was observed by the government prosecutor, was the only one, of an immense heap before him, in which the spirit of mercy and of kindness to Europeans could be traced; and it was remarkable, that it was the only one of the mass upon which the prisoner had not made some comment.

On the third day, the proceedings commenced at eleven o'clock, the prisoner being brought into court in a palanquin, attended by his vakeel, Gholam Abbas, and two servants; the prince, Jumma Bukht, having been ordered into confinement for his indecorous and disrespectful conduct towards the court during the first day's trial. A portion of the day was again occupied in reading a mass of documents, of which the prisoner took little notice—dozing, and apparently regardless of what was passing around him. Occasionally, however, when some particular passage was read, the dull eye would light up, and the bowed head would be raised in marked attention for a few moments—only to relapse into a state of listless indifference.

The sittings of the court occupied several weeks, in consequence of various adjourn-

ments rendered necessary by the failing health of the aged prisoner.—On the tenth day of the trial, Sir Theophilus Metcalfe (civil service) gave some important evidence relative to the state of feeling amongst the natives before the outbreak on the 11th of May; and stated that a rumour was current in the city, for six weeks prior to the outbreak, that the Cashmere gate would be attacked and taken from the British; that this rumour was communicated to the civil authorities, and that no notice was taken of it. Another witness, Buktowur, a peon in the service of the late Captain Douglas, gave details of the occurrences of the outbreak on the 11th of May, from the first appearance of the mutinous troopers from Meerut, to the murder of Mr. Fraser (the chief commissioner), Captain Douglas, Mr. Hutchinson (civil service), and the Rev. Mr. Jennings and his ill-fated daughter. From the evidence of this witness, it appeared that Captain Douglas, Mr. Hutchinson, and Mr. Nixon, were all near the Calcutta gate leading to the bridge of boats, when four or five of the troopers rode up, and fired upon the little party—killing Mr. Nixon, and severely wounding Mr. Hutchinson. The Europeans, alarmed, jumped down from the road into the dry ditch surrounding the palace, Captain Douglas being much hurt in his descent. They then ran along the ditch, and reached the palace gate, which they entered, and closed after them. Mr. Fraser came up soon afterwards, and was admitted; and at one period of the attack, he appears to have taken a musket from one of the sepoys at the gate, and shot a trooper, which had the effect of driving the others off for a short time. At the suggesting of Mr. Jennings, Captain Douglas was taken up to his own apartments over the gateway; and soon after this, a number of people from the interior of the palace, came rushing forward, shouting, "Deen! deen!" and a crowd gathering, they were headed by a native officer of the palace guard, and, under his guidance, Captain Douglas and his companions were sought out, and brutally murdered.

On the eleventh day of the trial, a peon, named Chownee, corroborated the evidence of former witnesses as to the deaths of Mr. Fraser and Captain Douglas; and stated that the Mohammedans of the city were in the habit of boasting that the Persians, aided by the Russians, were coming to drive the English out of the country; and averred that the chupatties which preceded the outbreak, were used to bring together large bodies of men, for some business then to be explained to them, and that the distribution began at or near Kurnaul, a town about seventy miles north-west of Delhi. He also stated, that about five or six days after the city had been in the possession of the mutineers, he heard there was a great disturbance in the palace, and on going to ascertain the cause, found a number of sepoys, and some of the prisoner's armed servants, killing the European men, women, and children. There was a great crowd collected, and he could not see distinctly through it; but after the slaughter had been completed, he inquired of the sweepers who were removing the bodies, and heard that, in all, fifty-two persons had been killed: of these, only five or six were males, the rest being females and children. The bodies were removed in carts, and thrown into the river. When he saw them lying dead, they had been collected in a circle. A number of Mohammedans were on the top of Mirza Mogul's house—spectators of the scene; and the prince himself was among them. From the 11th to the 16th of May, when the massacre took place, these unfortunate persons were confined in a cellar or receptacle for rubbish, where the king's lowest class of prisoners were usually kept, and in which it would have been considered an insult to place respectable persons.—On the twelfth day of the examinations, one —— Ram, a person who was in Delhi on the 11th of May, but left a few days afterwards, confirmed the statement of the previous witness; and added, that the prisoner was proclaimed king by beat of drum, and that a royal salute was fired in the palace at midnight of the 11th of May. He also gave further details of the massacre of the Europeans within the palace, of which event he was an eye-witness. He said that it was known two days previously that the European prisoners were to be slaughtered on that day, and a great crowd had in consequence assembled. The prisoners were all ranged in a line on the edge of a tank, and, at a given signal, the mutineers and palace servants, by whom they were completely surrounded, rushed in and hacked them to pieces with swords. Shots were fired at them at the commencement; but one of the bullets happening to strike a sepoy, the sword was resorted to, and the barbarous work was soon over. The murderers en-

gaged in this cowardly deed numbered from 150 to 200 persons. When the sanguinary act had been accomplished, the spectators were turned out of the place, and the bodies were carried away by sweepers. No one attempted to interfere to prevent the massacre; no messenger from the king came to stop it: and the witness said he heard nothing which could lead him to believe that the deed was not gloried in by the Mohammedans. The witness further stated that he was present at the murder of the Beresfords. (Mr. Beresford was manager of the Delhi bank.) This gentleman was badly wounded at the onset, one arm being broken by a shot; but having a sword, and his wife being armed with a spear, they contrived to keep the ruffians at bay for some time, Mrs. Beresford herself killing one and wounding another. They were at length overpowered, and, with their five children (all girls), were ruthlessly murdered. The Rev. Mr. Hubbard, and another missionary, who had gone to the bank for protection, were also killed at the same time. "The house," said the witness, "where they were all slaughtered, still bears the marks of the struggle, and of the closing scene of horror."

An important piece of evidence was given on the thirteenth day of the trial, by a half-caste woman, the wife of a Mr. Alexander Aldwell, formerly in the civil service of the Company; who, being duly sworn, deposed as follows:—

"I am the wife of Mr. Alexander Aldwell, a pensioner of government, and was residing in a house in Durriaogunge on the 11th of May last. The first news of the mutiny that I received was from my syce, who, between eight and nine o'clock in the morning, brought me intelligence that the troops at Meerut had mutinied, and were coming from Meerut, and were murdering all the Europeans they came across. He advised me to order my carriage, and get out of the place as quickly as I could. Soon after, Mr. Nowlan, our next-door neighbour, came in, and confirmed the tale. My husband and Mr. Nowlan went to the sepoy guard of the garrison hospital, which was near our house, and asked them if they would assist us in case of an attack. They replied, 'Mind your own business, and leave us to mind ours.' At this time none of the mutineers had arrived from Meerut, and so could have held no communication with these men. Mr. Nowlan and my husband, after consulting together, determined to make a stand in our house, in case it should be attacked, as it was the larger and more defensible of the two. They proceeded to arm themselves and barricade the house. Several of our friends and their families took refuge in our house. We numbered, in all, about thirty souls, as far as I can judge. Soon after this, I saw several troopers riding on the river bank under our house. They fired without effect at some people who were on the roof of our house. I saw the mutineers cross the bridge from Meerut. I should say there were more cavalry than infantry. After some time had elapsed, a Mohammedan dyer of the town rushed into our compound, nearly frantic, with a tulwar drawn in his hand, and covered with blood. He was repeating the Kulman, or profession of faith, and saying that they were going to kill all the infidels. Mr. Nowlan shot him dead. About eleven o'clock Mrs. Fowler, a neighbour of ours, was brought into the house very badly wounded by a sword-cut on the head. About 3 P.M. I heard the explosion of the powder-magazine. Before this our friends had made their escape out of the place in the best way they could. After the explosion, I prevailed upon my husband to allow me to leave the house with my three children in Mohammedan disguise. We left in native dhoolies. We went to the house of a grandson of the king's, called Mirza Abdoolah. His family had, for some time past, been acquainted with us, and we had been in the habit of visiting him. We remained with him till eight o'clock in the evening, and then went to his mother-in-law. I left what property I had with me (about 200 rupees) in his hands, as he said he would take care of it for me, as it would be safe with him. The next morning I sent for my property; I received answer that Mirza Abdoolah had nothing belonging to me. He added, that I had better leave his family, or he would send and have me and my children killed as infidels. His uncle shortly after arrived, with armed attendants, to kill us. My moonshee's mother, who was with us, upbraided him with such cruelty. She said, 'If you wish to kill any one, kill me first. I am a Syudanee, and by killing me you will perform a meritorious action.' She alluded to the fact of the feud between the Syuds and Sunnees. The king's family are Sunnees. They replied, 'If we did so we should be no better than infidels.' At length, after some altercation, we were allowed to live till the evening. My tailor came to me, and advised me to take shelter in Nawab Mahommed Alli's house, where there were some more Europeans, as he had heard. We, however, went to my tailor's own house. Hearing, the next day, that there were several Europeans in the palace, whom the king kept in confinement, but with the promise of their lives being safe, I determined to go and join them. Accordingly, in the evening (this was Wednesday, May 14th), my tailor, and a trooper of the 3rd cavalry, who owed him some obligation, escorted us thither. As soon as we arrived at the Lahore gate we were stopped, searched, and made prisoners of. We were taken before Mirza Mogul. He ordered us into confinement with the rest of the prisoners. We were about fifty, in one dark filthy room; there were no windows, and only one door. The sepoys and crowd had free access there. They used to insult the Europeans. We were obliged to shut the door in self-defence, and then we had no aperture for light or air. The Khassburdars wished to kill us at once, but the sepoys would not let them. On Thursday morning a sepoy informed us that they meant to mine the place and blow us up. They used often to frighten us by such stories. On Friday, a servant of the king's asked one of the ladies how the English would treat them if they regained Delhi. She replied, 'As you have treated my husband and children.' On Saturday morning, all except myself and

children and an old Mussulman, who was imprisoned with us, were taken out and murdered. I and my children were believed to be natives. Before I came into the palace, I had learned and taught my children to repeat the Mohammedan profession of faith. I had also had a petition written in Hindostani, addressed to the king, styling myself a Cashmeree, and asking for his protection. This was taken from me by the guard at the Lahore gate, and hence my disguise succeeded completely. The Mussulmans used to eat with us; and our food was given us separately from the Christians. The prisoners were taken out by the Khassburdars; they ordered the Christians out, and said to us, 'You Mussulmans are to remain apart.' Upon this, the other ladies and children began crying, saying they were going to be killed. They were, however, reassured by the men, who swore their most sacred oaths that the king merely wished to put them in a better residence. They were taken out, and a rope put round the whole of them. They were taken to the tank in the court, and murdered there. The Khassburdars alone took part in the murder. They boasted of it as a privilege. It is reckoned by Mussulmans that to kill an infidel is to insure themselves a place in paradise. After the massacre, two guns were fired in token of rejoicing. After the Europeans had been murdered, we were taken before the king's *mufti* (or lawyer), who told us we were free. We went to my tailor's house. The thanadar of the quarter, however, having suspicions of us, took us prisoners the next day, and took us before Mirza Mogul, saying we were Christians. Mirza Mogul ordered us to be executed. However, the 38th sepoys would not allow this, and hid us in Captain Douglas's quarters. We escaped from this the day after the defeat at the Hindun river. We hid ourselves in the city, and passed as natives. After the defeat at the Hindun, the Hindoos upbraided the Mussulmans with want of courage, and with having deceived them by false hopes. The sepoys were all desponding and down-hearted. The Hindoos said, that if they thought their lives would be spared, they would return to the British. They expressed doubts as to whether government had really intended to interfere with their caste. The Mussulmans were most bitter against the infidel English. I heard Mohammedan women teaching their children to pray for the destruction of the English, and to execute them. As soon as the troops arrived in the palace, the Hindoos induced the king to give an order that no cows or bullocks were to be killed in the city. I believe this order was strictly observed. There was a disturbance expected during the Buckra Eed, when the Mussulmans usually kill an ox. They avoided the difficulty by omitting the ceremony. I made my escape from the city on the 9th of September, and remained in disguise till the British retook the place, when I returned."

The husband of Mrs. Aldwell managed, by some means or other, to escape the massacre of the Europeans in the city, and remained for some months ignorant of the fate of his wife and children. He, however, ultimately rejoined them at Delhi, on its reoccupation by the British.

The most conclusive evidence against the prisoner, in reference to his alleged complicity in the rebellion, was produced by Mukhoon Lall, the private secretary of the ex-king. Upon the first appearance of this individual before the court, he exhibited a degree of insolent assurance that drew from the judge-advocate a sharp rebuke and admonition. The prisoner, on his part, took no notice of, and appeared perfectly indifferent to, the presence or the behaviour of his secretary; and only once in the course of the evidence of that functionary, did he exhibit the slightest token of recognition. Mukhoon Lall, a short and stout Hindoo, after a slight interval allowed him to recover his equanimity, which had been seriously disturbed by the caution he received, took his station in the place allotted to the witnesses, and in a very humble attitude, and with clasped hands, proceeded to give his evidence. He declared that, for more than two years previous to the outbreak at Meerut, the prisoner had been disaffected towards the British government—a circumstance he ascribed partly to the discontinuance of the pomp and ceremony to which the inmates of the palace had been accustomed, and partly to the refusal of the government to recognise whoever the prisoner pleased to nominate as heir-apparent to the throne. The arrival of some of the royal family from Lucknow, about the time referred to, he stated was closely connected with the prisoner's correspondence with Persia. The growing disaffection of the native army had been the common subject of conversation in the private apartments of the prisoner for some months previous to the outbreak; and preparations for that event had been arranged by the native officers sent from Delhi, to form part of the court-martial upon the mutineers of the 3rd cavalry. The witness also stated, that the guards of the palace, changed weekly from the three regiments in cantonments at Delhi, were, to a man, adherents of the king. The secretary then described the incidents of the outbreak as connected with the personal acts of the prisoner; and, with regard to the subsequent massacre of European prisoners, said, that when the mutineers became clamorous for the slaughter, Mirza Mogul, eldest son of the prisoner, with another of the princes, went to obtain the consent of the king, who was in his private apartments; and were admitted to an audience, the mutineers remaining outside. After the lapse of about twenty minutes the two princes returned; and Mirza Mogul announced, with exulta-

tion, that the prisoner had given his consent: the slaughter accordingly commenced, the princes looking on from a terrace immediately above the scene of the outrage, and encouraging the murderers by their gesticulations and laughter!

On the following day (the fifteenth of the trial), Mukhoon Lall was further examined; and stated, that the then late prime minister, Maibhood Ali Khan, was the only person he knew of in the prisoner's entire confidence, and that he himself was not admitted to the secret conferences of his master. That at such private conferences, Maibhood Ali, Hussun Uskeree, the begum Zenat Mahal, and generally two of the prisoner's daughters, were present, and that by their counsel he was guided. In the course of the proceedings, the following proclamation —issued by Khan Bahadoor Khan, nawab of Bareilly, to the Hindoo chiefs, and published in Delhi—was produced as an exposition of the terms upon which Mussulmans and Hindoos were to merge their own differences, and co-operate for the overthrow of British rule.

"Greeting to the virtuous, illustrious, generous, and brave rajahs, preservers of their own faith, and props of the religion of others!—We wish you every prosperity, and take the present opportunity to apprise you all that God created us to preserve our faith; and our religious books fully inform us what our faith is. We are all determined to preserve that faith. Oh! ye rajahs, God has created you, and given you dominions, that you should all preserve your faith, and extirpate the destroyers of your religion. Those that are sufficiently strong, should openly exert their strength to destroy the enemies of their religion; but those that are not sufficiently strong, should devise plans for causing the death of those enemies, and thus preserve their religion. The Shastras inculcate that it is the duty of a man to die for his religion, and not to embrace the religion of an alien. God has said it; and it is a notorious fact, that the English are the destroyers of the creeds of other nations. Let this fact be thoroughly impressed upon your minds—that, for years past, with a view to destroy the religion of natives of India, the English have compiled books, and have disseminated them, through missionaries, throughout Hindostan. They have, from time to time, forcibly dispossessed us of our religious books. Their own accredited servants have divulged this to us. Now, you should all devote your attention towards the plans which the English have been forming for destroying the religion of the natives of India. Firstly, they have promulgated a law that a Hindoo widow must re-marry. Secondly, they have forcibly suspended the rites of *suttee* (burning of widows with the dead bodies of their husbands on the funeral pyre), and passed laws prohibiting those rites. Thirdly, they have often pressed us to embrace their religion, on promises of future advancement under their government; and they have often requested us to attend their churches, and listen to their doctrines. They have made it a standing rule, that when a rajah dies without leaving any male issue by his married wife, to confiscate his territory, and they do not allow his adopted son to inherit it, although we learn from the Shastras that there are ten kinds of sons entitled to share in the property of a deceased Hindoo. Hence it is obvious that such laws of the English are intended to deprive the native rajahs of their territory and property. They have already seized the territories of Nagpore and Lucknow. Their designs for destroying your religion, O rajahs! are manifest from their having had recourse to compulsive measures to force the prisoners to mess together. Many prisoners refused to mess together, and were consequently starved to death; and many ate bread together, and, of course, forfeited their religion. When the English saw that even such measures were ineffectual to convert the Hindoos, they caused bones to be ground with flour and sugar, and mixed particles of dried flesh and bone-dust with rice, and caused the same to be sold in the shops. In a word, they devised every plan they could for destroying your religion. Eventually, a Bengalee told the English that if the native army would use the profane things, then the inhabitants of Bengal would make no scruple to accept the same. The English liked this proposal, little knowing that, in enforcing it, they would themselves be rooted out of the country. The English told the Brahmins, and other Hindoos serving in their army, to bite suet-greased cartridges. When the Mussulmans serving in the army saw that the English were plotting to undermine the religion of the Brahmins, they also refused to bite the greased cartridges. But the English were bent on destroying the Hindoo religion. The native soldiers of those regiments which refused to bite the cartridges, were blown away from guns. This injustice opened the eyes of the sepoys, and they began to kill the English wherever they found them. A small number of English is still left in India, and measures have been adopted to kill them also. Be it known to all you rajahs, that if these English are permitted to remain in India, they will butcher you all, and put an end to your religion. It is surprising that a number of our countrymen are still siding with the English, and fighting for them; but let it be well impressed upon your minds that the English will neither allow your religion to remain safe, nor will they permit those countrymen of ours that are assisting them to keep their religion unmolested.

"We would now ask you, O rajahs! have you found out any means for preserving your religion and lives? If you all be of the same mind with us, then we can easily root out the English from this country, and maintain our national independence and our religion.

"As all the Hindoos and Mohammedans of India have found out that the destruction of the Englishmen is the only way by which we can save our lives and religion, we have printed this proclamation. We conjure you, O rajahs! by the holy water of the Ganges, by the sacred plant of Toolsee, and by the sacred image of Shalugram—and we conjure you, O Mussulmans! by the Almighty God, and by the sacred Koran, to attend to us. These Englishmen are enemies of the Hindoos as well as of the Mussulmans. It is a duty now incumbent upon both nations (Hindoos and Mussulmans) to kill all the

Englishmen in India. Both nations should therefore combine together and destroy the Englishmen.

"Among the Hindoos, the slaughter of kine is looked upon as a horrible sin. The Mussulman chieftains have all agreed, that should the Hindoos join them in killing the Englishmen in India, they (the Mussulmans) will cease to slaughter cows. The Mussulmans have made solemn promises by the sacred Koran, to abstain from eating flesh of cows. Should the Hindoos join them, the Mussulmans will look upon the flesh of cows with the same horror which they feel at seeing pork. If the Hindoos do not attend to this solemn appeal, and do not kill the English—nay, if they shelter them even—they will be considered guilty of slaughtering cows and eating beef.

"Should the English, with a view to neutralise our proposal, make a similar agreement, and urge the Hindoos to rise against the Mussulmans, let the wise Hindoos consider, that if the English do so, the Hindoos will be sadly deceived. The Englishmen never keep their promises. They are deceitful impostors. The natives of this country have always been tools in the hands of these deceitful Englishmen. None of you should permit this golden opportunity to slip away. Let us take advantage of it. Our epistolatory intercourse, though not so charming as personal interview, is still calculated to revive remembrance of each other. We trust you will concur with us and favour us with a reply to this appeal, which is made with the full consent of both Hindoos and Mussulmans of this place.

"Published by Moulvie Seyed Kootub,* Shah Bahadoor—Press, Bareilly.†

"True translation.

(Signed) "J. C. WILSON,
"Commissioner on Special Duty."

During the trial the king displayed a singular line of conduct, not at all in keeping with the serious position he occupied. Occasionally, while the evidence was progressing, he would coil himself up in his shawls, and, reclining upon the cushions placed for his convenience, would appear perfectly indifferent to the proceedings around him; at other times he would suddenly rouse up, as if from a dream, and loudly deny some statement of a witness under examination; then again relapsing into a state of real or assumed insensibility, he would carelessly ask a question, or laughingly offer an explanation of some phrase used in evidence. Upon one occasion, he affected such utter ignorance of a question before the court, in reference to his alleged intrigues with Persia, as to inquire, "Whether the Persians and the Russians were the same people!" He several times declared himself perfectly innocent of everything he was charged with, and varied the wearisomeness of his constrained attendance, by amusing himself with a scarf, which he would twist and untwist round his head like a playful child.

The following facts were ultimately established by these proceedings:—First, that the intended revolt was known to, and encouraged by, the Shah of Persia, who, at the request of the king, promised money and troops to ensure its success; his proclamation to that effect being posted upon the gate of the Jumma Musjid, from whence it was taken down by order of Sir Theophilus Metcalfe, who himself was informed by a Christian rissaldar very popular with the natives, that he had been warned to fly, as the Persians were coming, and the Mussulmans were exceedingly excited. Unfortunately, Sir Theophilus considered the information from such a quarter of no importance. Secondly, it was proved that a paper was addressed to, and received by, the late Mr. Colvin (lieutenant-governor of the North-West Provinces), by Mahomed Dervish, revealing the whole plot six weeks before the rebellion actually broke out; and that this warning also was considered so unimportant, that it was neither acted upon by the party to whom it was given, or reported by him for the consideration of the

* This man was Persian teacher in the government college at Bareilly.

† The letters and proclamations that have from time to time been addressed to the populations of India by the rebel leaders, do not so much illustrate the causes of the mutiny, as the motives and feelings that may be supposed to prevail among the natives of both races. The few specimens that have been published, it will be observed, dwell almost exclusively on the proselytising tendencies of the English, and on the hopelessness of their efforts. The assertion, that only a few Englishmen remain in India, is always repeated with increased earnestness; and the charge of interference with the native religion, is carefully elaborated from a few well-known measures of the government, mingled with a chaos of impudent fictions; but it is remarkable that not a single instance of civil maladministration is brought forward, although repeated instances of disregard of the rite of adoption by the Indian government, might have been adduced as involving secular oppression, as well as religious innovation. But the suspicion of this possible wrong was not sufficiently strong to outweigh considerations of prudence and loyalty among the masses of the Hindoo population. In the foregoing address of Khan Bahadoor Khan, the author, a chieftain of Mussulman race, affects the deepest solicitude for the safety of the Hindoo religion. A member of the sect which has deluged India with blood for the promotion of Monotheism, Khan Bahadoor Khan affects to be an enthusiast for the 365,000 deities of Hindooism; and forgetting the proselytising doctrines of the *Koran*, he quotes from the *Shastras* a declaration, that no man is at liberty to adopt the creed of an alien! The nawab was probably aware that the persons he addressed might doubt his sincerity, but he nevertheless furnished them with an excuse for disloyalty.

supreme government: and, Thirdly, that the murders of the Europeans in Delhi were committed by order of the king, in the presence of his sons and other persons connected with the royal family, and by means of the Khassburdars, his special body-guard.

Of the assumption of independent sovereignty in defiance of existing treaties, and the levying of war against the British government in India, there could be no question; and the prisoner was found guilty upon each of the four charges alleged against him, whereby he became liable to the penalty of death as a traitor and felon; but in consequence of the assurance given to him on surrendering himself prisoner to Captain Hodson at the college of Durgah Nizam-oo-Deen, on the 21st of September, 1857, the court sentenced him to be transported for the remainder of his days, either to one of the Andaman Islands,* or to such other place as might be selected by the governor-general in council.

A considerable delay occurred in carrying the sentence of the court into effect; and, in the meantime, the deposed king, with the females of his family and some native attendants, remained in close confinement within the precincts of the palace at Delhi. Sheltered by its privacy from the odium that ever accompanied the mention of his name, Mahomed Suraj-oo-Deen might here probably have lingered until his existence and his crimes had been alike forgotten, but for the injudicious conduct of persons whose political importance at the time was sought to be established upon an avowed opposition to the opinion universally expressed in relation to the atrocities perpetrated by the adherents of the fallen monarch. Among such persons was the

* The Andamans are a group of densely-wooded islands in the Bay of Bengal, between 10° and 13° N. lat., and nearly under 93° E. long., about 180 miles south-west of Cape Negrais, and as much north of the Nicobar Isles. The Great and Little Andamans are separated by a channel known as Duncan's Passage; and the area of the two is estimated at about 3,000 square miles. The native population is believed to be exceedingly scanty, and in the lowest state of ferocious barbarism. The interior of these islands has never yet been penetrated by Europeans; and although a British settlement was attempted at Port Cornwallis, in the north-east of the larger island, in 1793, the untamable ferocity of the natives was such, as to render its abandonment a measure of prudence, within three years from that time; most of the settlers having been killed and eaten by the people of the place. The islands then remained unnoticed by the British until after the outbreak of the sepoy rebellion, when it became necessary to provide a secure place of transportation for the swarms of defeated rebels that remained, after the sword and the halter had become satiated with prey; and the isolated condition of the Andamans at once suggested their appropriation to the uses of a penal settlement for British India. A sufficient force of military police was accordingly dispatched to the Great Andaman, under the superintendence of Dr. Walker, of the Bengal service; and thither, from time to time, the ruffians of the late Bengal army, whose lives were spared by the clemency of the courts-martial, were transported, to take their chance for existence among the aborigines, by whom they were scarcely surpassed in cruelty and cunning. A number of the first batch of military convicts were at once set to work to clear the land adjacent to the proposed settlement; while others were compelled to labour in the erection of suitable buildings for the establishment. The following extract from the letter of an officer belonging to her majesty's ship *Roebuck*, affords some interesting intelligence regarding the place:—"Our cruise to the Andamans would have been pleasant had we had other than ship provisions in the mess. We called at Port Blair (our head-quarters), and found two of the Company's ships there, with Dr. Walker, superintendent of the penal settlement, and other officers on board; and then went on our cruise to the south of Rutland Island, and as far as 12° 30′ N., keeping the land in sight all day (sometimes within a mile of it) to look for Malay vessels, which resort there for birds'-nests and sea-slugs, but we were unsuccessful; in fact, nothing was to be seen but a few native huts, and canoes hauled up on the beach. Only once did we see anything of the savages, who were bathing or fishing under the trees. There are four Andaman Islands—Northern, Southern, Middle, and the Great Andaman; but these have several smaller islands attached to them; and they are covered so densely with trees, that nothing is seen of the interiors. Port Blair was the only part where we could venture on shore, and then only with our revolvers, in case of meeting some natives. The Company's ships have lost several men, besides an officer of the *Pluto*; and when the *Sesostris* sent a watering party on shore the other day, they were suddenly attacked by natives with bows and arrows—the latter pointed with hard wood, and found to penetrate a boat's side. Several arrows were discharged, and one went through a man's thigh, which made our party run for it (not being armed), and return to the ship for muskets. When they got back to the watering place, they found that the savages had decamped, taking with them the hoops off the casks. Little is known about these natives. It is believed that they live upon fish; some live up the trees. The only kind of flesh to be had is that of the wild pig, which they shoot. This information was obtained by sepoys, in the following way. I believe Dr. Walker sent several of them away into the interior, with muskets and ammunition, to explore the country; but very few of them came back, for they were nearly all killed by the savages. Before that, however, a great number of the sepoys deserted; and those that returned, eighty in number, were hanged on the trees in Chatham Island. There are two small islands at Port Blair—Ross Island at the entrance, and Chatham in the middle of the harbour; both of these are bearing the tents of about 800 mutineers of the highest rank; and as soon as the rebels are caught up-country in India, they are

ex-member of parliament for Aylesbury, whose efforts to re-create political capital, had induced him to wander from the harmless paths of antiquarian research, to thread the intricate labyrinths of Anglo-Indian policy, with a view to enlighten the British public upon the subject of its Eastern empire, its sacrifices, and its wrongs. This gentleman, in the course of his travels, reached Delhi, and, it would seem, was permitted to have an interview with the royal prisoner; and some details of that interview were, on the 11th of May, 1858, communicated to a large and influential auditory at the St. James's Hall, London (amongst which were several members of the British House of Commons), in the following words:—

"Many persons regret that the king of Delhi had not fallen in just punishment for his offence. I saw the king of Delhi; and I will leave the meeting to judge, when it has heard me, whether *he is punished!* I will not give any opinion as to whether the manner in which we are treating him is worthy of a great nation. I saw that broken-down old man—not in a room, but in a miserable hole of his palace—lying on a bedstead, with nothing to cover him but a miserable tattered coverlet. As I beheld him, some remembrance of his former greatness seemed to arise in his mind. He rose with difficulty from his couch; showed me his arms, which were eaten into by disease and by flies—partly from want of water; and he said, in a lamentable voice, that he had not enough to eat! Is that a way in which, as Christians, we ought to treat a king? I saw his women too, all huddled up in a corner with their children; and I was told that all that was allowed for their support was 16*s.* a-day! Is not that punishment enough for one that has occupied a throne?"

That such a statement, from such an authority, should excite a large amount of sympathy, was naturally to be expected; and, for a time, many persons imagined that the treatment of the octogenarian prisoner of Delhi was marked by cruelty alike uncalled-for and unjustifiable: but it was not long ere the echoes of those deprecatory sentences, spoken beneath the vaulted roof of St. James's Hall, in the British metropolis, were heard throughout India; nor were they long without a distinct and circumstantial contradiction. A gentleman, to whose medical supervision, as officiating civil surgeon at Delhi, the personal health of the prisoner and his family had been confided by the authorities, no sooner met with the charge as reported in the English newspapers, than, in a tone at once decisive and temperate, he forwarded to England a refutation of the calumny, and left the question of its author's veracity to be decided at leisure. This gentleman, writing from Delhi, June 25th, 1858, after quoting the offensive allegations, expressed himself as follows:—

"I hope that the report is incorrect, as the words as they stand are likely to mislead. For a man of his years, the ex-king of Delhi is particularly active and intelligent; and I have seldom seen so old a man in England with equal mental and bodily energy.

"He resides, not in a hole, but in (for a native) a large room, square, with windows looking inwards and outwards. This room is divided about equally by curtains from one side to the other, separating the females from the males. On either side, the centre room opens on to a square court—one reserved for the females of the family, and containing one or two small buildings (or godowns) used for sleeping; the other, or entrance court, provided with temporary dwellings for the male attendants, of whom there are several, besides eunuchs and women for the service of the concealed ones.

"The whole suite of buildings is elevated some twelve or fourteen feet, and, on the ex-king's side, overlook a garden, in the centre of which reside the officers in charge of the prisoners.

"At the season of the year Mr. Layard visited Delhi, no covering further than a sheet is, as far as my experience goes, ever used by the natives of Central India; and the old man has no deficiency either of clothes, pillows, or cushions.

"There is no limit whatever but the individual's own desire, to the amount of water used for bathing or other purposes. At one time the ex-king was suffering from a disease not uncommon in India, but rarely mentioned in polite English ears; the

packed off to their new home in the Andamans, where they have to cultivate the ground, first burning or cutting down the jungle. On Ross Island, while we were there, they were building an hospital, and a pier for boats. They are all alone, having only the Burmese, whom they despise, as guards, to look after them, with the naval guard of the Company."

skin was abraded slightly in one or two small patches about the fingers, arms, &c., from scratching only.

"Although he has been months under my care, he has not once complained of a deficiency of food, though, as has been his custom for thirty-five years, he usually vomits after every meal. I have, on more than one occasion, seen him superintending the preparation of sherbet by his own attendants.

"The ordinary pay of an inferior workman at Delhi, is 7*s.* per month—that is a sufficiency to feed and clothe man, wife, and children. Very few adults consume more than 3*d.* worth of the common food in twenty-four hours. That amount covers the charge for flour, rice, dhâl, sugar, curry ingredients, vegetables, butter, and firewood for cooking.

"I speak advisedly, as the accounts for the lunatic asylum pass through my hands; and in that institution the dietary for patients, of different social conditions, is without stint—speaking of necessaries, of course. Paupers have an allowance of less than a 1*d.* a-day, for adults.—THE OFFICIATING CIVIL SURGEON, DELHI."

Thus ended the *Assyrian* romance, whose foundation was to have been laid in the palace-prison of Delhi.

Among the real or alleged causes for dissatisfaction within the palace, it has already been observed, that a difficulty in recognising the nominee of the king, as his successor on the nominal throne of Delhi, was a source of much annoyance to that personage, and also to his youngest and favourite wife, the sultana, Zenat Mahal. The question of succession had furnished a topic for dissension within the palace, and intrigue without it, from the year 1853; the king, at the instigation of Zenat Mahal, then desiring to name the child of his old age, Mirza Jumma Bukht, heir to the throne; while the British government insisted on recognising the superior and prior claim of an elder son, Mirza Furruk-oo-Deen. The contention to which this rivalry of interests gave birth, continued to rage with great virulence until 1856, when the elder son died of cholera, or, probably, as suspected at the time, of poison. This event, however, had not the effect of settling the question, as there still were elder brothers of Jumma Bukht in existence, whose claims to priority of succession were recognised by the Anglo-Indian government; while the mother of the latter prince persisted in her endeavours to obtain the heirship to the throne for her own son, and declared that her object would be persistently and steadily pursued until it was accomplished. When, however, it was announced by the government that the son of the deceased prince, and grandson of the king, should succeed in a direct line to all that remained of imperial power at Delhi, her hostility to British influence became intense; and it thenceforward was a question of daily consideration with her and her partisans, whether, by overturning the English *raj*, she might not forcibly obtain for her son the supremacy she so much coveted; and thus, when other causes for dissatisfaction and revolt began to exert their influence over the army and people of Hindostan, her whole energies were directed to the object of encouraging and extending the insurrectionary movement. In the course of the trial of the king, much was shown to this effect; but as no positive act of rebellion had been alleged against her, it was not deemed necessary, under the circumstances, to put the sultana, Zenat Mahal, upon her trial.

Reverting to the state of the city at the beginning of the year, it seems that, among other measures adopted for re-establishing order amidst its ruined streets and bazaars, a system of passes or permits was resorted to, by which a promiscuous influx of the native population was checked, and a regulation established, by which, such as were admitted came immediately under the eyes of the authorities. Each applicant, on seeking entrance to the city, was required to pay to an officer at the Kotwallee one rupee four annas; who, in return, gave to him a ticket, which, on presentation at the commissariat store, was exchanged for a *charpoy* (bedstead), and two *chukkees* (grindstones); thus providing each returning outcast with immediate facilities for procuring rest and food. The effect of this humane and politic arrangement, was to bring a great number of the former residents back to the city; and, according to a letter of the 20th of January, the place had already assumed an appearance of bustle and activity it had for months been a stranger to. "The Chandnee Chouk," observes the writer, "is now almost as much crowded of an evening as it was in days of yore; and the fusiliers' band, 'discoursing sweet music' opposite the church every Monday and Tuesday evening, attracts such a goodly display of beauty and

fashion, that were it not for the European guards and the shot-holes round about, people might almost forget the painful incidents of the past six months." The following gratifying account of the state of the country round Delhi, at the beginning of the year, was also furnished by a gentleman who had visited the city, on his way up the country, and who says—"I found the traffic upon the Grand Trunk-road just as considerable as it was this time last year. Carts and hackeries of every description, conveying goods and provisions of all kinds, and drawn by two, three, and five bullocks; bullocks and buffaloes, ponies and donkeys, laden pannier-fashion, with grain and other things; camels in hundreds, similarly burthened, besides vehicles containing native travellers, male and female, Mohammedan and Hindoo; to say nothing of the numerous dâk and transit carriages with European passengers, post-office vans, and bullock-train waggons, with government stores; with all of which several conveyances and beasts of burden the road is thronged along its entire length. No one ignorant of the anarchy which prevailed in these provinces a few months ago, would suspect that peace and order had ever been interrupted, judging from the traffic now seen upon the road." It should be observed, that these favourable sketches of the rebel city must be taken with great allowance for the evident disposition of the writers to see everything under the most cheerful aspect, since later delineations by no means support the views taken by them of the interior and exterior condition of Delhi at the beginning of 1858.

The administration of the province of which Delhi had formed the capital, was, early in the year, transferred to the able management of the chief commissioner in the Punjab—Sir John Lawrence, K.C.B.; who arrived at the seat of his new government about the 24th of February, and, by his judicious measures and energetic action upon every disturbed point, the districts round Delhi were speedily restored to at least a semblance of order. The first object of the new chief commissioner, was to convince the people of the province under his command that they were really once more in the hands of the British government; and, with that view, he issued a circular to the commissioners of the three districts of Delhi, Hissar, and Sirsa, directing that every community and section of a community, and individual within those districts, should be made to repay the losses sustained by Europeans during the rebellion. The circular, which was entitled "Compensation to Sufferers by the Insurrection," was couched in the following terms:—

"Sirsa—Camp, Delhi, 5th March, 1858.

"Sir,—I am directed to draw your immediate attention to the recovery, from insurgent villages, of the value of the property plundered by them from the British government, or from its European British subjects, or European foreigners, or from native Christians, or from the natives of the country who threw in their lot with us, and suffered in consequence of signal fidelity.

"2nd. The chief commissioner is resolved, that every community, section of community, or individual who may have plundered or destroyed property, real or personal, belonging to any of the above-mentioned parties, shall be made to pay the value of the same to the utmost of his or their means, and within the earliest reasonable period; provided always that the exaction of this specific compensation shall be exclusive and irrespective of penal fines, or other legal penalties, to which the offenders may be subject.

"3rd. It will therefore be the duty of the local authorities to ascertain summarily, and estimate fairly, the value of the property plundered or destroyed, under whatever circumstances. Due care will also be taken to avoid exaggeration or mistaken estimates. Thus the parties who plundered or did the mischief having been detected, awards for specific sums will be declared against them, such awards being regulated exactly by the amount of the damages done; so that, in this respect, plunder and retribution may be in precise proportion. Perhaps, in some cases, the recovery of the full amount due will be impossible, and so we must content ourselves with exacting what we can.

"4th. Again, although, in some cases, it might be possible to exact more than the sum awarded, yet herein it is not necessary to grind such amount; it will suffice to take that, and no more. If the offenders deserve to have to pay more on account of general misconduct, then that matter can be dealt with hereafter.

"The mode of collecting or realising the amount in such individual cases, must be left very much to the discretion of the district officers. It will be well, however, to indicate certain methods open to adoption. In towns, or wards of towns, the amount can be levied by a house-tax or pro rate cess. Such cess may be either fixed on value of house, or in reference to particular guilt, if that can be discriminated, or in such like considerations.

"In villages, also, the plan may be adopted, especially in regard to men, agricultural residents; but as the inhabitants of such villages will, many of them, be cultivators or landowners, their land will afford a proper means of realisation. The money can be rateably fixed upon the land, due regard being had, however, to the fiscal demands on the soil and crops, and to the expediency of not impoverishing the occupant, so far as they seriously impair his power of cultivating. If the whole sum cannot be realised at once, yearly instalments might be accepted for moderate periods.

"Moreover, if the case should be aggravated, or if other modes of realisation should fail, proposals for

the sale, transfer, or farm of estates, parcels of land, and other real property, might be submitted to competent authority. Besides the above processes, there will be the ordinary distraint of individuals, and attachment of effects; there will be the ordinary process of seizing and confining for brief periods; provided, however, that no person be formally imprisoned in default of satisfaction of these awards. Then, as regards the disposal of the sums thus realised, if they be on account of government, there will be no difficulty in ascertaining as to how they should be credited; in some cases, however, the moneys will be on account of damages done to government houses or buildings in your district; as, for instance, a staging bungalow may have been partially burnt by an adjacent village. The bungalow will be economically repaired by hired labour, and the cost be recovered from the village. When the sums shall have been realised on account of officers or private individuals, known or unknown, they will be kept in deposit, and paid over as soon as possible to the proper recipients.

"Returns of the sums levied under these orders will be forwarded quarterly to this office.

"I am to add, that the chief commissioner is aware that the carrying out of this order will entail much labour on the district officers; but he trusts, seeing the desirability of the measure, they will co-operate in its execution.—I have, &c.—R. TEMPLE,

"Secretary to the Chief Commissioner."

The promulgation of this most just and reasonable order, was hailed with unfeigned satisfaction by the survivors of those who had suffered from the depredations of the rebels; but, as may be imagined, with feelings of increased hatred, and renewed desire of vengeance, on the part of those upon whom its weight was intended to fall, in the following proportions:—In the Delhi division, the Mohammedan inhabitants were indiscriminately mulcted of twenty-five per cent., or a quarter of the whole amount of their real property; while the proportion levied upon the Hindoos was, for some sufficient cause it may be presumed, reduced to ten per cent. of such property; but, with the fines so graduated, and the produce of the confiscated estates of persons known to have been engaged in the rebellion, and to have participated in the outrages connected with it, a very considerable fund was raised, out of which those who had seriously suffered in the traitorous struggle, were partially compensated for their losses. Meantime, investigations for the discovery of the property of absent individuals of known wealth, were of daily occurrence; and a strict search for buried treasure was carried on throughout the city with beneficial results, as well to individuals as to the government.

But although, under the wise and almost paternal administration of Sir John Lawrence, the storms that had agitated Delhi were gradually subsiding, and a tranquil future for it seemed within the range of probability, a strange and curious struggle of opinions as to the ultimate disposition of the Mogul capital, absorbed the attention of Europeans in India; and the question, "What shall be done with Delhi?" now that the struggle for bare life had ceased, furnished a topic for earnest and animated discussion, not only within the place itself, but throughout Hindostan. Upon this subject, three very opposite views were entertained. One party advocating its destruction as a measure of national policy; another advising that it should be abandoned to gradual decay; and a third insisting upon the advantages derivable from its preservation as a city. It was, perhaps, not extraordinary, that when the place was first recaptured, a very general desire should be felt, under the influence of the intense indignation that prevailed, that not one stone should be left upon another, to tell where Delhi had once stood: and the advocates for this course argued that Delhi should be extinguished from the list of cities, because it had been the centre of disaffection, and the scene of the most important phase in the resistance to British authority; that the Mohammedans of India would ever think they had a national rallying point, so long as Delhi remained a mark upon the map of India; and that nothing less than the utter destruction of the city would convince them of the irresistible will and power of the English government. It was further urged, that even the memory of the place should be effaced, if possible, as being a dangerous traditional record of its once national importance. The advocates for its gradual and unobstructed decay, and ultimate desertion, urged, that to destroy Delhi at once, would have the effect of rendering it a perpetual object of regret to the Mohammedan populations of India; whereas, to let it sink gradually to decay and insignificance, would produce only feelings of contempt and indifference. No tradition of sovereignty would attach to a neglected and insignificant village, which in time it must become, and in which a population of pauper Msusulmans only would congregate amidst the ruins of its palaces, to scramble for the occasional charity of travellers. They recommended that the European military station at Delhi should be removed to Hansi; that the arsenal should be established at Ferozepore; or, still better,

that an entirely new European city should be built lower down the Jumna; and that Delhi should then be left to be supported by natives only, the inhabitants being burdened by a special and heavy capitation tax, as a punishment for past treason. The third party strenuously advocated the preservation of the city, and the restoration of such of its more important features as had suffered by the ravages of war. In support of this view, the arguments went to show, that geographically and politically, Delhi was peculiarly adapted for the capital of an important district; that its site was originally chosen by men who looked forward to the permanent maintenance of power in the north-west regions of India; that, as a commercial *entrepôt*, it was the point at which the two great streams of Central Asian trade diverged to Calcutta and Bombay; that, as a military cantonment, the city commanded the Jumna at the best point for crossing the river; and that the Mogul palace could be converted into an admirable fortress, to be garrisoned by British troops only; while the walls of the city, brought at one point to a narrower sweep, would require a smaller force to defend them, and, at the same time, would protect the magazines, and keep out the marauding Goojurs and Meewatties.

But while these various opinions were discussed, little change had really taken place in the desolate aspect of the city up to the end of March. The outer walls, it is true, continued standing, with their breaches hastily and roughly filled up. All the gates, except the three already mentioned, were still kept closed, but not destroyed; the shattered Cashmere barrier had been temporarily replaced, but not repaired; the English church had been repaired and painted; and the college, riddled by balls, was now converted into a barrack; the magazine remained as it was left by the explosion effected by Lieutenant Willoughby in the preceding May; but the palace, now the prison-house of its royal owner, and the head-quarters of the British force at Delhi, had sustained but little injury. In the principal avenue of the city, the Chandnee Chouk,* with its crowded shops and splendidly picturesque buildings on either side, every house had been plundered, and bore traces of the havoc that had reigned within them; nor did the little display of property, as it slowly accumulated along its extent, under the protection of English bayonets, disguise the utter ruin that followed the insane outbreak of the preceding year. To a stranger, the population that traversed the spacious street in March, 1858, might seem large; but to those who had known Delhi, and its numerous and thronged thoroughfares previous to the rebellion, it seemed but as the shadow of the life that had once animated it. The Red Mosque—within whose walls Nadir Shah sat in sullen meditation on the 17th of February, 1739, while the swords of his infuriated soldiers were fleshed in the bodies of near 100,000 of the Hindoo inhabitants of Delhi—still remained a blushing record of the atrocious act of unappeasable vengeance. The old Kotwallee, or police-station—where but a few months previous, the mutilated corpses of murdered Europeans had been exposed to the ribald jeers of a traitorous population, and before which, also, in just retribution for their unmanly crimes, the dishonoured carcasses of the ruffian princes by whom those murders were sanctioned and encouraged, were also exposed to public scorn—still remained; but in its front now arose three immense gibbets, on whose fatal arms had already been suspended about 300 of the traitors, who had taken part in the revolting outrages of May; and which were still outspread to receive more offerings to retributive justice. With regard to the temper of the native population now within the city, it was described as more than simply respectful to the Europeans, and, in fact, as "cringing." "Fear," it was written, "possessed every soul; and never was a conquest more complete than is, for the present, that of Delhi and its neighbourhood. But the present disposition of the native mind in Delhi towards us, is one which no wise man can wish permanently to continue; although no wise man will deny that such a disposition was necessarily created, if British rule is ever more to be asserted over this vast and captured city."

In the midst of the arrangements for the restoration of order, and the rehabitation of the place by the native shopkeepers and others, a rumour gained currency that an attempt was about to be made by Nana Sahib to rescue the king, who was then awaiting the confirmation of the sentence passed upon him; the proceedings and evidence taken upon his trial, having been

* Or Chandra Chauk; from "chandra," the moon, and "chauk," market, or place of sale in a city.

forwarded to the Court of Directors in England for its decision. The effect of this report was simply a strengthening of the guards to whom the safe keeping of the prisoner was confided, and the issue of an order from the military commandant, to dispatch his majesty at once in the event of an attempt to rescue him from his captivity, and from the doom he had wantonly brought down upon himself and his unfortunate race. The stringency of this extreme order was partly necessitated by the gradually perceptible assurance of many of the natives, who began to exchange their tone of obsequious servility for that of insolent indifference, if not defiance. It was publicly asserted among them that reverses had occurred which crippled the British resources, and that the native troops would, in a short time, recover Delhi from its infidel captors; that the events at Lucknow were falsely reported in favour of the British, who, in fact, had been there signally defeated; and that the time was fast approaching, when the Mogul city would be again, and for ever, freed from the pollution of the Feringhee *raj*. It was probably with a view to show the unconcern with which these reports were received, that an opportunity was seized to exhibit as well the power as the generosity of the British government, under the following circumstances.

A rissaldar of the irregular native cavalry, named Hidayut Ali, was, at the period of the outbreak in May, on leave at his native village, Mahonah, in the Goorgaon district; and while there, thirty-two fugitives, consisting of men, women, and children, who had escaped from Bhurtpore, reached the village. The rissaldar received the whole of them into his house—treated them with kindness, supplied them with clothes, and for eight days provided for them a separate and liberal table. When, at length, messengers arrived from Delhi to tell him it was known that he had Europeans under his protection, and that the king's troops would be sent against him, and to bring the Kaffirs to Delhi, the man raised a force of the villagers, who appear to have been attached to him, and who, for his sake, escorted the fugitives to the extreme limit of the district under his influence, and placed them in safety; where they remained until preparations had been matured for their further progress towards a European station. This was accordingly effected, and the whole party reached Agra in safety during the month of June, 1857. For this loyal and meritorious conduct, it was considered proper by the government that a public avowal of its approbation should be made by the chief commissioner at Delhi; who, accordingly, on the 21st of April, 1858, held a grand durbar, at the residency, which was attended by a large assembly of Punjabees, Ghoorkas, Hindostanees, and Europeans, in the presence of whom the rissaldar was addressed by the commissioner in terms of unqualified encomium of his fidelity and gallantry. He was then, in the name of the government, presented with a sword of honour, valued at 1,000 rupees, and also with a sunnud, under the signature of the governor-general in council, conveying to him, and to his heirs for ever, in free jaghire, his native village of Mahonah, the annual revenue of which, at the time, amounted to 5,400 rupees.

A less agreeable spectacle was shortly afterwards afforded to the inhabitants of the city, in the execution, by hanging, of the king's soothsayer, Hussun Ushkurie, on the 29th of May, for his connection with the outbreak of the previous year. As no one of particular note had recently been executed in front of the Khotwallee, the circumstance occasioned a large gathering of the native population, who looked on in silent wonder, that so powerful a man as the king's soothsayer, who had given ten years of his own existence for the prolongation of that of the king to a like extent, should not be able to deliver himself from the hands of the Kaffirs.

A test of the improved and settled state of the district governed by Sir John Lawrence, was supplied by the fact, that the customs' collection for the month of July, 1858, amounted to 6,557,800 rupees; being an increase of the same collection over that of July, 1855, of 58,993 rupees; and for that of 1856, of 59,245. For the month of July, 1857, there was no collection of revenue whatever in the city and district around Delhi.

The amount of prize-money reported in October, 1858, for the capture of Delhi, reached to twenty-eight lacs of rupees, or £280,000 sterling; but its appropriation had not yet been finally decided upon. The famous crystal block and marble platform, which adorned the Dewas Khan, or principal hall of audience, in the Mogul palace, were forwarded to Calcutta for transmission to England; and the crown and jewels of

the ex-king, with those of his family, were also transmitted to the Indian metropolis, to augment the prize fund by their sale.

Before closing the present chapter, it will be proper to refer briefly to the operations of the troops dispatched in various directions from Delhi, in pursuit of the discomfited and fugitive rebels. Of the proceedings of the column under Brigadier Greathed, mention has already been made;* and it will be remembered, that Brigadier Showers, with a force under his command, also left Delhi on the 23rd of September, for a special purpose near the tombs in the vicinity of the city; and that the object having been accomplished,† the brigadier returned to the capital, where he remained until the 1st of October, when he was again dispatched, with a column of considerable strength, to operate in the adjacent districts west and north-west of Delhi. The purposes for which this force was put in motion were also effectually accomplished, and it returned to head-quarters on the 9th of the ensuing month, having, in the course of its march out and home, taken four important forts, burnt many obnoxious villages, and captured, besides the rajahs of Jhujjur and Babulghur, about seventy guns and eight lacs of rupees, with a vast quantity of ammunition, and many horses. Three days after the return of this force, upon receipt of news from Rewaree (a town about forty-seven miles south-west of Delhi), another column was formed under Colonel Gerrard, of the 14th native infantry, for service in that direction. This force consisted of the 1st fusiliers and Sikh infantry, with some carabiniers, guides, and artillery, joined by parties of irregular Cashmerians, Mooltanees, and others. With this miscellaneous gathering Colonel Gerrard marched to Rewaree, and from thence to the town of Narnol in Jhujjur, where a rebel chief, Sunnund Khan (a relative of the rajah already made prisoner by Brigadier Showers), had taken post with a strong party of the Joudpore mutineers. Colonel Gerrard immediately charged the enemy with his cavalry, and drove them into a fortified serai in the town, which, after a severe but brief struggle, was carried by the infantry. In this affair one officer only fell; but that one, unfortunately, was the commander, Colonel Gerrard. Among the slain on the part of the rebels, was also the chief in command, Sunnund Khan.

Early in November, another column, under the orders of Colonel Seaton, marched from Delhi in a south-eastern direction, between the Jumna and the Ganges, clearing the road of small detached parties of the enemy as it advanced; and, on the 13th of December, it arrived at Gangheree, a large village on the Kalee Nuddee, twenty-four miles from Allygurh, where a small force from Bolundshuhur, under Colonel Farquhar, had just previously halted. The rebels, who were in great force in the neighbourhood, had received information of the arrival of Colonel Farquhar's party, but appear to have been ignorant of its junction with that of Colonel Seaton, which consisted of between three and four thousand men, a large proportion of which were cavalry. The united force had scarcely been encamped two hours, when a strong body of the enemy's cavalry appeared in front of it, making demonstrations of an intention to attack the position, and commenced a heavy fire from two 6-pounders and a 9-pounder. Without waiting an instant, the carabiniers and Hodson's horse, with some artillery, advanced towards the rebels, and dashing in amongst their ranks, overthrew and cut down numbers of them; the carabiniers then charged the guns. As they approached, three charges of grape were poured into them at a hundred and fifty yards' distance, which told fearfully; but, without hesitating, the gallant fellows rode on, charged home, sabred the gunners, and took the guns. In this affair the enemy lost, in killed alone, between four and five hundred. The carabiniers lost twenty-five horses out of seventy, and the other cavalry in a nearly equal proportion. The loss of the British, in men, was reported at twelve killed and fifty wounded.

On the following day Colonel Seaton pursued his march towards Futteghur, about three miles from Furruckabad;‡ and, on

* See *ante*, p. 60. † See *ante*, p. 58.

‡ Furruckabad (Happy Abode) is the capital of a small district of the Doab, similarly named, and is situated at a short distance from the Ganges, about 185 miles south-east of Delhi. The town, which was founded by a Patan colony, some 150 years since, is surrounded by a strong wall, and in its time has been one of the principal seats of commerce for Upper Hindostan. The buildings generally are commodious, and even elegant; and its streets are of good width, and well shaded with fine trees. For its flourishing condition of late years, it has been chiefly indebted to the neighbourhood of the British cantonments at Futteghur (the Fort of Victory), about three miles to the south-east of the town. In 1805, the Mahrattas, under Holkar, amounting to

the 18th, came up with the enemy at Putteeala—a town about sixty miles north-west of the place first named. When about three miles from their position, the force was halted and the line formed, having the horse artillery on either flank, and the cavalry on the right and rear. Colonel Seaton then advanced: as he came on, the enemy opened fire from a battery of twelve guns, which they had formed in front of the town. The British artillery replied; and, under cover of its fire, the infantry advanced; but it was no part of the rebel tactics to wait for a close acquaintance with the approaching line of bayonets, when brought down to the charge: their artillery ceased to fire, and in a moment the whole force turned and fled. The English cavalry and artillery then dashed on with a cheer, and completed the rout of the enemy, whose guns, standing camp, ammunition, and supplies were all captured, and between seven and eight hundred men were killed. The rebels, on this occasion, were commanded by Ahmed Yer Khan and Mohson Ally, two Mohammedan zemindars, whom the nawab had appointed lieutenant-governors of the eastern and western districts of Futteghur, and who were amongst the first to fly from the field. One of their subordinate officers was, however, not sufficiently active to escape, and falling into the hands of the victors alive, was presently tried by drum-head court-martial, and condemned to be shot as a traitor. In this action the British loss was merely nominal.

While halting for the necessary rest of the troops, the column was joined by a small force from the garrison at Agra, under Major Eld, and the march was resumed, clearing the district towards Etawah and Mynpoorie. The self-ennobled personage who styled himself rajah of the latter place, and who had fled at the approach of Greathed's column in October,* afterwards returned to his capital, and expelled the officials left there by the brigadier; and again had managed to collect a formidable band of rebels (troops and budmashes) around him, although his palace was destroyed, and his treasury and jewels carried off. The punishment unavoidably deferred in October was now to be inflicted.

On the 27th of December, Colonel Seaton once more came within reach of the enemy, who were favourably posted behind a tope, about a mile from Mynpoorie, and there appeared disposed to await his attack. He at once made the necessary arrangements, and commenced operations with a rapid discharge of his light guns, which was promptly replied to by the rebel artillery. The colonel then ordered his cavalry round to the right of the enemy's position, to attack his flank. While this movement was being carried out, the infantry, led by Major Eld, deployed into line, and advanced at the charge upon the enemy's right. As the troops marched forward, a sharp fire was kept up by the artillery of both forces; but again, at the first flash of the English bayonets, as the bright steel gleamed in the morning sunlight, the rebels turned and fled! A rapid and precise fire from the artillery and rifles, told with terrible effect upon the flying host; and the cavalry, which had now cleared the tope and reached the open ground, dashed off in pursuit of the fugitives, and cut them down without resistance, along a distance of seven miles. Here again the rout was complete, and six guns fell into the hands of the victors. The loss to the enemy upon this occasion was estimated at from 250 to 300 men. Colonel Seaton, being thus master of the position, advanced upon Mynpoorie, which he took possession of without further resistance; but the self-styled rajah had, as on the former occasion, secured his own safety by a timely flight. The following telegram announced the occupation of the town by Colonel Seaton's force:—

"Mynpoorie, Dec. 27th, 3 P.M.

"Found the enemy this morning posted behind some high trees, a mile west of the city. He opened with four guns as I advanced. The horse artillery guns made a detour to the right, supported by cavalry, the heavy guns and infantry following. The enemy, finding himself cut off, soon began to retreat. Took all his guns, and cut up 250. As yet, none reported killed on our side."

The victory at Putteeala had cleared the road to Futteghur; and by the successful movement on Mynpoorie, Colonel Seaton was enabled to open communications with the commander-in-chief, and await his further orders for operations in the Doab.

20,000 men, were signally defeated by General Lake, in a conflict under the walls of Furruckabad, when 3,000 Mahrattas were cut to pieces, and the rest of the enormous army only escaped by the superior fleetness of their horses.

* See *ante*, p. 72.

CHAPTER VII.

THE GWALIOR CONTINGENT; FIDELITY OF SCINDIA; DEFECTION OF HIS TROOPS; ADVANCE ON CAWNPORE; ATTACKED BY GENERAL WINDHAM AT BHOWSEE; THE BRITISH POSITION ATTACKED; RETREAT OF THE TROOPS; THE ENGLISH CAMP ABANDONED; CORRESPONDENCE; THE CAPSIZED GUN; A MIDNIGHT COUNCIL; ARRANGEMENTS FOR ACTION OF 28TH NOVEMBER; BATTLE OF CAWNPORE; DEATH OF BRIGADIER WILSON; DEFEAT OF THE BRITISH TROOPS; DIARY OF EVENTS; CORRESPONDENCE; ARRIVAL OF THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF AND THE CONVOY FROM LUCKNOW; GENERAL CARTHEW'S REPORT; STATE OF WINDHAM'S TROOPS; REPORT OF GENERAL WINDHAM; PUBLIC OPINION THEREON; AN AFTERTHOUGHT; COMMENCEMENT OF DECEMBER AT CAWNPORE; TOPOGRAPHY OF THE CITY AND ENVIRONS; POSITIONS OF THE ADVERSE FORCES; ACTION OF 6TH DECEMBER; DEFEAT AND FLIGHT OF THE REBELS; DESPATCHES FROM THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF AND GENERAL MANSFIELD; PURSUIT OF FUGITIVE REBELS; REPORT OF BRIGADIER GRANT AT SERAI-GHAT; RESULT OF OPERATIONS AT CAWNPORE IN DECEMBER.

THE defection of some portions of the troops composing the Gwalior contingent of the Maharajah Scindia, on the 14th of June and the 4th of July, 1857, has already been noticed;* and it is now necessary to trace the proceedings of the remainder of that force, before we advert to the operations of the army under the command of Sir Colin Campbell, after his return to Cawnpore in November.

The position of Scindia had been, from a very early period of the disturbances, one that called for the exercise of a vast amount of firmness and sagacity. At the commencement of the outbreak the maharajah was but twenty-three years of age; but, from the completion of his eighteenth year, he had displayed high qualifications for the government of his country, which had greatly benefited by his rule; and, at the same time, he had secured the respect of the British authorities in India, as well by his unswerving friendship as by his prudent and dignified conduct. It was not therefore surprising, when the hour of trial arrived, and his sincerity was tested, that it should be found the confidence reposed in him had been worthily bestowed. The revolt of the native army of Bengal against the authority of the Company, with whom he was upon terms of strict amity, naturally placed Scindia in a position of great embarrassment between the British government on the one hand, and the troops of his contingent on the other. This force, which he was bound by treaty to maintain for the service of the Company, consisted chiefly of men gathered from different parts of Hindostan proper, and from Oude; who very early exhibited their sympathy with the aspirations for independence, and revenge, of their fellow-countrymen on the Jumna and the Ganges. His own personal army consisted chiefly of Mahrattas—a race hitherto proved to be rancorously hostile to the Hindoos, and therefore not likely to be influenced by any considerations on their behalf; but yet, in a general struggle with the Feringhee for the restoration of the Mogul dynasty to the throne of Hindostan, it became impossible to foresee how long the antipathy of races would be able to resist the influence of a combined effort in favour of an independent native sovereignty.

From the time of the defection of a part of the contingent force in June, 1857, nothing but the most strenuous exertions and unremitting vigilance on the part of Scindia, had kept the disaffected portion of the remainder from joining the rebel force at Delhi. These were, however, kept harmless by the firm yet conciliatory policy of their ruler, who himself continued to be their paymaster, and, to a certain extent, ensured their fidelity by keeping their pay slightly in arrear. During July and August, occasional desertions were reported; and some minor detachments at isolated stations, marched off to join the insurgents; but the main body still exhibited an appearance of subordination and fidelity. At length, the mutineers of Holkar's contingent, from Indore, arrived in the vicinity of Gwalior, and the effect of their association with the troops of Scindia soon became apparent in the disturbed state of the contingent. Many of the men belonging to the latter were now seduced from their allegiance; and at length, on the 5th of September, a considerable body of them deserted, taking with them seven guns and a large quantity of ammunition. Two days afterwards, the native officers of the contingent

* Vol. i., pp. 417—546.

waited upon the maharajah, and announced the determination of the whole of the remaining force to join their brethren in arms against the English *raj;* and demanded of his highness their arrears of pay, with food and conveyance either to Agra or Cawnpore. Circumstances now assumed a serious aspect at Gwalior, and, after some unavoidable delay, the state of affairs was reported to the governor-general by telegraph from Mhow, in the following message:—

"Mhow, September 28th, 1857.

"Scindia, on the 7th, was insolently pressed by the contingent mutineers of Gwalior, for pay, for carriages, and for a leader to head them on a march to Agra. Scindia refused; but found it advisable to place eleven guns in position, and to intrench. On the 7th, the Mhow and Indore rebels were at the Chumbul, where they had collected fifteen boats, and, on the 8th, were crossing baggage. On the 9th, the contingent mutineers advanced guns out of Mora, raised religious standard of Hindoo Islam, and fired a salute of twenty-two guns. They seized carriage from neighbouring villages."

To the demands of the mutinous contingent, Scindia returned an immediate and decided refusal; and, during the excitement that followed among the men, apprehensions for the personal safety of the maharajah himself were more than once entertained. Fortunately, the greater portion of his Mahrattas continued faithful to their prince; and the chiefs and landowners of the neighbouring districts having tendered him the assistance of their retainers, the gathering storm passed over for a short time, and the troops, reassuming an appearance of fidelity, returned to their duty.

When the united body of Indore and Gwalior mutineers and traitors marched from the vicinity of the latter city on the 5th of September, they proceeded, as noticed in the telegram, towards the Chumbul, which river they crossed on the 8th, and took possession of the fort of Dholpore (about thirty miles distant from Agra), where they remained, supporting themselves by plundering the adjacent districts, until the end of the month, occupied in concerting a plan of attack upon Agra, which they attempted to carry into effect on the 10th of October, with the result already described.*

At length, on the 15th of October, the whole of the remaining troops of the Gwalior contingent, with a number of the Mahrattas, consisting altogether of six regiments, four batteries, and a siege-train, rose in open mutiny, again hoisted the standard of rebellion, and, without offering any injury to Scindia or the inhabitants of his capital, marched from their cantonments, and took the direction of Jaloun—a large town of Bundelcund, about twenty-five miles west of Calpee; in the neighbourhood of which place they encamped, and remained during the rest of the month, without attempting any offensive movement except against the local authorities, but gathering reinforcements and supplies from various quarters. On the 11th of November, a column of the mutinous force, consisting of 3,000 men, with eight guns, was pushed on to Calpee (about forty-five miles south-west of Cawnpore), where it remained in readiness to cross the Jumna. Here the advanced column was gradually augmented by the reserve from Jaloun, and by a large body of rebellious troops from Banda and other disturbed districts; and at length, on the 21st of November, the whole force, amounting to 20,000 men, with thirty-eight pieces of cannon, commenced crossing the river preparatory to an attack on Cawnpore.

The importance of this place as a central point of strategy, was obvious to the commanders of both forces. On the north side of it, and merely divided by the river, lay the kingdom of Oude, with its capital, Lucknow—so important in relation to the occupancy of the surrounding territory; on the south-east was the city of Allahabad, commanding the great line of route for troops from Calcutta; on the north-west, Agra and Delhi lay on the direct route from the Punjab; while, on the south and south-west, were the roads along which armies could approach from the two southern presidencies of Madras and Bombay. The possession of Cawnpore was therefore of the utmost importance to either party; and Sir Colin Campbell had directed his attention to the maintenance of that position previous to his departure for the relief of Lucknow; its safety being entrusted to General Windham, whose gallantry at the Redan, before Sebastopol, had won for him an imperishable celebrity—the instructions given to him by the commander-in-chief being, to remain quiet in his position unless attacked, and to keep the communication safely open

* See *ante*, p. 62.

from Lucknow, *viâ* Cawnpore, to Allahabad.

The movements of the Gwalior and Indore troops were, from time to time, reported to General Windham by spies; and, about the middle of November, he learned that the rebel force, with a formidable park of artillery, had arrived within twenty miles of Cawnpore. The troops under the command of General Windham, comprising about 2,000 men, at this time occupied an intrenched position or fort in the south-eastern suburb of the city, at no great distance from the intrenchment formerly held by Sir Hugh Wheeler. The position was close to the Ganges, and completely covered the bridge of boats which communicated with the Lucknow-road; but unfortunately for the immediate exigency, occasioned by the advance of the rebel force, the city of Cawnpore lay directly between the position held by the general and the Calpee-road, by which the enemy approached. It became necessary, therefore, by a speedy movement, to secure a point of defence against an attack from the threatened quarter, which should place the town in his rear, and check the approach of the rebels before they reached it. Leaving, accordingly, a portion of his troops to protect the intrenchment and bridge, he proceeded with the remainder to Dhuboulee, a village on the north-west of Cawnpore, on the Calpee-road, where he took up a position, having the Ganges terminal branch canal in his front, and the road and canal bridge at a short distance from his left flank.

On the 25th of November, the enemy was reported to be in force within fifteen miles from Cawnpore; and General Windham determined to arrest their further progress while yet at a distance from the city left to his protection. At three o'clock, therefore, on the morning of the 26th, he marched from his new position at Dhuboulee to encounter the rebel force, leaving his camp-equipage and baggage under guard, and having with him about 1,200 infantry, consisting of portions of the 34th, 82nd, 88th, and rifles, a hundred mounted sowars, and eight guns. Having advanced between eight and nine miles on the Calpee-road, the troops arrived at Bhowsee, near the Pandoo Nuddee, on the opposite side of which the enemy was found strongly posted. The British force advanced to the attack with a line of skirmishers along its whole front, having supports on each flank, and a reserve in the centre. The enemy opened a heavy fire of artillery from field and siege guns; but the English troops carried the position with a rush, cheering as they went; and a village, half a mile in the rear of the enemy, was speedily cleared. The mutineers then broke from their ranks, and took to a disorderly flight, leaving behind them two howitzers and a gun. Upon reaching a height on the opposite side of the village, in pursuit of the flying enemy, it was discovered that the main body of the rebel force was close at hand; the troops engaged being only the leading division. To invite an attack by this overwhelming force, was deemed likely to endanger the safety of the city; and General Windham, upon consideration, resolved to return to Cawnpore, towards which he was closely followed by the enemy, until he reached the bridge over the canal; and thus leaving the position he had occupied in the morning in his rear, he encamped for the night on the Jewee plain, at a short distance from the north-western angle of the city; but keeping the latter between his force and the intrenched fort near the bridge of boats on the Ganges.

On the following day (the 27th), the enemy, who had advanced in great strength during the night, commenced a spirited attack upon the British force, with an overwhelming discharge from their heavy guns. The attack was sudden, and did not appear to have been anticipated by the general, who speedily found himself threatened on all sides, and very seriously assailed on his front and right flank; but, in spite of the heavy bombardment which continued without intermission during five hours, the troops held their ground, and so far prevented the direct advance of the enemy. At length, the pertinacity of the attacks upon his front and flanks, induced General Windham to ascertain personally what might be doing in his rear; and there, to his surprise and mortification, he found that the enemy, by turning his flank, had penetrated into the town, and at that moment were attacking his intrenched position near the river. An order to retire to the fort was immediately given to the troops, and it was obeyed with such an unusual celerity that a great portion of the camp-equipage and baggage was left to the mercy of the enemy. This booty was of course eagerly seized; and among other valuable property, some 500 tents, besides

saddlery, harness, and camp requisites of all kinds, fed the bonfires that were lighted that night to announce the advantage gained by the rebel army.

The intrenched fort was eventually reached by General Windham's troops, and the protection requisite for the passage over the Ganges was happily continued. For that night the troops remained strictly on the defensive.

Bitter, indeed, was the mortification with which the survivors of this unfortunate day contemplated the disastrous occurrences that had signalised it. One private letter from an officer says—"You will read the account of this day's fighting with astonishment; for it tells how English troops, with their trophies, and their mottoes, and their far-famed bravery, were repulsed, and lost their camp, their baggage, and their position, to the scouted and despised natives of India! The beaten Feringhees, as the enemy has now a right to call them, have retreated to their intrenchments, amid overturned tents, pillaged baggage, men's kits, fleeing camels, elephants, horses, and servants! All this is most melancholy and disgraceful."—Another officer, who has given his notes in the shape of a diary, affords a vivid idea of the occurrences of the 27th and 28th of November, in the following passages. It should be observed that the writer was the bearer of an important message to General Windham, and had arrived at Cawnpore, from Futtehpore, with a detachment of rifles, on the very day of the repulse of Windham's troops. He says—"The twelve o'clock gun *struck* as I reached the intrenchment, and this was followed by a general cannonade. General Windham had gone out to meet the enemy, and I was directed to Brigadier Wilson, as commanding officer in the intrenchment. When I had delivered my message, he sent for Captain Morphy, the brigade-major, to whom I repeated it. I then went to the hotel, where I took up my quarters; and as I sat in the verandah, after a comfortable breakfast, a dhooly passed, having a man within it, whose head had just been shattered by a ball: it was a horrid spectacle that, my first glimpse of military glory! The roar of artillery and the sharp crack of rifles continued; and I proceeded to the gate of the fort to inquire why my baggage had not been sent up to my quarters. Between the hotel and the fort, the garrison provost, who was my guide, showed me the house and verandah bespattered with blood, where the ladies and children were murdered by order of Nana Sahib; the tree against which the children were dashed; and the hideous well, now closed up, into which the mutilated and reeking bodies were thrown. On arriving at the gate of the fort, I found that the people, civil and military, were rushing into it from their houses and tents, with whatever clothes and articles of value they could snatch up. I had ordered my gharry-waggon into the fort; but the driver went away with the horse, and I saw him no more. He, however, left the vehicle.

"3.20 P.M.—Saw our troops retreating into the outer intrenchment. A regular panic followed. Trains of elephants, camels, horses, bullock-waggons, and coolies, came in at the principal gate, laden with stuff. The principal buildings in the fort are the general hospital, the sailors' hospital, the post-office, and the commissariat cellars. Around these houses, which are scattered, crowds of camels, bullocks, and horses were collected, fastened by ropes to stakes in the ground; and, among the animals, piles of trunks, beds, chairs, and miscellaneous furniture and baggage. There was scarcely room to move. The fort may cover three or four acres, I should say. Met one of the chaplains hastening into the intrenchment. He had left everything in his tent outside. The servants almost everywhere abandoned their masters when they heard the guns. Mounted officers were galloping across the rough ground between the inner and outer intrenchments, and dhooly after dhooly, with its red curtains down, concealing some poor victim, passed on to the hospitals. The poor fellows were brought in, shot, cut, shattered, and wounded in every imaginable way; and as they went by, raw stumps might be seen hanging over the sides of the dhoolies, literally like torn butcher-meat. The agonies which I saw some of them endure during the surgical operations, were such as no tongue or pen can describe. The surgeons, who did their utmost, were so overworked, that many sufferers lay bleeding for hours before it was possible to attend to them. Here and there, both outside the hospitals and within them, a man lay on his bloody litter breathing out his life. The groans and cries were heartrending. I saw one sailor carried in a litter on the shoulders of four men; he was severely wounded, but kept up his

spirits amazingly, and spoke to his comrades as he passed, quite jocularly.

"But I must be brief, else I shall lose the mail. The retreat is thus explained. General Windham, who repulsed the enemy yesterday, went out to-day about noon to attack the three divisions of the Gwalior rebels under Nana Sahib. Windham was routed, I regret to say, and lost his camp, with 500 tents, the mess plate of four regiments, no end of tents, saddlery and harness in an unfinished state, and, it is said, private property valued at £50,000. He left his flank exposed, and made no provision for the safety of his camp. This has been a most disastrous affair. Felt the want of something to eat in the evening, but could procure only some biscuit from the commissariat. Slept in my waggon."

During the hasty retreat of the 27th, one of the guns was unluckily capsized in a narrow street of the city. It was not thought prudent at the time to retard the flight of the troops to the intrenchment, by staying to get it again upon its wheels; but at night, 100 men of the 64th regiment were ordered to assist some men of the naval brigade in their endeavour to secure the gun. This was a delicate task in the midst of a city crowded with the enemy; but it was accomplished; and the occurrence is thus described by an officer of the naval brigade engaged in the affair:—

"We marched off, under the guidance of a native, who said he would take us to the spot where the gun lay. We told him he should be well rewarded if he brought us to the gun; but if he brought us into a trap, we had a soldier by him 'at full cock,' ready to blow his brains out. We passed our outside pickets, and entered the town through very narrow streets, without a single nigger being seen, or a shot fired on either side. We crept along; not a soul spoke a word—all was as still as death; and after marching in this way into the very heart of the town, our guide brought us to the spot where our gun was capsized. The soldiers were posted on each side, and then we went to work. Not a man spoke above his breath, and each stone was laid down quietly. When we thought we had cleared enough, I ordered the men to put their shoulders to the wheels and gun; and when all was ready, and every man had his pound before him, I said, 'Heave!' and up she righted. We then limbered up, called the soldiers to follow, and we marched into the intrenchment with our gun without a shot being fired. When we got in, the colonel returned us his best thanks, and gave us all an extra ration of grog. We then returned to our guns in the battery."

While this interesting night episode was progressing in the very heart of the enemy's position, General Windham and his superior officers were engaged in consultation as to the means by which to avert the mischief that had gathered around them. Had it been possible to obtain reliable information concerning the position of the enemy's artillery, a night attack would have been resorted to; but as no such information could be obtained, it was resolved to defer operations till the morrow. Accordingly, early on the morning of the 28th of November, the force, divided into four sections, was thus distributed:—One, under Colonel Walpole, was ordered to defend the advanced portions of the town on the left side of the canal; a second, under Brigadier Wilson, was to hold the intrenchment, and establish a strong picket on the extreme right; a third, under Brigadier Carthew, to hold the Bithoor-road, in advance of the intrenchment, receiving support, if necessary, from the picket there; and the fourth, under General Windham himself, was to defend the portion of the town nearest the Ganges, on the left of the canal, and support Colonel Walpole, if requisite. These arrangements were specially intended to protect the intrenchment and the bridge of boats—so vitally important in connection with the operations of the commander-in-chief in Oude; but the position of the whole was to be purely defensive.

By the time the troops had taken the positions assigned to them, the enemy came on in great strength, and a severe struggle ensued. The Gwalior mutineers had been joined by another force, led by Nana Sahib in person, and by a third, commanded by his brother Bhola Sahib; and altogether, the insurgent army numbered about 21,000 men, besides an immense train of budmashes and Goojurs in quest of plunder. This armament marched unmolested over the ground that had been occupied, or traversed, by the British troops on the preceding day, and reached the vicinity of the intrenchment without encountering any opposition. Colonel Walpole's division, on the left, was the first met with: his men sustained the onslaught of the rebels with great firmness, and, after some hard fighting, drove them

back with a tremendous sacrifice of life: no prisoners were taken; and it was only by this division that any perceptible advantage was gained. Being ably seconded by Colonels Woodford and Watson, and Captain Green, Colonel Walpole not only repulsed the enemy, but also captured two of his 18-pounder guns. Brigadier Carthew, who struggled throughout the day against a formidable body of the enemy, was at length compelled to retire from his position as the evening drew on—a movement which incurred the dissatisfaction of the commander-in-chief, when the brigade report was laid before him. Brigadier Wilson, who was eager to render service at the point so hardly pressed, led his section of troops, chiefly consisting of the 64th regiment, against four guns, which had been placed by the rebels in front of Carthew's position. In the face of the enemy, and under a murderous fire from their guns, the veteran officer and his gallant men advanced for more than half a mile up a ravine, commanded by high ground in front, as well as on both sides; and, from a ridge which crowned the front, the four 9-pounders played upon them with terrible effect. Nothing daunted, they rushed forward, and had nearly reached the battery, when they were met by a large force of the enemy, till then concealed in a bend of the ravine. With such odds to encounter, further progress was impossible, and the troops were compelled to retreat, the officers falling at almost every step. Brigadier Wilson, Major Stirling, and Captains Macrae and Morphy, fell in this unfortunate affair, which was a repulse in every sense of the term. The surviving troops retired to the intrenchment; and, on the night of the 28th of November, the mutineers revelled as victors in the city of Cawnpore. Everything in the place that had belonged to the British troops or native Christians, was now at their mercy; and among the booty thus acquired, were 10,000 rounds of Enfield cartridges, the mess plate of four of the Queen's regiments, the paymaster's chests, and a large amount of miscellaneous property.

The diary to which reference has already been made, affords some interesting details of this disastrous affair of the 28th. The writer commences thus:—

"Saturday, November 28th.

"9.40 A.M.—Heavy firing on our right.

"9.50 A.M.—Heavy firing on our left.

"11.15 A.M.—Brigadier Wilson has been carried into his tent mortally wounded, shot through the back and left lung. He lived for two hours, and then calmly sunk to his rest. His last moments proved him to be a hero and a Christian. The chaplain remained with him till he died.

"The conduct of the 64th regiment this morning has justly excited admiration. Brigadier Wilson asked General Windham to allow him to charge the enemy with the 64th, of which he was colonel. Permission was granted. The regiment advanced in the face of the enemy, and under a murderous fire, for more than half a mile, up a ravine commanded by high ground in front, as well as on the right and left. From the ridge in front four 9-pounders played upon them as they went forward. The left flank of the Gwalior rebels rested on the Ganges, and their guns were protected by dense columns of troops, who lay under cover, and were strongly supported by cavalry on their left. After disputing every inch of the ground, their front line was driven back by the steady and determined fire of the 64th. It then appeared, that overwhelming numbers of the hostile force lay concealed in three or four parallels behind. These rose and met the 64th as soon as the foremost officers (Major Stirling, Captain Saunders, Captain Morphy, Captain Macrae, Lieutenant Parsons, Lieutenant O'Grady, and others) reached the crest of the ridge, and charged upon the guns, followed by the column. Major Stirling fell gloriously in front of the battery, fighting hand-to-hand with the enemy, of whom he killed several. Captain Morphy was shot through the heart, and seemed to bound from his saddle, falling heavily upon his head. Captain Macrae also met his fate like a soldier, with his face to the foe. Captain Saunders, commanding the leading division, dashed forward, followed by Parsons and O'Grady. Parsons instantly received a severe wound in his sword arm. O'Grady cheered the men on, waving his cap in the air, until he had the honour of laying his hand on one of the guns. The regiment took up the cheer, and hurried on to the support of Saunders and O'Grady, now fiercely engaged in personal conflict with the Gwaliors. The fine old brigadier (whose horse, wounded in two places, carried him with difficulty over the rough ground) was pushing on with all possible speed to the front, shouting, 'Now, boys, you have them!' As he when he received his mortal wound.

was unable to keep his seat in the saddle, some of his brave fellows carried him to the rear, while he continued to urge the troops to maintain the honour of the corps. At this juncture the enemy fell back on their reserve, which lay concealed in the parallels behind. Then occurred one of those blunders which neutralise the effect of the bravest actions. Two of our own guns opened fire on the 64th regiment from the left; and, at the same instant, the enemy's cavalry, together with the overwhelming force of infantry in front, poured down upon the right, and compelled our troops to retire. Strange to say, Captain Saunders, and, I believe, Lieutenant O'Grady, escaped unhurt. After the death of Brigadier Wilson and Major Stirling, Captain Saunders became the senior officer present; and his conspicuous gallantry to-day deserves not only honourable mention, but such reward as a soldier covets. The hospital to-day is a perfect aceldama."

An officer of the 64th regiment, describing the incidents of the day, writes thus:—"We had to turn out about two in the morning to occupy the Baptist chapel, which is situated a short distance to the north of the intrenchment, and we thought to have had a quiet day; but just after breakfast-time, crack went the rifles in front, and, in about ten minutes, the enemy's shot, shell, and grape, came pitching into and over the place in fine style. However, no one was hit, as we had excellent cover. We soon got tired of it, however; and, to our delight, we perceived a reinforcement of the 34th coming up the road. So we 'fell-in' in front of them, and marched down the road for about half a mile, when we suddenly came upon the enemy's battery, in a most formidable position. Of course, the instant they perceived us, a storm of grape, shot, shell, &c., opened upon us. The brigadier gave the word to charge, and 'at 'em' we went; but sadly reckoned without our host. You will imagine what a fire we were exposed to when I tell you that we went in fourteen officers and 160 men: of the former, seven were killed directly, and two wounded; of the latter, only eighteen killed and fifteen wounded—so the officers were evidently picked out. We fought at the guns for about ten minutes. Two were spiked—one by Major Stirling, who rushed up to it sword in hand. The native gunners rushed at us in the most ferocious manner, cutting with their swords and throwing bricks. By the latter, Captain Bowlby and I were knocked down together, but jumped up again directly, when the devils came at us again with swords and shields. I fired my pistol at one fellow, and I suppose I hit him, for he did not come on. Brigadier Wilson was killed. I was just behind him when his horse was struck by two balls. He was afterwards shot through the body. However, we were regularly beaten off; and then commenced a most terrible retreat. The guns (six in number) and swarms of infantry poured in a withering fire. As I ran to the rear, officers and men were shot down within a yard of me; but I escaped by the greatest miracle. I ran by the brigadier's side until his horse was hit, which was about twenty yards from the muzzles, when I passed him. Directly an officer was down, the sepoys cut him to pieces with their tulwars. But fancy 160 men charging six guns and about 1,000 infantry! We were awfully blown in getting up to their position, as we had to cross a deep 'nullah,' and up the other side. I was one of the first 'fortunates' up—at least, all the officers were in front; but there could not have been more than fifty men with us. We had two guns in our possession for a few minutes; but our supports failed us, and then it was, 'Devil take the hindmost.' We have been under a hot fire now since the 26th. I am writing this from our outer trench, and the shot and shell are flying about from both sides. However, we are quite safe, and have not had a casualty since we entered the trenches. The sepoys occupy the adjacent ruins; and, as they run from one to the other, we pot them. They had done themselves up with bang yesterday, intending to rush at us with their swords; but the brutes failed after all. It was a dreadful sight to see the poor officers being cut up. They were all round me; but, by the greatest mercy, I was not touched. I lost my sword-belt, scabbard, pistol, and keys (which were attached to the scabbard.) Whether the whole apparatus was cut away by a shot or not, I don't know. Oh, I forgot to tell you that, in the first day's fight, I tumbled into a burning lime-kiln, but didn't get hurt a bit, although I lost one of my pistols. One of the poor fellows (Gibbons, 52nd), who was afterwards killed at the charge on the guns, rushed in after me; but I scrambled out

by myself. We caught a spy or sepoy this morning, and didn't we blow his brains out? I never could have believed that one could get so accustomed to firing; but I can assure you that one pays no more attention to 'whistling Dick' going by, than one would to a bit of paper. In the gun scrimmage my coat and sword were splashed all over with blood. These Gwaliors that we are fighting now, are some 20,000 strong, and the natives are joining them every day. They had forty guns or so at the beginning of the row; but now they have lost some to us. This trench business is harassing work. We have been four days and four nights without taking our things off. There is a ruined bungalow about 400 yards off, full of sepoys. The brutes sometimes fire into us in the middle of the night; and the general won't let us make a rush and drive them out. They shelled our hospital the other day, and, I believe, wounded some of the patients."

Great as the mortification inflicted upon General Windham, by the result of his operations on the 27th of November, had been, it was severely augmented by the defeat sustained by the troops under his command on the following day. The *prestige* of his name was obscured, and the vaunted invincibility of British soldiers became, for the moment, a subject for derision among the rebels, who exulted in their accidental triumph. Encouraged by success, and by the severe loss they had inflicted upon the English troops, the commanders of the insurgent forces panted for the morrow's sun that should light them to the new victory they anticipated, and which they intended to crown by the entire extermination of the whole British force in the intrenchment. Already were proclamations prepared, announcing to the inhabitants of Cawnpore, and the adjacent districts, the utter destruction of the Feringhee *raj*, and the restoration to independent sovereignty of the ancient dynasties of Hindoostan. The traitors, dazzled by the brilliancy of an unexpected triumph on two successive days, were blind to the approaching future; they knew not that the avenger was near, that succour was at hand, and that a terrible punishment was about to be inflicted upon them.

It has already been stated that the commander-in-chief, while on the road from Lucknow with the rescued garrison and families, had received intelligence from Cawnpore, which induced him to press forward in advance of the convoy, and that he reached the intrenchment during the evening of the 28th November,* and immediately assumed command of the force, now suffering under the double mortification of defeat and the loss of their camp-equipage and baggage; while the city of Cawnpore, which he had left but a few weeks previous, in the undisputed possession of British troops, was now entirely occupied by a rebel army, which, emboldened by success, was preparing to attack the position he had so opportunely reached. However much annoyed by the circumstances that surrounded him, Sir Colin Campbell's first consideration was for the preservation of the unfortunates whom he had already once rescued from imminent peril, and who were now closely approaching a new scene of danger, the passage over the Ganges being rendered painfully hazardous by the continued fire of the enemy, whose heavy guns had been directed upon the bridge of boats from daybreak of the 29th. To put an end to this annoyance, some heavy guns, under the command of Captain Peel and Captain Travers, of the artillery, took up a position on the left bank of the river; and by their vigorous and well-directed efforts, at length succeeded in keeping down the fire of the enemy.

The convoy had been halted shortly after dusk on the evening of the 28th, about three miles from the Ganges, with instructions to await an order to advance. Preparatory to that movement a column had been dispatched, under the command of Brigadier-general Grant, to secure and keep open the road from Cawnpore, through Futtehpore to Allahabad; and the remainder of the troops, under the personal command of Sir Colin Campbell, were so disposed as to present an effectual check to any movement of the enemy. These arrangements being complete, on the 29th, as soon as the evening had become sufficiently dark to veil the movement, the artillery park, the wounded, and the rescued families, were ordered to advance and file over the bridge; but it was not until six o'clock in the evening of the 30th, that the last cart of the convoy had cleared the passage over the river; the transport having occupied thirty continuous hours between its commencement and its close.

Again we may have recourse to the

* See *ante*, p. 98.

Diary for some interesting details of the events of Sunday, the 29th of November:—

"At dawn great guns began to play upon us. Soon afterwards the cannonade became general, and, by 7 A.M., it was something tremendous—shot and shell flying over us in all directions.

"8.30 A.M.—Good news! Sir Colin Campbell, with a strong reinforcement, and 470 women and children from Lucknow, are on the other side of the Ganges, which flows under the northern parapet of our intrenchment. The troops with the commander-in-chief, said to number 3,000, are much needed here to-day. Looking over the wall for an instant (it is not very safe to show one's head), I see two bodies of horsemen in advance, and an extended line of troops, elephants, camels, bullock-waggons, and camp-followers, stretching far away to the horizon. The banging of our own guns just at our ears is most deafening. Grape and round shot have been falling on the tree close to our tent. Some shells, I believe, have fallen on the hospital, which is, unfortunately, much exposed. Every square foot of the floor and verandah of the general hospital is covered with wounded officers and men.

"11.40 A.M.—Horse artillery, 9th lancers, 32nd, 53rd, and 93rd regiments have crossed the bridge of boats below our fort. Heartily glad to see the kilts, the plumes, and the tartan. May God defend, direct, and bless my brave countrymen! Such a Sunday! Two shells have just whizzed over our heads. 'Fall-in, 82nd!' is the cry. We hope the advance with fixed bayonets is now to be made, as the rebels are taking shelter under some ruined houses. The hotel is in flames.

"12 Noon.—Grape, round shot, and rifle bullets, rushing over us in slight showers. A round shot has crashed through the big tree beside us.

"1 P.M.—This is exciting. Another large round shot over our heads. They have not quite got our range. Fortunately, the parapet protects us in some degree. Bang! another over us! Again—again—again (a shell this time, and burst.) Our guns on the parapet are answering them, so that the earth trembles. A person has come into tent saying, 'We have killed loads of the enemy.' The more the better, we all think. The artillery is beautifully directed by Captain Dangerfield and others on the parapets.

"2.15 P.M.—The cannonade has paused for half-an-hour. I hear Lucknow soldiers and their old comrades exchanging greetings and congratulations in their rough but hearty style; and counting over the dead and the wounded of their acquaintance.

"2.35 P.M.—Cannonade commenced again. The rifles have not ceased all day. Colonel Fyers and his men have done good service. They went into action on Friday as soon as they reached Cawnpore, although they had marched forty-eight miles almost without halting, and some were lame, many footsore, and all weary. Their arrival seemed to be the means of saving the fort, when our other troops were in full retreat. Colonel Woodford, an excellent officer, with whom I came from Benares to Allahabad, was killed in a hand-to-hand fight in the field yesterday. The church, I am just informed, was burnt last night by the enemy; and the assembly-rooms and school have been burnt to-day. There is a dense column of smoke ascending from the town about half a mile off.

"4 P.M.—One of the ladies from Lucknow has come in, and M—— and I have given up the tent to her. She has a most touching story to tell, and she tells it most effectively. She gave us in half-an-hour what might be the substance of an interesting volume. She and her husband have lost their all.

"5.30 P.M.—The scene from the verandah of the general hospital is at this moment one never to be forgotten. A procession of human beings, cattle, and vehicles (six miles long), is coming up to the bridge of boats below the fort. It is just about sunset. The variety of colour in the sky and on the plain, the bright costumes and black faces of the native servants, the crowd of camels and horses, and the piles of furniture, and so forth, in the foreground at my feet (all seen between two pillars of this verandah, which is raised some eight or ten feet from the ground), produce a very remarkable effect. But the groans of the poor fellows on charpoys and on the floor, behind and around me, dissolve the fascination of the scene.

"Slept again in my waggon."

The operations of Brigadier Carthew, in the action of the 28th of November, are detailed in the following report from him to the deputy-adjutant-general:—

"Cawnpore, December 1, 1857.

"Sir,—I have the honour to submit, for the infor-

mation of Major-general Windham, commanding the Cawnpore division, the following report of my defence of the bridge and Bithoor-road, on the 28th ultimo.

"At daylight on the 28th of November, I proceeded, according to instructions, with her majesty's 34th regiment, two companies of her majesty's 82nd regiment, and four guns of Madras native artillery, to take up a position at the Racket-court; two companies of her majesty's 64th regiment having been placed in the Baptist chapel, to keep up communication with me. When within a few hundred yards of the Racket-court, I received instructions through the late Captain Macrae, that General Windham preferred the position of the previous evening being taken upon the bridge, and the Bithoor-road defended. I consequently retired, leaving a company of her majesty's 34th regiment to occupy the front line of broken-down native infantry huts, and another company in their support, in a brick building, about a hundred yards to their rear. I then detached a company of her majesty's 34th to the opposite side of the road across the plain, in a line with the above support, to occupy a vacant house, to man the garden walls, and the upstair verandah. These companies formed a strong position, and quite commanded the whole road towards the bridge. I halted at the bridge, with the remainder of the 34th and four guns, and barricaded the road, and placed two guns on the bridge. I then sent two companies of the 34th, under Lieutenant-colonel Simpson, to occupy the position he held the previous evening, to prevent the egress of the enemy from the town towards the intrenchments; also to defend the road from Allahabad. This picket I subsequently strengthened with two of my guns, which could not be worked on the bridge.

"A brisk fire was kept up by the enemy from their position against the native lines, on the advanced skirmishers and picket, and upon the bridge, by their guns (16-pounders), throughout the whole day. About mid-day, Captain Macrae conveyed instructions to me to proceed to the front, to attack the enemy's infantry and guns; that he was to convey the same instructions to her majesty's 64th regiment, and both parties to advance at the same time.

"Captain Macrae took with him, to strengthen the 64th, forty men of a company of her majesty's 82nd, which I had placed as a picket at the old commissariat compound, for the protection of the road leading from that direction to the intrenchment. I advanced with my two guns and a company of the 34th from the bridge, taking, as I advanced, the company stationed to my right in the upstair house, and the company in the broken huts, with its support, on my left.

"On advancing and clearing the front line of trees, I was desirous, and endeavoured, to push the whole of my party across the plain in front, to charge the enemy's guns; but as their infantry still occupied the broken ground of other huts, and my force without support, it could not be done. The enemy's guns were driven far to the rear by the fire of my two guns, after which my skirmishers, support, and right picket, took up their original positions, and I returned with the guns to the bridge. Shortly after this, the enemy's infantry were seen to be skirting along the edge of the town, with the evident intention of turning our flank, and of pouring a fire upon us from the houses on our left. Both picket and skirmishers applied for reinforcements, which I could not afford; but desired them to hold their positions as long as possible, and then fall back to the head of the bridge, which they did about five o'clock.

"The enemy were now increasing in large numbers on our left, occupying houses, garden-walls, and the church. A company was sent through the gardens to dislodge the enemy, and drive them from the church; but the enemy were strong enough in position to maintain, or rather to return to, their position. I then concentrated all my force on both flanks of the bridge, and with the guns kept up a heavy fire. The enemy now brought up a gun into the churchyard, which enfiladed the bridge at a distance not exceeding 150 yards, my own guns not being able to bear on their position. The enemy were still increasing, and working round to my rear by my left flank; I retired the guns about a hundred yards, so as to command the bridge and the road leading from the town.

"Officers and men were at this time falling fast around me. I applied for a reinforcement, but by the time they arrived night had set in, and I now considered it prudent to retire with the remainder of my force into the intrenchment, which was done with perfect regularity, the reinforcement of rifles protecting the rear.

"Although for some time earnestly advised to retire, I refrained from doing so, until I felt convinced that, from the increasing numbers of the enemy, the fatigue of the men after three days' hard fighting, and my own troops firing in the dark into each other, the position was no longer tenable, and that consequently it became my painful duty to retire.

"I beg to forward a return of the killed and wounded during the day.

"M. CARTHEW, Brigadier,
"Commanding Madras Troops."

The return showed three officers, and twelve non-commissioned officers and privates, killed; and ten officers, and sixty-five men, wounded. One private also was returned as missing.

The dissatisfaction of the commander-in-chief at Brigadier Carthew's conduct, was expressed in the following memorandum:—

"Head-quarters, Camp, Cawnpore,
"Dec. 9th, 1857.

"The commander-in-chief has had under consideration Brigadier Carthew's despatch, dated "Cawnpore, 3rd of December, 1857," addressed to the deputy assistant-adjutant-general, Cawnpore division. Although his excellency fully admits the arduous nature of the service on which Brigadier Carthew had been engaged during the 28th of November, he cannot record his approval of that officer's retreat on the evening of that day.

"Under the instructions of Major-general Windham, his commanding officer, Brigadier Carthew had been placed in position. No discretion of retiring was allowed to him. When he was pressed hard, he sent for reinforcements; which, as the commander-in-chief happened to be present when the request arrived, his excellency is aware, were immediately conducted to his relief by Major-general Windham in person. It would appear from Brigadier Carthew's letter of explanation, that he did not wait to see the effect of the reinforcements which had been brought to him; but, to the great astonishment of Major-

general Windham and his excellency, retired almost immediately after.

"With respect to these occurrences, his excellency feels it necessary to make two remarks. In the first place, no subordinate officer, when possessing easy means of communication with his immediate superior, is permitted, according to the principles and usages of war, to give up a post which has been entrusted to his charge, without a previous request for orders, after a representation might have been made that the post had become no longer tenable.

"Secondly. It might have occurred to Brigadier Carthew, that when Major-general Windham proceeded to reinforce the post, according to his just request, instead of ordering the garrison to retire, it was the opinion of the major-general that to hold it was an absolute necessity. His excellency refrains from remarking on the very serious consequences which ensued on the abandonment of the post in question.

"The night, which had arrived, was more favourable to the brigadier for the purpose of strengthening his position, than it was to an enemy advancing on him in the dark; at all events, there were many hours during which a decision could have been taken by the highest authority in the intrenchment, whether the post should be abandoned or not, without much other inconvenience than the mere fatigue of the garrison.

"The commander-in-chief must make one more remark. Brigadier Carthew, in the last paragraph of his letter, talks about his men firing into one another in the dark. His excellency does not see how this could occur if the men were properly posted, and the officers in command of them duly instructed as to their respective positions."

The condition of the discomfited troops of Windham may be conjectured from the following telegraphic message from the commander-in-chief to the governor-general in council; and also from the unusual promptitude with which it was attended to:—

"Cawnpore, December 2nd, 1857.

"In consequence of the force under Major-general Windham having been so much pressed at Cawnpore, prior to my arrival, I regret to say that a very large portion of his camp-equipage, abandoned on the occasion of his retreat from outside the city, and the store-rooms, containing all the clothing of some of the eight or ten of his regiments here and at Lucknow, have been burnt by the enemy. I must entreat your lordship to give the most urgent orders for the transmission of clothing, great-coats, &c., from below, to make up the deficiency which has occurred in consequence of this lamentable circumstance."

The urgency of this request admitted of no interposition of *red-tapism*, and orders were given direct from the governor-general for the immediate supply of necessaries for the troops, in lieu of those destroyed by the rebels.

The following despatches give the official details of the occurrences between the 26th and 30th November, already referred to:—

"*The Commander-in-Chief to the Governor-general.*

"Head-quarters, Camp, Cawnpore,
"December 2nd, 1857.

"My Lord,—In accordance with the instructions of your lordship, arrangements were finally made with Sir James Outram, that his division, made up to 4,000 strong of all arms, should remain in position before Lucknow.

"This position includes the post of Alumbagh, his standing camp, of which the front is 1,500 yards in the rear of that post, and the bridge of Bunnee, which is held by 400 Madras sepoys, and two guns.

"On the 27th, I marched with Brigadier-general Grant's division, all the ladies and families who had been rescued fram Lucknow, and the wounded of both forces; making in all about 2,000 people, whom it was necessary to carry, and encamped the evening of that day a little beyond Bunnee bridge. The long train did not reach completely and file into camp until after midnight.

"When we arrived at Bunnee, we were surprised to hear very heavy firing in the direction of Cawnpore. No news had reached me from that place for several days; but it appeared necessary, whatever the inconvenience, to press forward as quickly as possible. The march accordingly recommenced at 9 A.M. the next morning; and shortly afterwards I received two or three notes in succession—first, announcing that Cawnpore had been attacked; secondly, that General Windham was hard pressed; and thirdly, that he had been obliged to fall back from outside the city into his intrenchment. The force was accordingly pressed forward, convoy and all, and was encamped within three miles of the Ganges, about three hours after dark, the rear-guard coming in with the end of the train some twenty-four hours afterwards. I preceded the column of march by two or three hours, and reached the intrenchment at dusk, wnere I learnt the true state of affairs.

"The retreat of the previous day had been effected with the loss of a certain amount of camp-equipage; and shortly after my arrival, it was reported to me that Brigadier Carthew had retreated from a very important outpost. All this appeared disastrous enough; and the next day the city was found in possession of the enemy at all points. It had now become necessary to proceed with the utmost caution to secure the bridge.

"All the heavy guns attached to General Grant's division, under Captain Peel, R.N., and Captain Travers, R.A., were placed in position on the left bank of the Ganges, and directed to open fire, and keep down the fire of the enemy on the bridge. This was done very effectually; while Brigadier Hope's brigade, with some field artillery and cavalry, was ordered to cross the bridge, and take position near the old dragoon lines. A cross-fire was at the same time kept up from the intrenchment, to cover the march of the troops.

"When darkness began to draw on, the artillery parks, the wounded, and the families, were ordered to file over the bridge; and it was not till six o'clock P.M., the day of the 30th, that the last cart had cleared the bridge. The passage of the force, with its incumbrances, over the Ganges, had occupied thirty hours.

"The camp now stretches from the dragoon lines, in a half circle, round the position occupied by the late General Sir Hugh Wheeler, the foot artillery lines being occupied by the wounded and the families. A desultory fire has been kept up by the

enemy on the intrenchment and the front of the camp since this position was taken up, and I am obliged to submit to the hostile occupation of Cawnpore, until the actual dispatch of all my incumbrances towards Allahabad has been effected.

"However disagreeable this may be, and although it may tend to give confidence to the enemy, it is precisely one of those cases in which no risk must be run. I trust, when the time has arrived for me to act with due regard to these considerations, to see the speedy evacuation of his present position by the enemy. In the meantime, the position taken up by Brigadier-general Grant's division, under my immediate orders, has restored the communications with Futtehpore and Allahabad, as had been anticipated. The detachments moving along the road from these two places have been ordered to continue their march accordingly. Major-general Windham's despatch, relating to the operations conducted under his command, is enclosed.

"In forwarding that document, I have only to remark, that the complaint made by him in the second paragraph, of not receiving instructions from me, is explained by the fact of the letters he sent, announcing the approach of the Gwalior force, not having come to hand. The first notice I had of his embarrassment, was the distant sound of the cannonade, as above described. All the previous reports had declared that there was but little chance of the Gwalior contingent approaching Cawnpore.—I have, &c.,

"C. CAMPBELL, General, Commander-in-Chief."

"Major-general C. A. Windham to the Commander-in-Chief.

"Cawnpore, November 30th, 1857.

"Sir,—In giving an account of the proceedings of the force under my command before Cawnpore, during the operations of the 26th, 27th, 28th, and 29th instant, I trust your excellency will excuse the hasty manner in which it is necessarily drawn up, owing to the constant demands upon me at the present moment.

"Having received, through Captain H. Bruce, of the 5th Punjab cavalry, information of the movements of the Gwalior contingent, but having received none whatever from your excellency for several days from Lucknow, in answer to my letters to the chief of the staff, I was obliged to act for myself. I therefore resolved to encamp my force on the canal, ready to strike at any portion of the advancing enemy that came within my reach, keeping at the same time my communications safe with Cawnpore. Finding that the contingent were determined to advance, I resolved to meet their first division on the Pandoo Nuddee. My force consisted of about 1,200 bayonets and eight guns, and a hundred mounted sowars. Having sent my camp-equipage and baggage to the rear, I advanced to the attack in the following order:—

"Four companies of the rifle brigade, under Colonel R. Walpole, followed by four companies of the 88th Connaught rangers, under Lieutenant-colonel E. H. Maxwell, and four light 6-pounder Madras guns, under Lieutenant Chamier; the whole under the command of Brigadier Carthew, of the Madras native infantry. Following this force was the 34th regiment, under Lieutenant-colonel R. Kelly, with four 9-pounder guns; the 82nd regiment in reserve, with spare ammunition, &c. I had given directions, in the event of the enemy being found directly in our front, and if the ground permitted, that Brigadier Carthew should occupy the ground to the left of the road, and that Lieutenant-colonel Kelly, with the 34th, divided into wings, and supported by his artillery, should take the right. It so happened, however, that this order, on our coming into action, became exactly inverted by my directions, in consequence of a sudden turn of the road. No confusion, however, was caused. The advance was made with a complete line of skirmishers along the whole front, with supports on either side, and a reserve in the centre. The enemy, strongly posted on the other side of the dry bed of the Pandoo Nuddee, opened a heavy fire of artillery from siege and field guns; but such was the eagerness and courage of the troops, and so well were they led by their officers, that we carried the position with a rush, the men cheering as they went; and the village, more than half a mile in its rear, was rapidly cleared. The mutineers hastily took to flight, leaving in our possession two 8-inch iron howitzers and one 6-pounder gun. In this fight my loss was not severe; but I regret very much that a very promising young officer, Captain H. H. Day, 88th regiment, was killed.

"Observing, from a height on the other side of the village, that the enemy's main body was at hand, and that the one just defeated was their leading division, I at once decided on retiring to protect Cawnpore, my intrenchments, and the bridge over the Ganges. We accordingly fell back, followed, however, by the enemy, up to the bridge over the canal.

"On the morning of the 27th, the enemy commenced their attack, with an overwhelming force of heavy artillery. My position was in front of the city. I was threatened on all sides, and very seriously attacked on my front and right flank. The heavy fighting in front, at the point of junction of the Calpee and Delhi roads, fell more especially upon the rifle brigade, ably commanded by Colonel Walpole, who was supported by the 88th regiment and four guns (two 9-pounders, and two 24-pounder howitzers), under Captain D. S. Greene, royal artillery, and two 24-pounder guns, manned by seamen of the *Shannon*, under Lieutenant Hay, R.N., who was twice wounded. Lieutenant-colonel John Adye, royal artillery, also afforded me marked assistance with these guns. In spite of the heavy bombardment of the enemy, my troops resisted the attack for five hours, and still held the ground, until, on my proceeding personally to make sure of the safety of the fort, I found, from the number of men bayoneted by the 88th regiment, that the mutineers had fully penetrated the town; and having been told that they were then attacking the fort, I directed Major-general Dupuis, R.A. (who, as my second in command, I had left with the main body), to fall back with the whole force into the fort, with all our stores and guns, shortly before dark. Owing to the flight of the camp followers at the commencement of the action, notwithstanding the long time we held the ground, I regret to state, that in making this retrograde movement, I was unable to carry off all my camp-equipage, and some of the baggage. Had not an error occurred in the conveyance of an order issued by me, I am of opinion that I could have held my ground at all events until dark. I must not omit, in this stage of the proceedings, to report that the flank attack was well met, and resisted for a considerable time, by the 34th regiment, under Lieutenant-colonel Kelly, and the Madras battery under Lieutenant Chamier, together with that p

of the 82nd regiment, which was detached in this direction under Lieutenant-colonel D. Watson. In retiring within the intrenchments, I followed the general instructions issued to me by your excellency, conveyed through the chief of the staff—namely, to preserve the safety of the bridge over the Ganges, and my communications with your force, so severely engaged in the important operation of the relief of Lucknow, as far as possible. I strictly adhered to the defensive.

"After falling back to the fort, I assembled the superior officers on the evening of the 27th, and proposed a night attack, should I be able to receive reliable information as to where the enemy had assembled his artillery. As, however, I could obtain none (or, at all events, none that was satisfactory), I decided—1. That on the following day Colonel Walpole (rifle brigade) should have the defence of the advanced portion of the town on the left side of the canal, standing with your back to the Ganges. The details of the force upon this point were as follows:—Five companies rifle brigade, under Lieutenant-colonel C. Woodford; two companies of the 82nd regiment, under Lieutenant-colonel Watson; four guns (two 9-pounders, and two 24-pounder howitzers), under Captain Greene, R.A. (Two of these guns were manned by Madras gunners, and two by Sikhs.) 2. That Brigadier N. Wilson, with the 64th regiment, was to hold the fort and establish a strong picket at the Baptist chapel on the extreme right. 3. That Brigadier Carthew, with the 34th regiment, under Lieutenant-colonel Kelly, and four Madras guns, should hold the Bithoor-road in advance of the Baptist chapel, receiving support from the picket there, if wanted. 4. That, with the 88th regiment, under Lieutenant-colonel Maxwell, I should defend the portion of the town nearest the Ganges, on the left of the canal, and support Colonel Walpole if required.

"The fighting on the 28th was very severe. On the left advance, Colonel Walpole, with the rifles, supported by Captain Greene's battery, and part of the 82nd regiment, achieved a complete victory over the enemy, and captured two 18-pounder guns. The glory of this well-contested fight belongs entirely to the above-named companies, and artillery.

"It was owing to the gallantry of the men and officers, under the able leading of Colonel Walpole, and of my lamented relation, Lieutenant-colonel Woodford, of the rifle brigade (who, I deeply regret to say, was killed), and of Lieutenant-colonel Watson, 82nd, and of Captain Greene, royal artillery, that this hard-contested fight was won and brought to so profitable an end. I had nothing to do with it, beyond sending them supports, and, at the end, of bringing some up myself. I repeat that the credit is entirely due to the above-mentioned officers and men.

"Brigadier Wilson thought proper, prompted by zeal for the service, to lead his regiment against four guns placed in front of Brigadier Carthew. In this daring exploit, I regret to say, he lost his life, together with several valuable and able officers. Major T. Stirling, 64th regiment, was killed in spiking one of the guns, as was also that fine gallant young man, Captain R. C. Macrae, 64th regiment, who acted as deputant-assistant quartermaster-general to the force here. Captain W. Morphy, 64th regiment (the brigade-major), also fell at the same time. Our numbers were not sufficient to enable us to carry off the guns. Captain A. P. Bowlby, now the senior officer of the 64th regiment, distinguished himself, as did also Captain H. F. Saunders, of the 70th regiment, who was attached to the 64th, and is senior to Captain Bowlby, whose conduct he describes as most devoted and gallant; as was also that of the men of the regiment. Brigadier Carthew, of the Madras native infantry, had a most severe and strong contest with the enemy, from morning till night; but I regret to add, that he felt himself obliged to retire at dark.

"During the night of the 28th instant, the enemy occupied the town, and on the morning of the 29th commenced bombarding my intrenchments with a few guns, and struck the bridge of boats several times. The guns mounted in the fort were superior in number to those of the enemy, and were well manned, throughout the day, by the officers, non-commissioned officers, and men of the royal artillery, seamen of the *Shannon*, Madras and Bengal gunners, and Sikhs. The chief outwork was occupied by the rifle brigade, and in the course of the afternoon, by your excellency's instructions, they were advanced, and gallantly drove the mutineers out of that portion of the city nearest to our works, under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Fyers, who was supported by Colonel Walpole.

"Throughout the short period I have had the temporary command of this division, I have received, both in the field and elsewhere, the most important assistance from Captain H. Bruce, 5th Punjab cavalry. Without him I should have been at a great loss for reliable information; and although I am aware that your excellency is not ignorant of his abilities, courage, and assiduity, I think it my duty to make this mention of his service to the country. Pressed as I am by the operations now going forward, I am not able to specify the services of every individual who has assisted me, where all have behaved so well. I have no staff of my own, except Captain Roger Swire, of the 17th foot, my aide-de-camp, who has behaved with his usual zeal and courage. I therefore hope I may be allowed to thank, through your excellency, the undermentioned officers, for the great services they have voluntarily rendered me during this trying time:—Major-general J. E. Dupuis, C.B., commanding royal artillery in India; Lieutenant-colonel John Adye, C.B., assistant-adjutant-general, royal artillery; Lieutenant-colonel H. D. Harness, commanding royal engineers; and Major Norman M'Leod, Bengal engineers, specially; Lieutenant-colonel John Simpson, 34th regiment; senior-surgeon R. C. Elliot, C.B., royal artillery; Captain John Gordon, 82nd regiment; Captain Sarsfield Greene, royal artillery; Captain Smyth, Bengal artillery. There are several other officers in addition, who I fortunately found detained here, *en route* to join your excellency's force, and I beg to submit their names also—viz.: Captain R. G. Brackenbury, 61st regiment; Lieutenant Arthur Henley, 52nd light infantry; Lieutenant Valentine Ryan, 64th regiment; Captain Ellis Cunliffe, 1st Bengal fusiliers; Lieutenant E. H. Budgen, 82nd regiment (to whom I gave the command of the hundred mounted sowars); Captain C. E. Mansfield, 33rd regiment; Lieutenant P. Scratchley, royal engineers; Lieutenant W. C. Milne, 74th Bengal native infantry.

"I beg to inform your excellency that I have called for nominal returns of the killed and wounded, and I have also directed all officers commanding corps, regiments, and batteries, &c., to forward to

me the names of any officers, non-commissioned officers, or soldiers, who may have especially distinguished themselves by gallantry in the field, which shall be forwarded to your excellency without delay.

"In conclusion, I hope I may be permitted to express my sincere thanks to all the regimental officers, non-commissioned officers, and men, for the zeal, gallantry, and courage with which they have carried out my orders during the four days of harassing actions which have successively taken place in the defence of this important strategic centre of present operations.—I have, &c.,

"C. A. WINDHAM, Major-general."

The following letter from a young officer of nineteen is so characteristic and natural, that it certainly deserves a place among the reminiscences of the three days to which it refers. The writer dates from the "Intrenched Camp, Cawnpore, December 2nd, 1857."

"My darling Mother,—Thank God I am safe and well, and through God's mercy I hope to remain so. We have had terrible hard work here fighting the sepoys; we have been at it five days together. The first day I was on my legs from four o'clock in the morning until six in the evening. We paraded at four o'clock, and after standing on parade for an hour or two we marched off 1,500 strong. Nobody knew where we were going to; but I had a dim idea that we should see service that day, and sure enough we did. We marched along cheerily enough for two or three miles, the bands playing now and then in front. Presently there was a halt, the band came to the rear, and the fighting 88th (the Connaught rangers) came to the front. Whereat there were sundry murmurings among the officers of 'ours,' because our right, by seniority, of fighting first was thus taken from us. The word is given to 'Advance!' Bang! goes a heavy gun, and whiz comes the immense mass of iron over our heads; and I am afraid I must plead guilty to feeling an extraordinary sort of sinking in my stomach. On we go, some command is given, and the left wing of our regiment goes away somewhere (I am in the right wing.) 'Bang!' again. This time they have the right range, and the grapeshot tears through the column. The word is given—'Extend into skirmishing order to the left.' Away we go, rushing on all the time; we jump over a bank of earth, and a man falls at my side. I think, 'Oh! he only tripped up;' I turn, and see the red blood gushing out on to the earth. And now the bullets come round us fast and thick. My spirit-flask has the top grazed by a bullet. I am lost in astonishment that I am not hit! I see thousands of red-coated sepoys firing away at us, and I get into a rage, and shout, 'Come along my boys, remember Cawnpore!' but in a feeble voice, trying to fancy myself brave, but fail totally in the attempt. We come to a stop at length, and thank goodness for it, for I am terribly blown. Here they rally the men, and get them together preparatory to taking three guns in front. A cheer, a long heave of my breath, a clenching of my hands and teeth, and away I go once more into the bullets. 'The guns are ours—hurrah!'

"Three days more something like this; I will not bother you with the fourth day. The last part we had been skirmishing all day, and towards six o'clock the blackguards made a rush, some four or five thousand of them, to the bridge which I was defending. Then came a fight between 1,500 tired Englishmen and 5,000 or more of fresh sepoys; for these were the reserve. There are some 20,000 of them here. Please goodness, I hope never to see such a hailstorm of bullets again. I saw men fall on every side of me; splinters hit me, pieces of earth from bullets, &c.; and there we were obliged to stay. Our orders were 'to keep the bridge as long as possible:' the 'keeping' consisted in standing still while a hurricane of balls passed through us. I must own here that I lost my presence of mind; I said the Lord's Prayer, and thought I should never see you, darling, and all my dear friends again; but God (thanks to him for it) has hitherto preserved me. We, after some time, retreated into the fort, and defended it until relieved by Sir Colin Campbell.

"I sleep on the ground every night. I have hard biscuit and rum to live on. I never am able to sleep more than three hours at a stretch, but I have a capital appetite, good health, and I say my prayers every night that I may be allowed to see you again, and I am very happy and comfortable, so do not worry about me, darling."

The unfortunate result of an affair which involved so severe a loss to the hitherto victorious troops of England, was much magnified by rumour before the real state of the case became known through the report of Major-general Windham; and when at length, upon that authority, the facts came before the public, the general disappointment found expression in language that could not be mistaken. The

Crimean brilliancy associated with the name of Windham, had rendered the idea of anything approaching defeat to troops led by the hero of the Redan, a possibility that no one was disposed, or prepared, to admit the existence of; and when, therefore, the bare and unpalatable fact was avowed and vouched for by his own signature, public disappointment became more universally felt, and was yet more energetically expressed. Not only were the whole operations of the gallant soldier canvassed with a jealous and embittered spirit, but even the tone of his military despatch formed a topic for animadversion. "There is," writes the special correspondent of the *Times*, in his communication from Calcutta, of the 26th of December, "another point in the general's despatches, to which it is worth while to direct attention. Referring to Brigadier Wilson's attack with the 64th foot on the enemy's line, on the second day, he says, 'Brigadier Wilson *thought proper*, prompted by zeal for the service, to lead his regiment against four guns,' &c. Now this expression, 'thought proper,' occurring in a despatch, is intended to indicate that the movement was, in the opinion of the general commanding, rash and ill-timed. Yet it is a fact that, by that movement, Brigadier Wilson broke the enemy's centre; he took possession of their main battery, spiked three guns out of four, and was finally only compelled to retire for want of support. All the private accounts I have seen, concur in asserting that, had he been supported, the enemy would have given way. Let us imagine the position. Here was the enemy's line advancing on our intrenchments, the guns from their centre battery committing fearful havoc amongst Brigadier Carthew's brigade. Brigadier Wilson, advancing from our right, drives back the enemy's left; then changing front, dashes on their centre, and gains the destructive battery; but having only three hundred men is overwhelmed. Had General Windham, instead of making isolated attacks on all parts of the enemy's line, concentrated his efforts on one; and had he, in pursuance of this plan, supported Brigadier Wilson's attack, the enemy, cut in two, would have been driven from the field. To attack the enemy's line on isolated points, in this case, was to court defeat; by concentrating and assailing them on one, success with British troops was assured. General Wilson was one of Havelock's brigade leaders; and under that gallant and experienced officer, the movements which he 'thought proper' to execute were always approved by his chief. He died in the performance of a most daring and gallant achievement; and there must not be permitted to rest on his memory any of the stains of this day's performance. Had he lived he could have answered for himself; but as fate has denied that, it is only just that his memory should thus be vindicated. The avoidance of the mention of General Windham's name amongst those whom the government of India has thanked; the inferior post subsequently assigned to him by Sir Colin Campbell, and his removal to Umballah, show the light in which his services are considered in this country. It would seem ungracious to dwell so particularly upon this subject, but for the boastful manner which was assumed by the principal actor prior to the development of this scene of the drama. Indian generals were styled 'effeminate;' they were to be 'taught how to make war.' Their effeminacy has been proved by their patient endurance before Delhi; by their achievements, without tents, under a terrible sun, in the months of June, July, August, and September; by their daring efforts to relieve their countrymen at Lucknow—never resting, unable to change their clothes, always under fire; by that unrivalled dash through the streets of Lucknow, every street of which was fortified, and every house a castle. This may be 'effeminacy;' but it is, on the whole, preferred to the 'generalship' which was to have astonished India."

In further reference to the report of Major-general Windham, it may be observed, that it was forwarded by the commander-in-chief to the governor-general in council, almost without a comment, and certainly without any expression of satisfaction; a circumstance of rare occurrence in military correspondence, when the respective rank of the parties are considered. Whether the omission was attributable to a decided disapproval of the whole proceedings of the major-general, or was the result of accident, does not appear; but it is certain that the exceptional tone of the commander-in-chief's despatch, attracted much observation in military circles; and the impression it was calculated to convey, was scarcely modified by the following "afterthought" of the commander-in-chief, or by the formal recognition of the appeal for "protection and good offices," on the part of the governor-general.

"*To the Right Hon. the Governor-general.*

"Head-quarters, near Cawnpore, Dec. 20th.

"My Lord,—I have the honour to bring to your lordship's notice an omission which I have to regret in my despatch of the 2nd of December, and I beg to be allowed now to repair it.

"I desire to make my acknowledgment of the great difficulties in which Major-general Windham, C.B., was placed during the operations he describes in his despatch, and to recommend him and the officers whom he notices as having rendered him assistance, to your lordship's protection and good offices. I may mention, in conclusion, that Major-general Windham is ignorant of the contents of my despatch of the 2nd December, and that I am prompted to take this step solely as a matter of justice to the major-general and the other officers concerned.—I have the honour, &c.,

"C. CAMPBELL, General, Commander-in-Chief."

The publication of the above was accompanied by the following general order:—

"The right honourable the governor-general in council has received the accompanying despatch from his excellency the commander-in-chief, and hastens to give publicity to it. It supplies an omission in a previous despatch from his excellency, which was printed in the *Gazette Extraordinary* of the 24th instant. Major-general Windham's reputation as a leader of conspicuous bravery and coolness, and the reputation of the gallant force which he commanded, will have lost nothing from an accidental omission such as General Sir Colin Campbell has occasion to regret. But the governor-general in council will not fail to bring to the notice of the government in England, the opinions formed by his excellency of the difficulties against which Major-general Windham, with the officers and men under his orders, had to contend."

As we have already observed, the unpleasant impression created by the first announcement of General Windham's unsuccessful operations at Cawnpore, had rapidly extended to every part of India, as well as to the remotest parts of Great Britain; and his friends in the latter country were prompt to avail themselves of every possible means by which the shade that rested upon his military fame might be removed. To some, the preceding supplementary despatch of the commander-in-chief, and the acceptance by the governor-general in council of the explanation thereby afforded, were held sufficient to exonerate General Windham from all blame on the score of incapacity or imprudence; but such was not the popular interpretation of the correspondence. Meanwhile, rumours alike disparaging to the military renown of the gallant general, and ill-beseeming the rank he had won for himself in the British service, became current in every quarter; and, at length, the Duke of Cambridge, in his place in the House of Lords, felt it necessary, as commander-in-chief of the forces, to express his perfect satisfaction with the conduct of General Windham, upon the responsibility of the foregoing documents. Thus, on the 15th of February, his royal highness addressed the House of Lords in the following terms:—

"So much having been said in reference to the conduct of the gallant general who recently commanded at Cawnpore (Major-general Windham), I am sure that your lordships will be glad to learn what were the real merits of the case. I have been anxiously waiting for some official despatch from India that would clear up the subject, and I am happy to say that a statement has come to my hand this day, which is most satisfactory with regard to that officer, whose military conduct has occasioned such conflicting opinions. Your lordships will, I am sure, rejoice with me, that my gallant friend, Sir Colin Campbell, from whom this despatch came, entirely exonerates Major-general Windham from all blame in reference to the action which has given rise to these comments. There is blame attached to other parties, which it is not necessary for me now to refer to; but, as regards General Windham, I have received from my gallant friend, Sir Colin Campbell, a handsome despatch exonerating him from all blame; and I have reason to believe that he will be recommended by Sir Colin for some more important command."

The important command to which General Windham was promoted by Sir Colin Campbell, was that of the Umballah district—a place totally removed from the perils of warfare, and, in fact, bearing much the same relation to Cawnpore, that Aldershott does to London.

But if the royal duke could, at a glance, discover so much to be gratified with, in the shape of a complete exculpation of the gallant officer, such was far from the effect produced upon other parties: and as a specimen of the general tone adopted in reference to the Cawnpore disaster, and the supplementary despatch, the subjoined leading article from the *Daily News* of February 16th, 1858 (the day after the statement of the Duke of Cambridge had been made), may fairly be adduced:—

"The supplementary despatch of Sir Colin Campbell is regarded as a complete Sphinx's riddle, both in military and in non-military circles. On the 20th of

December, Sir Colin addresses a few lines to the governor-general, ostensibly for the purpose of supplying an omission in his despatch giving an account of the second relief of Cawnpore. What Sir Colin had omitted to say in that first document appears to have been simply that General Windham was placed under 'great difficulties' in the operations which preceded the commander-in-chief's return from Lucknow; and that Sir Colin 'recommends' General Windham and his staff to the governor-general's '*protection* and good offices.' The remarkable feature of Sir Colin Campbell's first despatch, was the utter absence of any expression of opinion regarding the merits or demerits of General Windham's operations. On this subject the supplementary despatch is equally silent. Sir Colin speaks of the difficulties General Windham had to encounter; but not one word does he say as to the manner in which the general encountered them. There is something remarkable in Sir Colin's expression, that he recommends General Windham to Lord Canning's 'protection.' It is not 'protection' that meritorious officers are generally understood to require.

"But the guarded language of Sir Colin, who knows from personal observation what General Windham has done, is amply compensated for by the rapturous encomiums of Lord Canning and the Duke of Cambridge, who know nothing of the matter except from Sir Colin's reports. Lord Canning, it is true, is sufficiently cautious to speak only of General Windham's 'conspicuous bravery and coolness,' and of the difficulties against which he had to contend. Still even he attributes more to Sir Colin's guarded language than unbiassed readers can find in it. But the language of the Duke of Cambridge is so strong, that the idea naturally suggests itself that his royal highness must have been referring to some other despatch from Sir Colin Campbell, which has not yet seen the light. Assuredly there is nothing in the document which has been promulgated at Calcutta to warrant the royal duke's saying that Sir Colin has acquitted General Windham of all blame, and that he appears to be waiting for an opportunity to confer high command on that officer. If a despatch from Sir Colin Campbell has come to the hands of his royal highness, the tenor of which justifies expressions like these, simple justice to General Windham demands that it should be published without loss of time; for, until it is published, all who know anything of military matters will continue to judge of General Windham's operations at Cawnpore from the statements in his own report to his commander, and will look upon his relegation to Umballah as anything but a precursor to high command.

"Perhaps the general order issued by Sir Colin Campbell on the 9th of December, may be taken to throw some light on this perplexing question:—'Officers commanding batteries and troops in the royal artillery, must conform in all things to the usages and orders of the army as regards supply, organisation, management of horses, native servants, &c. *Doubtless there are many points which are new to the officers of the royal artillery,* and perhaps, in some, reform may be desirable: *but this is no time for change.* Hereafter the commander-in-chief, under the instructions of government, will receive any representation that may be made by the officers of the royal artillery; *but, in the meantime, the service must proceed according to the orders and precedents of that service with which the royal artillery has been lately associated.*'

"One thing is clear from this document: that Sir Colin, in addition to the other enormous difficulties of his position, had been pestered by ill-timed requests from the officers of the royal artillery under his command, to new-model all the arrangements for 'supply, management of horses, native servants, &c.,' which in India have necessarily grown out of the state of native society. These pedantic demands of holiday soldiers to have everything ordered so as to suit their preconceived notions, must have been urged with undue pertinacity, when the commander-in-chief in India, after being driven to tell the remonstrants, shortly and sharply, that 'this is no time for change,' is further compelled to invoke the name of the supreme government for support. We say nothing of the judgment or modesty of men who, entirely new to India, could thus take upon themselves to insist dogmatically upon an entire alteration of arrangements prescribed by the peculiar characteristics of India. But we unhesitatingly affirm, that the complaints—call them what you will—which at so critical a time had been urged with a pertinacity that elicited such a general order as we

have quoted, cannot have fallen far short of mutiny."

The amiable temper of these remonstrants is not likely to have been much soothed by Sir Colin's sending General Dupuis and his staff back to Calcutta, and placing Bengal officers at the head of his artillery. And the following extract from the private letter of an intelligent and experienced officer, gives some inkling of the spirit which this measure has awakened among the malcontents:—

"Another cause of complaint against Sir Colin is, that he prefers Company's to Queen's officers. But I submit that the preference at the present moment is very natural. We are in the middle of a campaign; the Company's officers are acquainted with the language and manners of the natives, the topography of the country, and its resources; they know exactly whence to procure supplies; to what department to refer for the requirements of their men, horses, and guns. At present, the Queen's officers are, as a rule, ignorant on these subjects, and for every want, however small, they pester the commander-in-chief. He has no time to point out these things; and he prefers employing men who have all these points at their fingers' ends, and who can give, instead of ask for, information."

To impartial men this exculpation (?) would appear complete: not so to the friends of Generals Windham and Dupuis; who, it would appear from other passages in the letter from which we have been quoting, are trying to "make political capital" out of the soreness of the Queen's officers. The passages to which we refer are as follows:—

"With respect to General Windham, I may mention that all his friends inveigh in the bitterest terms against Sir Colin Campbell and General Mansfield; and with the assistance of a few 'ifs,' make out that the two latter are entirely responsible for what might have been the second massacre of Cawnpore. Windham's defeat they attribute—1st, to overwhelming odds against him; 2ndly, to mistakes made by his aides-de-camp; 3rdly, to the bad conduct of the troops. With respect to the first, I would reply that Havelock fought and conquered against equal odds; 2ndly, that General Windham is entirely responsible for the composition of his own staff; and 3rdly, that on the 27th the gallantry of the 64th was conspicuous, and would, with proper support, have ensured a decisive victory. The real fact is, that Sir Colin Campbell has a very poor opinion of Generals Windham and Dupuis; and it is because he has shown his sentiments respecting them that they now inveigh against him. It is even hinted that Windham will shortly return home to attack Sir Colin in parliament.

"We leave the public to draw their own conclusions from the arguments to which we have now directed their attention. Four things appear to us to be placed beyond a doubt. First, that the governor-general of India and the Duke of Cambridge have been, at least, speaking as partisans of General Windham; second, that there is understood to be a coolness between General Windham and Sir Colin Campbell; third, that an attempt is being made by some who flatter themselves that they have the ear of the Horse-guards, to convert the coolness which exists between these officers into a quarrel between the Queen's and the Company's service; and fourth, that this may compel ministers to make their option between recalling Sir Colin Campbell or General Windham. Are the English people and parliament prepared, in the event of matters being brought to this extremity, to see the man who effected the evacuation of Lucknow and saved Cawnpore, sacrificed to the offended vanity of the man who all but lost Cawnpore? Are they prepared to see a great general removed from command because he prefers experienced to inexperienced officers? In connection with this latter question, let them recall one circumstance connected with the glorious career of Wellington in the Peninsula. Wellington owed his victories in no small degree to his resolute determination to confide important duties to the best men, even when they were of inferior military rank and standing. He was absolute master in his own army. Sir Colin Campbell has shown that he possesses military genius sufficient to re-establish our Indian empire; but to enable him to do this, he must be, like Wellington, absolute master in his own army; he must have the free and unfettered choice of his own officers. Even Wellington, the brother of Wellesley, and the beloved youthful friend of Castlereagh, found difficulties at first in warding off undue interference; how much more difficulty must Sir Colin Campbell feel, who has no such powerful backers? It is the duty of the British nation to be to Colin Campbell what Lord Castlereagh was to

Arthur Wellesley. The British nation must, if necessary, be prepared to tell the Duke of Cambridge and Lord Canning, in the most unequivocal terms, that Sir Colin is to be allowed in all respects to conduct the war in his own way."

The month of December, 1857, had commenced amidst much cause for anxiety and for vigorous effort on the part of the English commander. The convoy of Lucknow fugitives was still necessarily detained under the protection of the troops at Cawnpore, whose operations were shackled by the presence of the helpless and useless multitude. The Gwalior mutineers still held possession of the town and the greatest part of the suburbs, from whence their artillery kept up an incessant cannonade upon the intrenchment and the southern cantonments, in which the convoy and the Lucknow force were encamped; but until the women and children, with the wounded people, could be safely dispatched on their route to Allahabad, the hands of Sir Colin Campbell were tied. He daily saw his officers and men fall around him, without being able prudently to act against the enemy. The loss of officers alone, in the week from the 26th of November to the 2nd of December, amounted to ten killed, thirty-two wounded, and two missing.

Before entering upon details connected with the movements of the opposing forces on the 6th of December, it should be observed, for the purpose of illustrating those movements, that the town of Cawnpore lies on the right or west bank of the Ganges, about 130 miles north-west of Allahabad. The town does not extend quite down to the river; and in order to reach the latter, a sandy plain, of about two miles in breadth, must be traversed. This space, covered with officers' bungalows and their compounds, is called the cantonments, and it stretches several miles along the water-side. In this plain of the cantonments, there were, as already stated, the intrenchments, and the fort for the protection of the bridge of boats, which afforded the only means for crossing the river and communicating with the Lucknow-road. It was for the purpose of occupying these defences, and of protecting the bridge, and thereby preserving the communication with Sir Colin Campbell, that General Windham was entrusted with the command at Cawnpore. Through the cantonments there is a road, which, at a few miles' distance, south-east of Cawnpore, joins the Grand Trunk-road, which unites Delhi, Cawnpore, Allahabad, and Calcutta. A considerable distance northward of this junction, but before reaching the city, were the ruins of the intrenchment in which the late Sir Hugh Wheeler was besieged by Nana Sahib and his rebel force. This road through the cantonments, and the Grand Trunk-road, it should be observed, was the line of retreat to be taken by the rescued garrison of Lucknow, on the route to Allahabad; and its preservation was therefore of vital importance.

When, on the evening of the 30th of November, the whole of the convoy and troops had crossed from Oude, the position of the entire British camp was in the form of a half-circle, stretching from some old dragoon lines lying near the Ganges, and the fort, south-westward across the Grand Trunk-road, and round the position occupied by Sir Hugh Wheeler. In short, its right rested on the river, while its centre and left covered the Grand Trunk-road.

It should further be observed, that the city of Cawnpore lay in front of the British camp, separated by a canal running east and west, the larger portion of the city being on its northern side. On the evening that Sir Colin arrived from Lucknow, the mutineers were driven from that part of the city which lay nearest the British intrenchments; and Brigadier Greathed, about the same time, occupied the General-gunge—an old bazaar of very considerable extent, which lay along the canal in front of the line occupied by the British camp. Thus, it will be seen, that the enemy were on the north side of the canal, and the British on the south side, having one advanced post (the General-gunge) on the canal itself. The rebels' right, facing the British left, stretched out beyond the angle formed by the Grand Trunk-road and the canal; and before closing with it, the British force would therefore be obliged to cross the canal by the only two bridges that formed the communication. The centre of the enemy was in the town of Cawnpore, where he occupied the houses and bazaars which overhung the canal. The city, in this part, was full of narrow lanes, the houses in which were loopholed, and the principal streets were carefully barricaded. This division of the enemy's force was exactly opposite to the British advanced post named the General-gunge, held by Bri-

gadier Greathed; but this position of the enemy, strong as it appeared to be, in reality proved his weakness; for, between his centre and his right, there was the wall of the city, which separated one portion of his force from the other so completely, that, in case of emergency, he had no means of transferring troops from one flank to the other. The left division of the rebel force occupied the old cantonment—namely, that portion of the ground which lies between the city and the Ganges. In the rear of this position, and about a mile and a-half distant, in a direct line from the British intrenchments, was the Subahdar's Tank, and in front of this was the Baptist chapel. Thus the entire line of the rebel force extended from the Ganges through the city of Cawnpore, and along the canal westward of the city wall, which was parallel to the canal. The camp of the enemy was pitched two miles in rear of his right division, and covered the Calpee-road, which afterwards formed his line of retreat. This disposition of the enemy's force did not escape the notice of the commander-in-chief, who saw, in a moment, the disadvantage to which it would be exposed, if the attack was directed from a particular point; and upon that point, therefore, he determined to base his operations.

On the night of the 5th of December, the force of the enemy at Cawnpore consisted of about 25,000 men, with at least forty pieces of artillery; while the facilities afforded by his position for the uninterrupted junction of other mutinous regiments by the Calpee-road, rendered the actual strength and resources of the rebel army—which already outnumbered, by more than two-thirds, the aggregate strength of the British troops opposed to it—a point on which no certain calculation could be based. The comprehensive genius of the commander-in-chief, was, however, equal to the emergency forced upon him by the adverse circumstances that had thrown a cloud over the proceedings of the few previous days; and, as usual, he grasped the difficulties of his position with a determination to overcome them. The force under his command on the 5th of December, amounted to about 8,000 men of all arms, of which, in round numbers, not more than 7,500 were available for service in the field.

Early in the morning of the 6th, Sir Colin Campbell assigned to his several corps and officers their respective stations and duties, and the moment for action at length arrived; the baggage, &c., of the army having first been taken down to the river-side for precaution. At nine o'clock on the morning of the 6th of December, a heavy bombardment was opened from the intrenchment to the east of Cawnpore, for the purpose of inducing the enemy to believe he would be attacked from that quarter. Brigadier Greathed's three regiments at the General-gunge bazaar were then reinforced by the 64th, the rest of the force being drawn up in contiguous columns in the plain of the cantonments, and effectually masked from the observation of the enemy. By eleven o'clock all was ready, and the infantry deployed in parallel lines fronting the canal—Brigadier Hope being in advance in one line, and Brigadier Inglis, of Lucknow, leading the second. The cavalry and horse artillery were then directed to cross the canal by a bridge a mile and a-half to the westward, and from thence threaten the enemy's rear. Immediately to the left of Brigadier Greathed, was another bridge over the canal, which was crossed by Brigadier Walpole, under cover of the guns. Keeping along the city wall, that officer drove the enemy from the shelter of some brick-kilns, and the whole line advanced—Captain Peel, with the heavy guns of his naval brigade, leading the way over the bridge, accompanied by a private of the 53rd regiment named Hannaford; and, in a short time, the whole of the British force was on the Cawnpore side of the canal, and the enemy's centre and right were driven back at all points. By one o'clock in the afternoon, his camp was reached, and taken possession of after a short struggle; and the rout of the rebel army became complete along the Calpee-road, for fourteen miles of which he was hotly pursued by cavalry and artillery; and so perfect was the abandonment of the enemy, that not a single gun or ammunition carriage on the right of his position escaped the grasp of the victors. But the triumph was yet incomplete: the left wing of the enemy still remained untouched; and, consequently, as the commander-in-chief passed through the unoccupied camp of the rebels, he dispatched General Mansfield, with a detachment, to secure the latter, and to take the position of the Subahdar's Tank, which stood in rear of the enemy's left. By skill and valour this task was admirably accomplished; and having occupied the camp, and

taken measures for maintaining a good post on the Calpee-road, General Mansfield advanced towards the tank, struggling over broken ground and through enclosures, and driving parties of the enemy before him. After a good deal of manœuvring, in ground highly favourable to the rebels, the general at length succeeded in obtaining the position assigned to him, and soon after had the satisfaction to see large bodies of the enemy's infantry and cavalry rapidly moving off, in full retreat, to the westward. As it was not practicable to communicate with Sir Colin after sunset, the position being almost isolated, and considerable numbers of the enemy being still in portions of the town and the old cantonment, the general strengthened the pickets round his position, and bivouacked for the night without molestation. The rebel centre finding itself without support, its camp lost, and its wings destroyed, broke up during the night, and fled from the town in every possible direction; and before Sir Colin Campbell returned to the British camp at the close of that well-fought day, the enemy had been driven completely from Cawnpore. The following are the despatches of the commander-in-chief, in reference to the battle of the 6th of December:—

"*The Commander-in-Chief to the Governor-general.*

"Head-quarters, Camp, Cawnpore, Dec. 10th.

"My Lord,—I have the honour to report to your lordship, that late on the night of the 3rd instant, the convoy, which had given me so much anxiety, including the families and half the wounded, was finally dispatched; and on the 4th and 5th the last arrangements were made for consigning the remainder of the wounded in places of safety, while a portion of the troops were withdrawn from the intrenchments to join the camp. On the afternoon of the 5th, about 3 P.M., the enemy attacked our left pickets with artillery, and showed infantry round our left flank. A desultory fire was also begun on our pickets in the Generalgunge, which is an old bazaar of very considerable extent along the canal, in front of the line occupied by the camp. These advanced positions had been held, since our arrival, by Brigadier Greathed's brigade with great firmness, the brigadier having displayed his usual judgment in their arrangement and support. On two or three occasions he had been supported by Captain Peel's heavy guns and Captain Bourchier's field battery, when the artillery of the enemy had annoyed him and the general front of the camp. After two hours of cannonading, the enemy retired on the afternoon in question. Arrangements were then made for a general attack on him the next day.

"His left occupied the old cantonment, from which General Windham's post had been principally assailed. His centre was in the city of Cawnpore, and lined the houses and bazaars overhanging the canal, which separated it from Brigadier Greathed's position, the principal streets having been afterwards discovered to be barricaded. His right stretched some way beyond the angle formed by the Grand Trunk-road and the canal, two miles in rear of which the camp of the Gwalior contingent was pitched, and so covered the Calpee-road. This was the line of retreat of that body. In short, the canal, along which were placed his centre and right, was the main feature of his position, and could only be passed in the latter direction by two bridges. It appeared to me, if his right was vigorously attacked, that it would be driven from its position without assistance coming from other parts of his line; the wall of the town, which gave cover to our attacking columns on our right, being an effective obstacle to the movement of any portion of his troops from his left to right. Thus the possibility became apparent of attacking his division in detail.

"From intelligence received before and after the action, there seems to be little doubt that, in consequence of the arrival of four regiments from Oude, and the gathering of various mutinous corps which had suffered in previous actions, as well as the assemblage of all the Nana's followers, the strength of the enemy now amounted to about 25,000 men, with all the guns belonging to the contingent, some thirty-six in number, together with a few guns belonging to the Nana.

"Orders were given to General Windham, on the morning of the 6th, to open a heavy bombardment at 9 A.M. from the intrenchment in the old cantonments, and so induce the belief in the enemy that the attack was coming from the general's position. The camp was struck early, and all the baggage driven to the river-side under a guard, to avoid the slightest risk of accident. Brigadier Greathed, reinforced by the 64th regiment, was desired to hold the same ground opposite the centre of the enemy, which he had been occupying for some days past, as above mentioned, and at 11 A.M., the rest of the force, as per margin,* was drawn up in contiguous columns in rear of some old cavalry lines, and effectually masked from the observation of the enemy. The cannonade from the intrenchment having become slack at this time, the moment had arrived for the attack to commence.

"The cavalry and horse artillery, having been sent to make a detour on the left and across the canal, by a bridge a mile and a-half further up, and threaten the enemy's rear, the infantry deployed in parallel lines fronting the canal. Brigadier Hope's brigade was in advance in one line, Brigadier Inglis's brigade being in rear of Brigadier

* *Artillery Brigade*—Two troops of horse artillery; three light field batteries; guns of the naval brigade; heavy field battery royal artillery. *Cavalry Brigade*—Her majesty's 9th lancers; detachments of 1st, 2nd, and 5th Punjab cavalry, and Hodson's horse. *4th Infantry Brigade*—Her majesty's 53rd regiment; her majesty's 42nd and 93rd highlanders; 4th Punjab rifles. *5th Infantry Brigade*—Her majesty's 23rd fusiliers; her majesty's 32nd regiment; her majesty's 82nd regiment. *6th Infantry Brigade*—2nd and 3rd battalion rifle brigade; detachment of her majesty's 38th foot. *Engineer Brigade*—Royal engineers, and detachments of Bengal and Punjab; sappers and miners attached to the various brigades of infantry. (The whole of the force enumerated did not exceed 7,500 men.)

Hope. At the same time Brigadier Walpole, assisted by Captain Smith's field battery, royal artillery, was directed to pass the bridge immediately to the left of Brigadier Greathed's position, and to drive the enemy from the brick-kilns, keeping the wall of the city for his guide. The whole attack then proceeded, the enemy quickly responding, from his proper right, to the fire of our heavy and field artillery.

"Good use was made of these guns by Captain Peel, C.B., R.N., and the artillery officers under Major-general Dupuis, C.B., R.A., Brigadier Crawford, R.A., and Major Turner, B.A. The Sikhs of the 4th Punjab infantry, thrown into skirmishing order, supported by her majesty's 53rd foot, attacked the enemy in some old mounds and brick-kilns to our left, with great vigour.

"The advance then continued with rapidity along the whole line, and I had the satisfaction of observing, in the distance, that Brigadier Walpole was making equal progress on the right. The canal bridge was quickly passed, Captain Peel leading over it with a heavy gun, accompanied by a soldier of her majesty's 53rd, named Hannaford. The troops which had gathered together, resuming their line of formation with great rapidity on either side as soon as it was crossed, and continuing to drive the enemy at all points, his camp was reached and taken at 1 P.M., and his rout was complete along the Calpee-road.

"I must here draw attention to the manner in which the heavy 24-pounder guns were impelled and managed by Captain Peel and his gallant sailors. Through the extraordinary energy and good-will with which the latter had worked, their guns have been constantly in advance throughout our late operations, from the relief of Lucknow, till now, as if they were light field-pieces, and the service rendered by them in clearing our front has been incalculable. On this occasion there was the sight beheld of 24-pounder guns advancing with the first line of skirmishers.

"Without losing any time, the pursuit with cavalry, infantry, and light artillery was pressed with the greatest eagerness to the fourteenth milestone on the Calpee-road; and I have reason to believe that every gun and cart of ammunition which had been in that part of the enemy's position, which had been attacked, now fell into our possession. I had the satisfaction of accompanying the troops engaged in the pursuit, and of being able to bear witness to their strenuous endeavours to make the most of the success which had been achieved. When I passed the camp and went forward on the Calpee-road, Major-general Mansfield was desired by me to make arrangements for the attack of the position called the Subahdar's Tank, which extended round the left rear of the enemy's position in the old cantonments. As this operation was a separate one, I beg to enclose for your lordship's consideration the major-general's own narrative.

"The troops having returned from the pursuit at midnight on the 6th, and their baggage having reached them on the afternoon of the next day, Brigadier-general Grant was detached in pursuit on the 8th, with the cavalry, some light artillery, and a brigade of infantry, with orders to destroy public buildings belonging to the Nana Sahib at Bithoor, and to press on to Serai-Ghât, twenty-five miles from hence, if he had good tidings of the retreating enemy. This duty was admirably performed by the brigadier-general, and he caught the enemy when he was about to cross the river with his remaining guns. The brigadier-general attacked him with great vigour; and by the excellent disposition he made of his force, succeeded in taking every gun the enemy possessed, without losing a single man. I have the pleasure to enclose the brigadier-general's report for your lordship's perusal.

"It now remains for me to bring to your lordship's notice the officers who have distinguished themselves during the series of operations which have occurred under my own eyes, since this field force left the neighbourhood of Lucknow. I have a particular pleasure in again bringing to your lordship's notice the zeal and great ability with which Major-general W. R. Mansfield, chief of the staff, has conducted the very important duties of his high position, and of my obligations to him for the most valuable assistance he has afforded me during the whole of the recent operations. I desire also to call your lordship's attention to the able and distinguished manner in which he conducted the troops placed under his orders, after the enemy's centre had been divided, to the attack of their strong position at the Subahdar's Tank, and to recommend to your lordship's favourable consideration the names of the officers who assisted him.

"I have to thank Brigadier-general Hope Grant, C.B., very particularly for the admirable manner in which he has conducted the duties of the force, and more particularly for his exertions on the 6th of December, and the capital operations he performed on the 8th and 9th. The brigadier-general speaks in the highest terms of his divisional and personal staff.

"I have the greatest satisfaction in bringing to your lordship's notice, Brigadiers Greathed, the Hon. A. Hope, Walpole, and Inglis. These officers have all exerted themselves to the utmost, and have fully justified my expectations. They desire to record their obligations to the officers commanding corps in their respective brigades, and to their brigade staff.

"Owing to his knowledge of the ground, I requested Major-general Windham to remain in command of the intrenchment, the fire of which was a very important feature in the operations of the 6th of December, although I felt and explained to General Windham that it was a command hardly worthy of an officer of his rank. He gave me every satisfaction, and I have to thank him accordingly.

"I must particularly notice the exertions of Captain H. W. Norman, assistant-adjutant-general of the army; of Captain Herbert Bruce, deputy-quartermaster-general; and of Captain J. H. Smyth, Bengal artillery, the latter of whom had been requested by me to take command of the artillery in the intrenchment, as a special duty. Captain Smyth has rendered other great and valuable services since he left Calcutta, of which I have not had an opportunity before of recording my approval. I desire also to bring to your lordship's favourable notice the officers on the general staff, or belonging to the personal staff of myself or Major-general Mansfield.

"To the crew of her majesty's ship *Shannon*, and to the royal and Bengal artillery, my thanks are alike due; but more particularly to Captain Peel, C.B., royal navy; to Brigadier Crawford, royal artillery; and to Major Turner, Bengal horse artillery. I cannot refrain from again drawing your lordship's most marked attention to the very distin-

guished merits of the last-named (Major Turner.) As is always the case in the three services, the batteries and troops were manœuvred with remarkable dexterity.

"Captain Peel has brought to my favourable notice Lieutenant Vaughan, royal navy, and I should much wish that this recommendation may be known to the admiralty; and Brigadier Crawford has expressed his obligations to his brigade-major, Captain H. L. G. Bruce, Bengal artillery, and has mentioned with marked distinction all the officers holding commands. Major-general Dupuis, C.B., royal artillery, commanded the artillery during the action, in consequence of his accidental presence in camp; and I beg to thank him for his exertions, as well as those of his staff. Colonel Harness, royal engineers, was also present in the same manner, and accompanied me throughout the action. General Grant has also brought to my notice the distinguished conduct of Brigadier Little, commanding the cavalry, as also of officers commanding corps in that brigade, and its staff officers.

"During the pursuit of the 6th, and the operation of the 9th, the cavalry maintained that high character for dash and perseverance which has distinguished them since they took the field in the numerous engagements of their long campaign. I desire also to mention Major Payne, of the 53rd regiment, whom I saw performing very valuable service during the first advance on the 6th instant. I must not allow this opportunity to pass without bearing my testimony to the unwearied zeal and assiduity of the superintending surgeon, Dr. J. C. Brown, Bengal artillery, which have never flagged for an instant, and have been of the greatest use to the force in the field from the time the troops first moved before going to Delhi. I beg to recommend him most particularly to your lordship's favourable consideration.—I have, &c.,

"C. CAMPBELL, General, Commanding-in-Chief."

The report of General Mansfield to the commander-in-chief was as follows:—

"Head-quarters, Camp, Cawnpore, Dec. 10th.

"Sir,—In obedience to your excellency's instructions, when I left your side after the capture of the enemy's camp, on the afternoon of the 6th December, I proceeded to make the arrangements for taking the position called the Subahdar's Tank, in rear of the enemy's left, and about a mile and a-half in a direct line from the intrenchments through the old cantonment.

"Before advancing, measures were taken for the safe guard of the captured camp, Colonel Kelly, with a wing of the 38th foot, being placed in position for that purpose, in addition to the 23rd regiment, which had already been left there by your excellency. These two regiments repelled an attack in the course of the afternoon, and took two guns from the enemy. The 93rd highlanders, who had been placed on the Grand Trunk-road, beyond the camp to the left, at the time that your excellency gave the orders for pressing the pursuit of the enemy along the Calpee-road, were now, at 2 P.M., beginning to suffer from the enemy's guns, which were in position about one thousand yards in their front, in the enclosures between them and the tank. They were advanced a short distance with Captain Middleton's field battery, R.A., which answered the enemy's guns, until the rifle brigade under Brigadier Walpole, and the heavy field battery under Captain Longden, R.A., could be brought up. In the course of half-an-hour this had taken place, and the heavy field battery pushed along the road intersecting the Grand Trunk-road, about a mile to the left of the enemy's camp, and leading directly to the old cantonment. The rifles were extended in skirmishing order some 300 yards on each side of the road, slightly in advance of the heavy guns, the highlanders being kept in reserve.

"These arrangements having been made, the advance took place, and the enemy began to give way immediately, successive positions being taken up, and a rapid fire maintained, by Captain Longden and Captain Middleton, of the royal artillery, the rifles passing through the enclosures to the right, and the broken ground to the left of the road, with much spirit, under the able directions of Brigadier Walpole.

"On the entrance of the village being reached, which may be distinguished as the soldiers' burial-ground, although the enclosures were still held to a certain degree by the enemy, it appeared to me expedient to push the field battery through the village at a gallop, and take position in the plain, with the tank on the right, the infantry being desired to press forward as fast as they could. This was done very well by Captain Middleton, R.A., and he had the satisfaction of firing at the enemy's guns as they disappeared along the Bithoor-road, whilst the rifles were still running up to his support. The position was then fairly occupied, Brigadier Hope coming up with the reserve of highlanders, and taking charge of the pickets which were thrown out on the line of the enemy's retreat. About 4 P.M. the position which had been taken was attacked by artillery, brought by the enemy from the old cantonment. These guns might have been taken; but I refrained from giving the necessary order, being aware that it was contrary to your excellency's wish to involve the troops among the enclosures and houses of the old cantonment; and that, if the slightest advance had been made in that quarter, it would have been necessary, at whatever loss, to make no stop till the intrenchment should have been reached. When Captain Longden's and Captain Middleton's batteries had almost succeeded in silencing the enemy's fire, the position was attacked by some guns of the enemy from the broken ground of the plain on exactly the opposite side. They could not be seen, except by their smoke. They were, however, answered quickly, and all the men and field hospital, &c., having been put under tolerable cover, no harm was suffered by the troops in consequence of this attack. At dusk I had the satisfaction of seeing large bodies of the enemy's infantry and cavalry move round to the west of the position about a mile distant, in full retreat.

"It not being possible to communicate with your excellency after sunset, the position taken up being almost isolated, and, as reported to me, there being considerable numbers of the enemy still in occupation of the town and old cantonment, the pickets all round the position were slightly strengthened, and the troops bivouacked by their arms. Everything having been quiet during the night, the highlanders were withdrawn the next morning, and replaced by the 38th foot under your excellency's orders.

"My thanks are eminently due to Brigadier Walpole, who commanded the advance, and Brigadier Hope, commanding the reserve; to Captains

Middleton and Longden, commanding the batteries of artillery, and to my aide-de-camp, Captain Mansfield, who was of the greatest use to me till he was unfortunately severely wounded after the guns had passed the village. Captain Herbert Bruce, deputy-quartermaster-general, whose merits are so highly considered by your excellency, distinguished himself very much by his knowledge and appreciation of the ground, and was the cause of my being able to direct the troops with tolerable certainty. The brigadiers report very highly on the conduct of the officers commanding corps—viz., Lieutenant-colonel A. S. L. Hay, 93rd highlanders; Lieutenant-colonel Horsford, 3rd battalion rifle brigade; Brevet Lieutenant-colonel Fyers, 2nd battalion rifle brigade.

"I have, &c.,

"W. R. Mansfield, Maj.-gen., Chief of the Staff."

The foregoing signal defeat of the rebels by the commander-in-chief, was reported, by a native writer in the service of the Maharajah Scindia, in the following terms:—

"Calpee, December 8th, 1857.

"Three hurkarus came straight from Cawnpore to-day, and reported, that the Gwalior contingent rebels, having collected all their force and stores at Bhoti, advanced thence to a place two coss nearer to Cawnpore, and left there, with fifty or sixty men, their camp and bazaar. The whole force, including sepoys and chiefs, with their followers of all sorts, amounted to 15,000 men. Their plan was to fight with their guns up to 12 P.M., and then to assault and carry the intrenchments. At Mogul Serai, near Cawnpore, the English had a battery, and there the fight began. The rebels fought very bravely up to 12 P.M., when the English began to retire, and the rebels followed them until they were two coss from the rebel camp. Then 500 English, with two guns, advancing on the Allahabad-road, attacked the rebel camp, and captured it with all that was in it. Leaving a guard there, they then attacked the rear of the rebels, when the retiring English turned and attacked them in front. The rebels could not endure this double attack, and fled; and the English chased them to Sacheindee, and took, on the road, their guns, baggage, magazine—everything. Meanwhile, the two great guns which the rebels had sent for, with ammunition, from Calpee, having reached Renniah, the English marched thither also, and captured them. The three hurkarus who report this were in the action, and with great difficulty saved their lives, but none of their property; and of the flying sepoys, no village would admit a man within its walls—not even if it were his own home. The hurkarus put-up in the village of Muttabelpore; and there, at twelve o'clock at night, came Koor Dawlut Sing; but the people would not let him halt there. I cannot tell how many were slain, but shall hear to-morrow. The English fought in this battle as Roostum and Isfendian, alone, fought before. The Sahibs dismounted amid the fire of the guns, and slew the gunners with their swords, and, rushing upon the gunners, stopped them as they applied the match; while the English so worked their guns, that winking is a slow operation compared to the rapidity of their fire. They fired after the fugitives as their noise directed; and if they but saw a head, that head was crushed. The blood of the dead and wounded flowed in streams.

"Whoever shall hear this news will rejoice; for these men, who injured and trampled on high and low, have received punishment from God proportioned to their cruelty. And great as was their bravery, as signal has been their flight and destruction. The dead are doomed to *dozukh*. Balla Sahib, brother of the Nana, who was wounded in the shoulder, took refuge in Calpee, where he has been since busy in bringing together guns, ammunition, and provisions."

These energetic operations on the 6th of the month, so completely dismayed the chiefs of the mutinous army, that their arrangements were thrown into confusion, and they separated—some marching off in one direction, some in another, but without any apparent unity of purpose. After securing and concentrating his resources on the 7th, Sir Colin lost no time in devising further work for the officers and men by whom he had been so ably seconded. On the 8th of December, orders were issued to Brigadier Hope Grant, to proceed to the late residence of Nana Sahib at Bithoor, and clear that locality of any rebel force that might have gathered there; if necessary, advancing to Serai-ghât—a ferry over the Ganges, about twenty-five miles from Cawnpore. This officer accordingly marched, with a column of 2,800 men and eleven guns, to Bithoor, which he passed through without resistance, and reached Soorajpore, three miles short of Serai-ghât, where he bivouacked for the night. Early in the morning of the 9th, after leaving a portion of his column to protect the baggage, he advanced with the main body, and found the enemy assembling on the bank of the river. The guns

of the opposing forces were soon engaged in action; and, after a sharp fire of about half-an-hour's continuance, the artillery of the enemy was silenced. During the cannonade, a body of the enemy's cavalry made a desperate effort to capture the guns of the British force, but were met by Grant's cavalry, which charged upon them; and the intended attack of the rebel sowars was changed into a hurried flight, in the course of which a great number of them were cut down by their pursuers. The nature of the ground, however, was such, that most of the enemy reached the cover of trees and houses before the English troops could intercept them, and thus, for a time, escaped destruction. In this affair, the cavalry and artillery only were engaged, as the enemy had retreated before the infantry could reach the ground, leaving behind them fourteen brass guns and howitzers, one iron 18-pounder, and a large store of waggons and ammunition, all of which were speedily secured. In this fortunate affair, not a single casualty occurred on the side of the British; and, consequently, Brigadier Grant's return of killed, wounded, and missing, was *nil*.

The following is that officer's report of the affair at Serai-ghât, addressed to the chief of the staff:—

"Camp, Serai-ghât, December 11th, 1857.

"Sir,—At mid-day on the 8th inst., having received his excellency the commander-in-chief's orders, through you, to march to Bithoor, and, if I thought advisable, or heard of any of the rebels' guns being at Serai-ghât (a ferry about twenty-five miles above Cawnpore, on the Ganges), to proceed there, I started with the force named in the margin;* and from what I could learn on the road, I had reason to believe that a certain number of guns had been taken to this ghât. Towards evening I halted the force, and directed the men to have their dinners. I then proceeded on to Soorajpore, a village on the road, within three miles of Serai-ghât, where I halted the force until daylight. I then collected the baggage, and had it placed in a safe spot, covered by a portion of artillery, cavalry, and infantry. I moved the remainder within about two miles of the ghât, when I proceeded to reconnoitre with a party of the 9th lancers, and found on the banks of the river a force assembled, and horsemen and sepoys with baggage moving down towards the spot. I immediately ordered up the cavalry and guns; but the road under the banks of the river was of such a dangerous nature, from the quicksands, that the heavy 9-pounders of Captain Middleton's battery, drawn by tired horses, ran great risk of being altogether stopped; and it was only through the hard exertions and praiseworthy conduct of Captain Middleton, Lieutenant Millman (in command of the battery), and the men, that the guns were got through. An 18-pounder of the enemy was here discovered fixed in the quicksands. Two guns of the field battery having got over this difficulty, and on to the dry bank of the river, soon got into position; and under a very severe fire from thirteen of the rebels' guns, Lieutenant Millman brought his guns into play. Soon after, Captain Remmington's troop galloped up, and took up a most admirable position covered by the bank of a ditch, opening on the enemy a flanking fire, which, together with the remainder of the field battery, now come up, in half-an-hour's time completely silenced the enemy's fire, and put them in full retreat.

"A force of the rebels' cavalry, upon this, came up to try and take our guns; but the 9th lancers, under Major Ouvry, the 5th Punjab horse, under Lieutenant Younghusband, and Hodson's horse, under Lieutenant Gough (the whole commanded by Brigadier Little), advanced upon them, drove them away, and Lieutenant Younghusband, who was sent out in pursuit with his men, cut up some eighty or ninety stragglers, and took three standards. The movement of our cavalry towards the rear of the enemy no doubt had the effect of hurrying their retreat from their guns; but the ground was of such a nature as to prevent the possibility of getting at them before they had got under cover of trees and houses. The infantry brigade, under Brigadier the Hon. Adrian Hope, was of great use in supporting the advance of the cavalry; but before they reached the ground the enemy were in retreat. As soon as possible, I sent up the Sikh infantry to secure the guns; and am happy to say, fourteen brass guns and one 18-pounder, with limbers, waggons, &c., and a large quantity of ammunition, were taken.

"The success was complete; and I am truly grateful to God, and happy to say, though the fire of grape from the enemy was most severe and well-placed, falling amongst the artillery like hail, I had not a single man even wounded, and only one horse of Captain Middleton's battery killed. It was truly marvellous and providential. Thirteen guns, most of them 9-pounders and 24-pounder howitzers, were playing with grape on the gallant artillery, and with round shot upon the cavalry, the former within about 500 yards (and his excellency is well aware with what precision these rebels fire their guns), and yet not one single man was wounded.

"I gave directions at once to remove everything from the spot; and the highlanders, 53rd regiment, and Sikhs, with a most praiseworthy zeal and activity, brought off all the guns, waggons, &c., from the quicksands beyond which they had been placed. The troops had been marching since one o'clock on the 8th, with occasional halts; and the moving-in of the guns to a position I had taken up for them, within about three-quarters of a mile of the camp, was not accomplished till dusk the following day. They had little to eat or drink for nearly twenty-four hours; but there was not a complaint.

"I beg to request you will lay the names of the undermentioned officers before his excellency the commander-in-chief. Captain Middleton, who com-

* 1st troop 1st brigade horse artillery, 83 men, 5 guns; 7th company, 14th battalion, royal artillery, 139 men, 6 guns; 9th lancers, 327 men; 5th Punjab cavalry, 85 men; Hodson's horse, 109 men; 4th brigade—42nd highlanders, 403 men; 53rd foot, 413 men; 93rd highlanders, 806 men; 4th Punjab rifles, 332 men; sappers, 100: the whole amounting to 2,797 men, and eleven guns.

manded the whole of the artillery, rendered the greatest service, both in the action and in the moving of the guns; Lieutenant Millman, who commanded the battery; Captain Remmington, who worked his guns admirably, and who was most zealous in giving every assistance to Captain Middleton; Brigadier A. Little, to whom I was much indebted for his cavalry support to the guns, and for the way in which he brought his force to the front on the advance of the enemy; Major Ouvry, commanding the 9th lancers, a most active and zealous officer; Lieutenant Younghusband, commanding 5th Punjab cavalry; and Lieutenant Gough, commanding Hodson's horse: to all of whom my thanks are due for the very able way in which they commanded their regiments. Lieutenant Malcolm, commanding the royal engineers, and Lieutenant Forbes, commanding the Bengal engineers, who, with their men, executed the work entrusted to them with great ability and zeal; Brigadier the Hon. A. Hope, commanding the infantry brigade, was of the greatest possible assistance, and behaved with his usual well-known gallantry; Lieutenant-colonel Thorold, commanding 42nd highlanders; Colonel Faber, commanding 53rd regiment; Lieutenant-colonel Leith Hay, commanding 93rd highlanders; and Captain Ryves, commanding 4th Punjab infantry.

"My thanks are also due to the officers engaged for the able manner in which they commanded their regiments. Captain Bruce, head of the intelligence department, rendered me very great assistance in procuring information regarding the movements of the enemy.—I have, &c.,

"HOPE GRANT, Brigadier-general,
commanding Force."

The result of these successful movements by Sir Colin Campbell and his brigadiers, was to clear the road around Cawnpore for a considerable distance, while it left the commander-in-chief at liberty to mature his plan of future operations, and also to strengthen his force preparatory to a final advance upon Lucknow.

CHAPTER VIII.

PREPARATIONS FOR A CAMPAIGN IN OUDE; ATTACK UPON A REBEL FORCE AT JEERUM; NEEMUCH IN DANGER; INSUBORDINATION OF ODEYPORE CONTINGENT; THE FORT AT NEEMUCH; APPROACH OF REBEL FORCE; THE SIEGE; ASSAULT AND REPULSE; RETREAT OF REBEL TROOPS; CAPTURE OF A MOSLEM STANDARD; DETAILS OF THE SIEGE; MEHIDPORE; DEFECTION OF MALWA CONTINGENT; SLAUGHTER OF EUROPEAN OFFICERS; REBELS DEFEATED AT RAWUL; MUNDESORE EVACUATED BY THE REBEL TROOPS; THE NAWAB OF RUNEEA; OUTBREAKS AT CHITTAGONG AND DACCA; REBEL FORCE AT JELPIGOREE; AN EXECUTION; UNSUCCESSFUL PURSUIT OF THE ENEMY; JUNG BAHADOOR OF NEPAUL; THE GHOORKAS; GOVERNMENT NOTIFICATION; RECEPTION OF THE NEPAUL FORCE BY THE AUTHORITIES ON THE FRONTIER; ADVANCE TOWARDS GORUCKPORE; DEFEAT OF THE REBEL TROOPS; RECAPTURE OF GORUCKPORE; BATTLE OF SOHUNPORE; THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF EN ROUTE TO FUTTEGHUR; AFFAIR AT KALEE NUDDEE; FURRUCKABAD OCCUPIED; CONCENTRATION OF TROOPS FOR OUDE; STATE OF ROHILCUND; THE PUNJAB, MALWA, AND CENTRAL INDIA; HEROIC DEFENCE OF THE TREASURY AT TULLOWAN.

WHILE the operations detailed in the preceding chapter had been progressing at Cawnpore and the adjacent districts of the Upper Provinces, the revolutionary influences that raged over Hindostan were actively mischievous in other directions also; and, on every side, "war, and rumours of war," terrified and distressed society. The attention of the commander-in-chief was, at this period, principally confined to securing the advantages already obtained by his troops, and in maturing preparations for a campaign that should enable him to wrest Lucknow from the hands of its rebel masters, and restore the kingdom of Oude to the undisturbed domination of the British government. It was therefore not surprising, while thus occupied, that in distant quarters the fires of rebellion should burst forth, and burn with undiminished fury, fed as they were by the brands of religious fanaticism and national hatred.

Turning from the Doab, now for a time cleared of the rebel forces, we trace the lurid flame in a south-west direction, to the border of Rajpootana, where it had spread its devastating influences over a wide extent of country. For many months, Neemuch had been one of the centres of disaffection in this province; and about the middle of October, the mutinous sepoys and their vagrant followers began to gather around it from the surrounding districts; a body of them, from Mundesore, concentrating at Jeerum (a walled town, about ten miles distant), with an intention to attack the garrison at Neemuch. The latter, however, took the initiative in the matter;

and on the 24th of the month, marched out to try their strength. The rebels to be attacked had arrived from Mundesore, and were about a hundred strong. Two advanced parties of the 2nd cavalry, under Captain Tucker and Lieutenant Blair respectively, were sent on the previous night by different roads, the main column following at half-past 5 A.M. The party under Captain Tucker fell in with the rebels near Jeerum at daylight; and leaving a reserve, under Lieutenant Le Geyt, in a concealed situation, he advanced with a few men towards the enemy, and charged right through them, paying with his life for the daring act. In the *mêlée*, Captain Lawrie, of the 21st native infantry, who had volunteered to accompany the party, and had vainly endeavoured to dissuade Tucker from rashly charging with his half-dozen men into so large a force, finding remonstrance useless, bravely resolved to share the danger of his companion, and was wounded severely in the breast with a lance, besides being much cut about by the swords of the enemy. His horse was shot under him; and one trooper, with Captain Tucker, was killed in the charge. The enemy was, however, sufficiently alarmed by this unexpected encounter, to induce them to retire to a position out of the reach of cavalry, before Lieutenant Le Geyt, who had but a handful of men in reserve, could come up with them. The body of Captain Tucker was carried off by the rebels, but afterwards recovered by the men of his own troop, severed from the head, which had been retained by his murderers.

While this affair was in progress, the main body from Neemuch, under Captain Simpson, arrived before the walls of Jeerum, and found the enemy assembled on the brow of a hill, about 200 yards in front of the town, where they remained until the 9-pounder guns of the column got into position, and sent a few rounds of grape amongst their ranks, when they slowly retired to take up a stronger position, behind the shelter of some huts. Captain Bannister was then dispatched with a squadron to the other side of the town, to cut off any stragglers, and the action proceeded, and raged for some time with unusual obstinacy on the part of the enemy. The infantry in vain attempted to dislodge the latter from their position; and in their advance for that purpose, Captain Reade, commanding a detachment of the 83rd regiment, was killed, and Captain Soppit, of the 12th native infantry, dangerously wounded. Both infantry detachments seeing their commanders fall, made a retrograde movement; and the enemy, emboldened by it, rushed impetuously upon them, and captured one mortar, and had nearly obtained the guns, when Captain Simpson, with Lieutenants Blair and Le Geyt, with Riding-master Steers, charged with a squadron upon the enemy, recaptured the mortar, and dispersed the rebels, who fled to the fort. In this charge, Captain Simpson was severely wounded in the head, and his two lieutenants were also disabled. The day now approached its close; and a report reached Captain Bannister, who succeeded Captain Simpson in command of the column, that a large force of the enemy was advancing on Neemuch from another direction. For this reason, as well as on account of the great natural strength of the place, which rendered it impregnable without the aid of breaching guns, Captain Bannister determined upon returning to protect Neemuch, which he reached with the remains of his column the same night, taking with him the body of Captain Reade, which had been gallantly recovered, in the face of a heavy fire from the walls, by a Belooch of the 12th native infantry, named Mulam Khan.

The reported advance upon Neemuch was from Mundesore, about twenty-eight miles distant; and the rebel force collected for the purpose, was understood to consist of some 600 Affghans, or Belatees, 4,000 Meewatties, and 350 horsemen of various races, with seven guns: thus the threatened danger was obviously of a serious character. For several days, no perceptible movement on the part of the rebels appeared to substantiate the rumour; but at length, on Sunday, the 8th of the month, a spy arrived at the British camp about 3 P.M., and announced that the enemy, who had been for a day or two encamped at Mullhayar (an intermediate town, about twelve miles from Neemuch), were advancing in great force, the advanced guard of cavalry being already within three miles of the town. As no time was to be lost in an effort to check their approach, a detachment of the 2nd light cavalry, consisting of a hundred men under Captain Bannister, moved out, and proceeded along the Mundesore-road. By the time they had marched about two miles, the van of the enemy

was discovered drawn up in line in a commanding position, on the brow of a hill, with about a thousand yards of open plain in their front; having with them three guns, and numbering at least 3,500 men. With such an immense disparity of numbers, and advantage of position, it would have been madness to attack them, even had the dragoons with Captain Bannister been Europeans; and he therefore manœuvred about, until a reinforcement, for which he had sent back to the British camp, should arrive. After thus attracting the attention of the enemy, who fortunately remained inactive during the interval, Captain Showers, the officiating political agent in Mewar, joined the party under Bannister, with a number of troops belonging to the Rana of Odeypore; who merely added to the difficulty already existing, by positively refusing to advance against the rebels when the order was given them to do so. As it happened, the insubordination of these worthless auxiliaries extended no further than the mere refusal to attack the rebels; and after manœuvring about for some time, the troops gradually retired for the night to the lines, under shelter of the fort, the enemy making no effort to follow or prevent them.

The fort at Neemuch is a small square, measuring externally 170 yards, with a quadrangular bastion at each angle; the walls, $18\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, by 8 thick at the base, had on the inner face open casemates, which were chiefly converted into barracks. The eastern and western bastions were built solid, to allow of heavy ordnance or mortars being placed upon them; the southern and northern were hollow, but bomb-proof; and in the former of the two the magazine was contained. The gateway of the fortification was in the north-eastern curtain, protected by a drawbridge and deep ditch; and in front of it, at a short distance, was a mound or embankment to mask the gate, called the Victoria mound, upon which a 24-pounder gun was mounted. On the bastions were placed an 8-inch mortar, two 9-pounders, two French 6-pounders, and a couple of guns taken from the rebels at Nimbhaira. The stock of ammunition was limited; and as there were no loopholes in the parapet of the curtain, about 1,000 sand-bags were made, and arranged to supply the deficiency.

Externally, on three sides of the fort, and extending for about 1,500 yards, was a tolerably deep trench, the excavated soil forming an embankment towards the fort; and on the fourth side was a wide nullah, which had been dammed up. Upon the space between the trench and the walls of the fortification, the political agent (Captain Showers) had his bungalow and compound, the latter being well stocked with trees and outhouses. The garrison within the fort consisted of the following troops—viz., eleven artillery officers and sergeants, thirty-seven Christian troopers of the 2nd light cavalry, sixty-nine men of her majesty's 83rd regiment, 206 of the 12th Bombay native infantry, and four volunteers; making a total of 327 fighting-men. There were also in the fort, for protection, two ladies with their families, several sergeants' wives with their children, forty-one sick of the various corps, and some native servants; making altogether a total of 778 persons. Besides these there were all the gun horses, with about twenty others belonging to the officers, and several commissariat bullocks. For this number of persons and cattle there was but an indifferent supply of provisions; and the water supply for the whole was only to be obtained from two wells in the fort, each about ten feet in diameter, and containing about twelve feet of water.

The night of the 8th of November was allowed to pass without interruption; but about seven o'clock on the morning of the 9th, the shouts of the approaching rebels were heard. Orders were issued for all persons, except the cavalry in the intrenchment, to retire within the fort, and the gates were closed. In a few minutes the rebel movements became visible from the bastions, and their standards were advanced to near the ruins of the old residency buildings destroyed in the outbreak of June, which were about 300 yards distant from the fort.

The cavalry within the intrenchment now mounted, and moved off along the Nimbhaira-road, taking with them, or rather followed by, the whole of the native servants who had remained outside the fort. The rebels, encouraged by this movement, made an advance towards the fortification; but as soon as they came sufficiently near, a 24-pound shot, which fell in their midst, warned them that they had been expected, but were not desired. A considerable number of them then, with one gun, made a detour to a village named Bagana, about 1,300 yards to the rear of the fort; while the

remainder spread themselves out in the cover unfortunately made for them by the plantations and buildings in Showers' compound. The Bagana party immediately opened fire upon the fort with their 12-pounder gun, but without effect; and a little shell and 9-pounder practice from the bastions soon rendered the gun useless, and compelled the rebels to move back to the residency buildings, where they had established their head-quarters. The division in the compound and trenches kept up a constant fire throughout the day, and rendered it dangerous for any head to be visible above the parapet of the fort.

During the week the enemy kept up an incessant attack upon the fortifications with his guns and small arms, but the garrison were equally vigilant and alert in returning his fire. Some desertions from the native detachments in the fort occurred; and on the fifth day (Friday), a spy from the enemy, who had come in with some cossids, was detected in the garrison: on the following day, as he would give no information, he was tried by a court of native officers, and sentenced to death; and being led to the summit of the mortar bastion, he was seated upon the parapet and shot—his body falling over the wall, to be picked up by his fellow-traitors. On Wednesday, the 18th of the month (the tenth day of the siege), an attempt was made from the fort to dispatch a messenger to the Mhow force, which was supposed to be then at Mundesore. The cossid was apprehensive of being recognised by some of the men who had deserted from the fort, and was reluctant to leave it, but was compelled to do so, as the supplies of firewood and water were rapidly diminishing, and no other means existed of replenishing either. The poor fellow's presentiment of danger was realised, as about 2 P.M. he was taken by the enemy, who drove him at the point of the sword towards their camp. Although seen, the distance was too great to justify an attempt to rescue him, and he was necessarily left to his fate.

On the night of the 20th of November, a great deal of activity was visible in the rebel camp, and around the bazaar; and about four on the following morning, a sepoy of the 12th regiment reported, that the enemy, in good force, was advancing towards the north-east curtain. The information was found to be correct, and the alarm was sounded. Almost at the same moment, a heavy fire of musketry opened upon the rebels from the southern bastion, and from the curtain on both its flanks: a well-directed discharge of grape from the northern bastion and the mortar bastion also commenced; and the effect of the fire was such that the attacking division was driven off. In this portion of the defence the sepoys of the 12th native regiment were stated to have behaved admirably. The first party had scarcely retired, when shouts were heard to "advance" and "drag," and it was seen that another portion of the rebel force were bringing a gun as near as possible to the southern bastion, which was hollow, for the purpose of trying the effect of shot at close quarters on the wall. These men came on to their work with loud shouts and discordant yells; but a shell, judiciously directed, was lodged just in front of them, and followed by another which burst in the middle of, and opened, their ranks very considerably. After repeated efforts to advance, the enemy retired from the ground dispirited and thoroughly checked, leaving behind them their scaling-ladders, and, at a tent near the southern bastion, one of their consecrated Moslem standards. The acquisition of the latter became an object of intense desire among the officers and others in the fort, and several volunteered to bring it in; but Captain Simpson, the senior officer, refused to risk his Europeans for the purpose. At length, a havildar, Teeka Sing, and the Belooch, Mulam Khan, offered to descend from the southern bastion and bring in the coveted prize, and they were permitted to make the attempt. Admiring the intrepidity of Mulam Khan upon a former occasion, Captain Lloyd took off his own sword and fastened it round the waist of the gallant soldier; and on the signal being given, the two brave men nimbly descended, under cover of the fire from the walls, and seizing the standard, quickly returned with it, without being in any way harmed. Mulam Khan, as a reward for his spirit, was made a havildar on the bastion at once, and Teeka Sing was promoted to jemadar.

On the following night, considerable noise was heard in the rebel camp towards the residency and in Showers' compound, and a desperate attempt to recover the captured standard was expected; but, to the great relief of the garrison, about five o'clock in the morning of the 22nd, it became apparent that the rebels were moving off. Shortly afterwards, a Borah, whose nose had been cut off by the enemy, came to the fort, and

reported that an attack had certainly been intended, but that during the night, an express had arrived from the Shahzadah at Mundesore, ordering all the faithful to repair to that place forthwith, and assist in repelling the attack made upon it by the Mhow column.

On examining the position held by the rebels after their departure, the bank of the intrenchment was found scooped out in numerous places, to allow of men being well covered while firing upon the fort, the general appearance being that of a rabbit-warren.

The following memoranda of the siege of Neemuch may not be uninteresting:—

"November 8th.—About 5 P.M. the enemy appeared before the fort: a *reconnaissance* was made by the 2nd Bombay cavalry, under Captain Bannister, in which Lieutenant Stapleton's (1st Bengal light cavalry) charger was mortally wounded by a round shot from the enemy. The enemy were seen to be in force, with several guns, their number supposed to amount to about 4,000. Our cavalry returned about sunset.

"It having been determined that, with our small force of only about 400 effective fighting-men, we could not meet the enemy in the field, the cavalry, with some baggage, marched out into the neighbouring country in the early morning. About 8 A.M. the enemy came into the station, burning the houses that the mutineers of the 3rd of June had spared. The enemy had fired a few shots from a large gun placed near the village of Nixongunge; but our shells from the 8-inch mortars interfered with their shooting a good deal. Their sharpshooters took possession of some outhouses and the intrenchment, and kept up a heavy fire. Lieutenant Williams, 21st grenadier Bombay native infantry, was struck by one of them to-day, the bullet going through his hat and tearing his forehead above the left eye—rather a narrow escape. A Banda man of the 2nd cavalry was also grazed on the jaw by a bullet, either on the 9th or 10th. The fire of the enemy from their guns was very slack from the 9th to the 10th; on some days, a few round shot being fired against the fort, and on others none at all. On the 11th, Lieutenant Barnes, Bengal horse artillery, was struck by a bullet while looking over a parapet early in the morning; the ball entered above the nipple of the right breast, and was cut out of the armpit. This day the cavalry made a diversion, coming into Nixongunge, and cutting up some dozen or so of the enemy there, and drawing the enemy out of the intrenchments, under the fire of our 24-pounder, which let into them with round shot. The cavalry was the 6th troop, under Lieutenant Farquharson, with Lieutenant Stevenson (2nd Bombay Europeans), and Lieutenant Stapleton (1st Bengal light cavalry), as subalterns: the enemy came out in great force, and attempted to surround it with their cavalry. Some of the Odeypore troops, who accompanied our cavalry, had several of their number destroyed by the enemy. The loss of our cavalry was two men, and one or two slightly wounded. The plan of the enemy was to keep up a pretty smart matchlock fire in the early morning and in the evening; at mid-day they did not fire much—perhaps they were eating their dinners and sleeping. This fire was kept up from outhouses near the fortified square, and from the lines of circumvallation thrown up round the fort.

"Nov. 19th.—An attempt was made to batter one of the curtains. Some of the shots hit the curtain, some went over the fort altogether, and some fell inside; one of the last went into that partition of the fort in which the post-office was kept, and broke the table of Lieutenant Rose (25th Bombay native infantry), the postmaster, who, luckily, was not sitting at it. Their attempt at breaching having failed, the enemy seem to have determined to try to take the place by escalade: accordingly, on the 21st, between 4 and 5 A.M., they made the attempt in the dark; but the garrison were not to be caught napping, and beat them off, they leaving four ladders and a standard on the ground; the standard, a holy green Mussulman affair, was brought in by Teeka Sing and Mulam Khan, both of the 12th Bombay native infantry; the former was a havildar, and is to be promoted to a jemadarship; the latter is promoted from private to havildar.

"On the 22nd (early morning), it was found that the enemy had left the place *en route* for Mundesore: it has since been learnt that they met the Mhow column and lost their guns, and that numbers of them were slain. Lieutenant Brett, 2nd Bombay cavalry, and two of her majesty's 83rd, died of sickness during the siege. On the 22nd (evening) the cavalry returned to camp. There seems to be some confusion in the papers as to what defences the garrison of Neemuch were surrounded by during the

siege; to dispel which I give you the following explanation:—The fort of Neemuch is a common fortified square, about as large as a big serai. Outside this, and surrounding it, except on one side where a stream runs, at a distance of about 300 yards or so, on an average from the centre of the fort, run a succession of salient and re-entering angles of the parapet and *bouquette*, with a ditch on the outside. Of course, so vast a length of lines could only be kept by thousands, and were useless—worse than useless—to the small garrison of Neemuch, but very useful to the enemy, who occupied them on the first day, and kept on firing from them every day that they remained in Neemuch. It is said that these lines were made at the suggestion, or requisition, or order, and some say at the expense, of one of General Lawrence's assistant politicals, who is officiating political agent, Mewar; and they were commonly called after him, 'Showers' ditch.' They are now being levelled, and may be considered as of the past."

The departure of the rebel force from Neemuch had not been commanded before it was wanted; although the accession of its numbers was unavailing in the contest before it. On the morning of the 8th of November, the Malwa contingent, under Major Timins and Lieutenant Mills, was attacked at Mehidpore by the Vellaitees, Rohillas, and Mokranees, aided by the budmashes of the city. The insurgents were led by the amildar (or native police officer of Mehidpore), and numbered between 4,000 and 5,000 men, armed with matchlocks, swords, and spears. The force opposed to this host consisted of 250 men of the contingent, with the two officers named; and after maintaining a gallant but unequal fight, from seven in the morning until three in the afternoon, the loyal troops were compelled to retire from the scene of contest with the loss of their guns. The Mussulmans of the contingent refused to obey their officers, and joined the enemy, who forthwith gratified their revenge by murdering several of the Europeans, among whom were Lieutenant Mills, Dr. Carey, and two sergeant-majors. They then plundered and set fire to the station. Major Timins escaped in the direction in which the Malwa field force, under Brigadier Stuart, was supposed to be advancing; but the fate of his lady and other Europeans at the station, remained for some time unknown. At length, on the 13th of the month, Mrs. Timins reached the English camp at Jehampore in safety, having been compelled to disguise herself in male attire, to escape the pursuit of the rebels. The following telegram, from Captain Mayne to the governor-general, announced the intelligence of the affair at Mehidpore:—

"Camp, Jehampore, Nov. 13th, 1857.

"Mehidpore was attacked by the rebel force from Bunnuggur at 8 A.M. on the 8th instant, they having first fired the station. The infantry and artillery of the contingent assembled near the artillery lines, and the guns opened on the rebels, who were under cover of the bungalows and their enclosures. The Mehidpore contingent infantry mostly behaved shamefully, refusing to attack when led on by their officers. The subahdar-major opened his jacket as the rebels approached, took out a green flag, and hoisted it. Only a portion of the artillery stood to their guns, and, at noon, the rebels advanced and took them. The contingent troops then fled, and their officers were forced to escape, escorted by a faithful band of the 2nd Gwalior cavalry. Lieutenant Mills is killed, and Dr. Carey reported to be so. Major Timins left his wife in the city of Mehidpore, and fled towards Oojein with Lieutenant Dysart, joining our camp at Bunnuggur on the 10th instant. That night, the Hyderabad contingent force, under the command of Major Orr, started for Mehidpore, parties of the 1st, 3rd, and 4th cavalry, going in advance; but on reaching that station, they found it evacuated, the rebels having taken with them two 12-pounders, four 9-pounders, and sixty cart-loads of ammunition and plunder."

On the morning of the 11th, the advanced body of cavalry, led by Captain Abbot, of the 1st regiment, reached Mehidpore, which they occupied without resistance, the rebels having evacuated it the previous day. On the 12th, he marched out with 337 of the 1st, 3rd, and 4th Hyderabad cavalry, and overtook the insurgents, to the number of about 500, with two guns, at Rawul, where they had resolved to make a stand. They were immediately attacked and dispersed, leaving a hundred dead upon the field, with two 9-pounder guns, and a large quantity of ordnance stores. In the pursuit that followed, the enemy abandoned three guns, which they had taken from Mehidpore, with two others of larger calibre, seized by them at Bunnuggur. Upon this occasion

the casualties were inconsiderable—one officer only being seriously wounded. Of the enemy, seventy-six prisoners were taken, who were tried by drum-head court-martial at Mehidpore, and shot for being in rebellion against the government. On the 12th, part of the force crossed the Chumbul, and encamped on the other side, two marches from Mundesore, near which some 8,000 rebels were reported to have taken up a position. The troops continued inactive until the 21st of the month, when the enemy, under Heera Sing, attacked the left front, but were driven back into Mundesore with heavy loss. The cavalry pursued the rebel commander and his escort into a fortified village about ten miles from Mundesore, on the Neemuch-road, where the main body of the rebel force appeared in strength, and displayed its standards. On the 23rd, Brigadier Stuart's main column came up, and marched in quest of the mutineers, with whom it at length met, drawn up in a strong position, having the village of Goorareea in their centre, and considerably outflanking, by their numbers and arrangement, the British force, whose artillery speedily silenced a battery of five guns, afterwards captured by a party of the 14th light dragoons. The enemy were then driven from their position with heavy loss; but a body of them took shelter in the village, and continued to hold it with great determination. While thus engaged in front, the garrison of Mundesore sallied out, and attacked the rear of the force, but were repulsed with loss by the rear-guard, which had been timely strengthened in anticipation of the attack. On the 25th, the rebels, dispirited by successive defeats, evacuated Mundesore during the night, and retired on Nagurh, in the direction of Rampoorah. By this movement, Neemuch was effectually relieved from any danger on the Mundesore side. Shortly after this fact was ascertained, the Malwa field force returned to Mhow, where Major-general Rose was appointed to the command, *vice* Brigadier Stuart.

The subjoined account of some of the movements of the force is interesting:—

'Mhow, December 25th, 1857.

"The Malwa field force having returned hither, I purpose giving you a brief account of our journey from the time we left Mundesore. On the morning of the 2nd inst. we left that place, and arrived at Mehidpore about 8 A.M. on the 9th, where we found that the work of devastation had been carried to a fearful extent. Not a vestige of anything European was to be seen, except the smoke-blackened, ruined walls of those bungalows in which but recently our countrymen and their families happily dwelt. There were fearful traces of the recent battle fought between Orr's column and the Mehidpore mutineers, as well as the victory gained over the latter. Rambling amidst the ruins, I strayed into a mango-tope only a few paces from the main road, and there I counted fifty human skeletons; and a short distance from the residency, down a little valley, eighteen more. It was, I think, obvious to all of us, that, at the time we entered the place, a great number of rebels were still sheltered there; for on our approach, the native artillery lines were set fire to, as if to acquaint us with their presence and their unsated vengeance. It is quite clear the fire could not have arisen from spontaneous combustion; and had the inhabitants of Mehidpore—who now professed to be staunch friends to the government—desired to prove their loyalty, they could easily have apprehended the scoundrels who dared thus to mock British authority, especially as the rebels were declared to have fled some days previous to our arrival. On the following morning we marched *en route* to Oojein, and from thence to Indore, where we arrived on the morning of the 15th, all expecting to be called upon to demand from the native inhabitants a "settlement of accounts," in atonement for the blood of not our countrymen, but our helpless countrywomen and children, who were brutally murdered by those accursed Indoreans, who are now, according to the statement of Colonel Durand, "satisfactorily" settled with, and are fondly petted by those to whom we have all along been looking up, with patience and anxious glances, for the word to march, and inflict upon such miscreants the punishment they so richly deserve."

At this time, the natural excitement of the European troops against the native inhabitants of the towns that had revolted, still prevailed in an intense degree; and every instance of leniency shown to the latter, whether merited by exceptional circumstances, or not, was imperfectly understood, and became a source of disappointment and dissatisfaction to those who con-

sidered British soldiers in India only properly employed when carrying out measures of vengeance and retaliation.

Proceeding northward, we find treachery and rebellion trampled down by the iron heel of the authority that had been insulted in that direction; and the vigour and decision of Mr. Montgomery, judicial commissioner for the Punjab, as described in the following letter addressed officially to the commissioner of Sirsa, was considered as entitling the former gentleman to high and merited encomium, for the example he had afforded to others invested with similar powers.

"Lahore, November 7th, 1857.

"Sir,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of November 3rd, submitting the vernacular proceedings of the case of Noor Sunnund Khan, nawab of Runeea; and, in reply, to communicate the following remarks:—I gather from the proceedings, that on danger threatening the district of Sirsa in May last, the superintendent, Captain Robertson, summoned the nawab of Runeea (the prisoner in this case, and who with his family receive a pension from government of 5,760 rupees per annum), and directed him to raise a small force, horse and foot, for the protection of Sirsa; which he did, and a sum of money was advanced to meet the cost of maintaining them. The nawab was present in Sirsa, with his men, when the outbreak took place. There is evidence to show that the nawab and his men, instead of protecting the town, joined the plunderers, and that a portion of the plunder was sent to his house in carts; also, that he was proclaimed ruler of the country; and that, as such, he wrote a letter deprecating the conduct of certain parties who had made an inroad into *his* territory. Gohur Ali Khan, the uncle of the prisoner, was with him at the time, and has since been apprehended and hanged.

"The commission finds the prisoner, Nawab Noor Sunnund Khan, guilty of treason against the state, by having caused the king of Delhi to be proclaimed as king, and himself as ruler of the country, and passed sentence of death on him; but inasmuch as he does not seem to have been guilty of murder, and considering an example no longer necessary, the case is referred for my final orders. Of the nawab's guilt there can be no doubt. He, as also his ancestors, long enjoyed pensions, favour, and consideration from the British government. Instead, therefore, of aiding the local authorities, who reposed confidence in him, and whom he professed to serve, he joined the rebels with his adherents, and caused himself to be proclaimed ruler. Although murder is not actually proved to have been committed by himself, yet the city of Sirsa was entirely plundered and destroyed, as were also the government offices; treasure and property belonging to government carried off, and the prisoners released from gaol. A number of lives are known to have been sacrificed, of which there is no record. I consider it, therefore, imperative to make examples of such men as the nawab. The leaders must feel that vengeance will assuredly overtake them. Mercy, in this instance, would be weakness, and would encourage others to rebel hereafter. I, therefore, with the concurrence of the chief commissioner, sentence him, Noor Sunnund Khan, nawab of Runeea, to be hanged.

"The sentence is to be carried out without delay.—I have, &c.,

"R. MONTGOMERY, Judicial Commissioner."

Crossing from the north-west to almost the south-eastern extremity of Bengal, we find the town and district of Chittagong, which was ceded to the British in 1760, subjected, in November, to the usual consequences of a mutinous outbreak. On the night of the 18th of the month, some companies of the 34th regiment of native infantry rose upon their officers, whom, however, they did not harm. First plundering the treasury of about three lacs of rupees, they liberated the prisoners in the gaol, killing a burkandaze who resisted them; and then, having fired their cantonments, they blew up the magazine and left the town, taking with them three government elephants to carry their booty. Avoiding the main road to Tipperah, through fear of being intercepted at a ferry on the route, the mutineers hurried on the way towards Sylhet, where they halted for a short time to deliberate on their further proceedings; and being there reinforced by the accession of a number of armed vagabonds from the adjacent villages, they subsequently took the route to Mongapore, through the jungle, in order to avoid the chance of being intercepted.

The report of Captain Dewool, commanding the 34th regiment of native infantry at Chittagong, affords the following detail of this affair, which fortunately involved no loss of European life.

"Chittagong, November 24th, 1857.

"I have the honour to report, for the information of Major-general Sir J. Hearsey, K.C.B., commanding the presidency division, that, on the evening of Wednesday, the 18th instant, about nine o'clock, the detachment of the 34th regiment of native infantry mutinied, and instantly occupied the magazine with a strong body of men. Immediately upon hearing the noise from my house, which is quite close to the lines, I went to the parade in company with Lieutenant Hunter; but upon approaching the scene of disturbance, hearing the men very violent and loading their muskets, I directed that officer to retire, and went forward to the mutineers alone. I found a very strong guard in front of the magazine, who challenged me, and shouted out in a most violent tone, 'Don't care for him! Go away! you have no business here!' I advanced up to it, and did my best, with every argument I could use, to persuade the men to their duty; but a Mohammedan, who was in a native dress, and not in uniform like the rest, standing out in front, called out in a loud voice, 'The whole detachment is in a state of mutiny, and we have all determined to die if it is necessary. Go away!' This he said shaking his hand in my face, and using the most violent gestures. A shout was then raised, 'Shoot him! shoot him!' but a number of voices replied, 'No! no! don't hurt the captain.' Taking encouragement from this, and thinking I might have some men who would stand by me, I again endeavoured, by every persuasion, to bring the men to a sense of their duty, and appealed to several sepoys by name, who had previously borne a good character, to think what they were about, and to remain faithful to their salt; but they all replied that they had joined the mutineers, and that it was not their intention to withdraw. A shout was again raised, 'Shoot him! shoot him!' which was again negatived; and at the same moment two or three sepoys, with their muskets at the charge, came at me. Not liking this demonstration, I stepped back a few paces, and got out of the crowd, which was gradually getting round me; a Sikh of No. 4 company then came up, and giving me a rough push, said, 'Go away from this (*Hum suh log bigger gya*).' Not a single native commissioned or non-commissioned officer, or Sikh, remained by me; and seeing nothing could be done, I went to the quarters of Lieutenant Hunter, close by, and found that officer with Lieutenant Thomson, walking in the verandah; I told them hastily what had occurred, upon which they armed themselves and immediately went away. I then went to every house in the cantonment, to give warning to the residents, but most of them had already taken alarm and fled. Ultimately joining the civil surgeon's family, who live at the extreme end of the cantonment, in their company I sought to make my own escape; but by this time the parade and all the road around were covered with mutineers, so that we were only able to reach the next house, where we were detained for about two hours; we afterwards disguised ourselves as natives, and, under the guidance of the collector's bearers, proceeded by a jungle path to the banks of the river, when with difficulty we got a boat, and dropped down to the Kortabeea lighthouse, from whence we returned yesterday.

"I have to state that the mutineers plundered the treasury most completely, and in doing so killed a burkandaze. They also broke open the gaol, and forced the prisoners to go with them to carry the treasure; and afterwards returned to the cantonments, and blew up the magazine and burned down the lines. I am happy to say that none of the European residents have been personally injured, and that, with the exception of a horse or two which were taken away to carry their baggage, the mutineers have left all private property untouched.

"I have been informed by a native named Thakoor Bux, formerly a jemadar of the Chittagong provincial battalion, whom the mutineers forced to go some distance with them, that the pay-havildar of No. 4 company, named Rujub Ali Khan, has assumed command of the detachment, which, we hear, has crossed the Fenny river, and entered the territories of the rajah of Tipperah.

"I took the opportunity while at Kootubdeen, to write to the commissioner of Arracan, reporting the mutiny, and requesting him to send a copy of my letter for the information of the general commanding, which I hope has been done.—I have, &c.,

"P.H.K. Dewool, Captain, commanding 34th Regiment Native Infantry.

"P.S.—Lieutenants Hunter and Thomson are in safety."

Intelligence of the outbreak at Chittagong reached Dacca, a military station of secondary importance, but the capital of a

district of Bengal, situated on a branch of the Brahmaputra, called the Booree Gunga, or Old Ganges, at a few miles distant from the scene of disorder. Upon the arrival of the messenger from Chittagong, at 10 P.M., the authorities assembled, and resolved, by way of prevention, to disarm the sepoys of the 11th native infantry, in garrison there, amounting to about 260 men. To effect this, they had no other military force than a small corps of volunteers, which had been for some weeks in training for active service, and a few sailors collected under the command of Lieutenant Lewis; the whole amounting together to about ninety Europeans. The volunteers were ordered to march at once to the collectorate, to watch the guard there, while the process of disarming it was carried out. A little before 5 A.M., the sailors, with two mountain howitzers, under the command of Lieutenant Lewis, proceeded to the collectorate, and disarmed the guard there, without meeting with any attempt at resistance. The executive officers' guard was soon after marched in without arms by Lieutenant Rhynd, and the whole were placed in charge of the volunteers. Soon after some very heavy firing was heard in the direction of the Lall Bagh, a fortified barrack; and an alarm was given that the men stationed there were escaping from it by windows in the rear. The sailors were immediately marched off for the Lall Bagh, situated a mile and a-half to the westward of the treasury, detaching on their way a party to disarm the commissariat guard. On approaching the Lall Bagh, Lieutenant M'Mullin, with two sailors, went forward to communicate with the officers in charge; but they were fired upon, and compelled to retire to the main body, which deployed into line, and advanced. Immediately on this movement being observed, a severe fire of grape was opened upon them, in front and flank, from the barracks, which, having lattice-work verandahs, afforded shelter to those who fired, as loopholes would have done. Lieutenant Lewis, upon this, left his howitzers, and with two or three gentlemen, who acted as riflemen, wheeled his men right-shoulders-forward, and gave the order to charge up the face of a mound, in front of the building on which some of the mutineers had posted themselves. This assault was made in gallant style, but not without the loss of several brave men. The mutineers then fled into the barracks, and were driven from building to building, along the whole length of the enclosure; and in the course of the struggle, a gallant charge was made upon the guns, which were taken; and the sepoys then fled by every possible outlet from the place. During the conflict, Dr. Green, the military surgeon, was shot through the leg, and seriously injured, while attending the wounded at the hospital. The Rev. Mr. Winchester, a resident, distinguished himself in the midst of the fire, by assisting to carry the wounded from the field to the hospital. The people of the town behaved remarkably well, and, with cheers, assisted to drag the captured guns and tumbril to the collectorate, and seemed to look on with admiration when the sailors, having made a prize of the drum and fife belonging to the sepoys, marched back to their barracks, playing the "British Grenadiers." In this short but spirited affair, there were engaged about ninety Europeans against 260 native soldiers, having among them twenty-six golundauzes; the whole of the mutineers being fully prepared for the struggle whenever it might happen—the pouches of many of them being found to contain sixty rounds of ball cartridge, besides a number of the latter concealed in their beds and other places. Of the Europeans, one was killed, and eighteen wounded—three mortally.

The subjoined report from Lieutenant Dowell, R.A., commanding at Dacca, furnishes the official account of the occurrence at that place.

"Dacca, November 22nd, 1857.

"Sir,—I have the honour to inform you that, in consequence of intelligence received by express at 5 P.M. last evening, from Mr. Metcalfe, judge of Tipperah, that the three companies of the 34th native infantry stationed at Chittagong, had mutinied, plundered the treasury, let loose the prisoners, and were supposed to be making towards this station, a meeting, composed of C. T. Davidson, Esq., commissioner of the district; C. F. Carnac, Esq., magistrate; Lieutenant Lewis, Indian navy, commanding detachment of European seamen, and myself, was immediately convened; at which it was unanimously agreed that the detachments 2nd company 9th battalion artillery, and 73rd regiment of native infantry (strength as per margin*), should be disarmed at day-

* Artillery—1 havildar, 3 naiks, 22 privates. Detachment 73rd regiment native infantry—1 subahdar, 2 jemadars, 12 havildars, 8 naiks, 4 drummers, 201 sepoys.

break this morning. Consequently, at 5 A.M., Lieutenant Lewis, Indian navy, commanding detachment of European seamen, proceeded to the treasury, and disarmed that guard; detaching at the same time a section, under the command of Mr. Connor, Indian navy, to my quarters, for the purpose of disarming the executive officers' guard: this being accomplished, we joined the main body and proceeded to the lines, disarming the commissariat guard *en route*. On our arrival at the Lall Bagh, Lieutenant C. N. M'Mullin, commanding detachment of 73rd regiment of native infantry, and myself, entered, followed by Lieutenant Lewis's detachment: immediately a shot was fired at Lieutenant C. N. M'Mullin, followed by a heavy fire of musketry from the magazine, barracks, and other buildings.

"Lieutenant Lewis, Indian navy, commanding detachment of European seamen, formed line, fired a volley, and charged; after which, the sepoys fell back upon their 6-pounder guns, which were taken and spiked; and the sepoys were entirely routed and dispersed. The only assistance I was able to give, was to assist Mr. Connor with his mountain howitzers, one of which he kindly made over to me, and I worked it until the end. Dr. W. A. Green, civil surgeon (who accompanied us as medical officer, in the absence of Dr. A. V. Best, who is very ill), is, I regret to say, severely wounded by a musket-ball through the thigh. As far as I am at present able to discover, forty of the sepoys were killed during the engagement, which lasted a little more than half-an-hour. The treasure, and nearly all the ammunition, and a great number of muskets, are in our possession; those who escaped, only carrying off what they had in pouch.

"A statement of arms, accoutrements, ammunition, &c., missing, will be forwarded to the military auditor-general without delay. Of the whole detachment, we have only fifteen remaining, six of whom are in hospital.—I have, &c.,

"WALLIS DOWELL, Lieutenant, Artillery, commanding at Dacca."

On the expulsion of the mutineers from Dacca, a considerable number of them directed their steps towards Jelpigoree, at a few miles' distance, where the head-quarters of their regiment was stationed. Intelligence of their approach quickly reached the place; and to avert the threatened danger, a detachment of the 73rd regiment, and some troopers of the 11th regiment of irregular cavalry, were ordered out to meet and disperse the rebels, whose advance had been hitherto unimpeded; for so thoroughly was that part of India denuded of British troops, that there were none to repel them; and many villages were plundered on their way. The troops sent out to arrest their progress marched away cheerfully, and apparently determined in their loyalty—having actually assisted in arming some Ghoorkas to aid in protecting the station. An officer of the 73rd, writing from Jelpigoree on the 3rd of December, says,—"Our men have sworn to their native officers (not to us) that they will do their duty; and our spies, who have hitherto proved so trustworthy, declare that we may fully depend on the regiment. Yesterday the test commenced by our ordering accoutrements and ammunition to be served out to 200 Ghoorkas. This was done cheerfully, and is a very good indication of the prevailing feeling. A strange scene it was, while watching the sepoys doling out ammunition to Ghoorkas to fight against their own (the sepoys) comrades, and it did one's heart good to see it."

The men of the 73rd and 11th had no sooner quitted the station, than murmurs of discontent were heard among some troopers of the latter regiment, who evidently sympathised with their comrades of the Dacca garrison. The annoyance, however, passed off without an outbreak; but on the 5th of December, the whole of the remaining men of the 11th, about fifty in number, with a rissaldar at their head, quietly deserted, taking with them their horses, arms, and ammunition. The fact was reported to the adjutant-general of the presidency division, by Colonel Sherer, in command of the 73rd regiment, in the following despatch:—

"Jelpigoree, Dec. 5th, 1857, 11.30 P.M.

"Sir,—I have the honour to report, for the information of the major-general commanding the division, that intelligence received yesterday induced me to call in the Europeans and Ghoorka sappers from Punbolaree. I expect them by 3 P.M. to-day.

"The rebels are now reported to be making their way here, *viâ* Kooch Behar, on the opposite side of the Teesta. The Europeans will join the force at Madargunge: the Ghoorkas remain here.

"After hearing that the Europeans were coming, the 4th troop 11th irregular cavalry went off with their horses, arms, and accoutrements. This occurred at 2 A.M.

to-day. The cavalry lines being some distance from the infantry, the departure of the cavalry was neither heard nor noticed; and I did not become aware of the fact till two hours had elapsed, so that pursuit was out of the question. The 73rd regiment are behaving admirably.—I have, &c.,

"G. M. SHERER, Colonel, commanding 73rd Native Infantry."

In reference to this affair, a letter from an officer of the force called in, dated "Jelpigoree, 11th December," says—"Here we are encamped in the huts of the 11th irregular cavalry, after a tedious march of forty miles in eighteen hours. We left Darjeeling on the 1st, and arrived here on the morning of the 6th. The cavalry who were stationed here bolted the night previous to our arrival, and are dispersed amongst the neighbouring villages, about eight miles from hence. Our men and the Ghoorkas are quite savage at not getting *tête-à-tête* with them. However, we shall march to-morrow to Madargunge, about five miles south-east of this, where we hope to encounter the Dacca and Chittagong mutineers, and shall endeavour to give a good account of them. At five o'clock this evening, our force of 93 Europeans, 130 Ghoorkas, and the 73rd native infantry, were drawn up on the plain facing the river, to witness the execution of two of the 11th irregulars, who were caught yesterday. Our little detachment marched to the spot, and took up a position in open column; our right (the Europeans) rested on the river; the 73rd were also in open column, their right flank facing our centre, and their front the river. After the prisoners were brought forward, the sentence was read to them, and they were then marched up, and lashed to the guns. At this moment, one was perfectly composed, and apparently unconcerned at the terrible preparations before him; the other was little better than half dead already. Among the native troops and the native bystanders, much subdued excitement was visible for a few minutes; but it was put an end to by an officer advancing to the front, and giving the word 'Fire!' On went the portfires, and away went the mutilated fragments of what, a moment previous, had been two living men. The scene was appalling for the time; but after a short pause, as if to give time for meditation to the native troops on the ground, we marched off to our huts, and the 73rd to their lines, their band playing the 'Wanderer.' The scene was picturesque, although, perhaps, somewhat unpleasant to many, as the plain was covered with spectators, nearly all of whom were natives."

As it could not be permitted that a body of deserters and rebels from Dacca should remain within marching distance of a British force with impunity, two officers were dispatched to their supposed locality, for the purpose of reconnoitring the position really occupied by them; and, upon their return, a party, consisting of fifty Europeans and forty Ghoorkas, were sent from Jelpigoree on the 11th of December, to dislodge them. After a march of twenty-five miles, through a country intersected by innumerable nullahs, the little force arrived at the place indicated by the reconnoitring party shortly after daybreak, and, to their utter amazement, found the enemy in a position so formidable and so peculiarly situated, that, with a mere handful of men, a successful attack was out of the question. The spot occupied by the rebel force, which consisted of 150 sepoys and about the same number of armed budmashes and Bootan people, was protected in front by three large nullahs, two having three feet of water, with shifting sands, and the third and largest unfordable, with a bank from fifteen to twenty feet high, which was lined by the rebels, and afforded them magnificent cover. Their left wing was also protected by nullahs, and their right by a field of thick, long grass; while a dense jungle covered their rear. The troops having reached the vicinity of the rebel camp, emerged from the long grass through which their path had been taken, and crossed the first nullah without noise; but having passed this, and reached the bank of the second, they found themselves in a disagreeable predicament, as every step forward sent them knee-deep into the shifting sand forming the bed of the nullah. They, however, struggled onward; but had the rebels taken advantage of the unexpected difficulty, not a man could have escaped their shot. Having reached the other side, while forming into line preparatory to an attack, a terrific fire was opened upon them from the opposite side of the third nullah; and, after returning a volley, the force was compelled to seek cover under a sand-bank, from whence they fired as opportunity offered. In this somewhat inglorious position the troops remained for about a quarter of an hour; by which time, the remaining nullah between them and the enemy was discovered to be

unfordable, and the order was given to retire. Upon the retreat becoming known to the rebels, their courage and spirits became extravagantly exuberant; they fired volley after volley, laughed, danced, and hooted the retiring force, until the men were half mad with rage and vexation. They, however, obeyed orders, and again reached the long grass, having sustained no other casualty than four rank and file wounded by spent shot. The troops returned to Jelpigoree the same night, quite knocked-up with their fruitless march of eighty miles in twenty-three hours.

A letter from Soodharam, in East Bengal, of the 7th of December, referred to a party of the Chittagong rebels in the following terms:—"Certain intelligence has at last reached this, that the Chittagong mutineers have passed Cornillah and Angertollah, and may by this time have gone beyond Sylhet. They have been precipitate in their flight, and have committed but little damage on their way. It appears that the fellows spent very freely the money they carried away from the collectorate of Chittagong; and several of them who carried the treasure contrived to separate themselves from their companions on the way, and went off with bags of the stolen money. The fact became known in consequence of the police apprehending all stragglers; and money, to the amount of five or six thousand rupees, was thus recovered and accounted for. The inhabitants of Cornillah were seized with panic, which lasted several days; during which, the wealthy classes removed with their families to more secure localities. The magistrate, collector, and judge, were the only persons among us who did not show any signs of fear, and continued to hold their courts as usual with a few amlahs."—At Tirhoot, about the same date, some apprehension was entertained of danger from Jelpigoree; but as the division of the 73rd regiment there had a large proportion of the hill tribes in its ranks, and had hitherto acted loyally, the alarm subsided before any serious inconvenience resulted from it. The districts of Chittagong and Dacca were shortly afterwards well supplied with troops for their protection, and confidence was restored among all classes of the inhabitants, who, for a time, were left in the enjoyment of tranquillity.

The arrival of Jung Bahadoor, prime minister and commander-in-chief of Nepaul,* with a large force of Ghoorkas, intended to co-operate with the British troops in the restoration of order, was announced in the *Calcutta Gazette* of the 19th of December, in the following terms:—

"*General Order of the Bengal Government.*

"The maharajah, Jung Bahadoor, prime minister and commander-in-chief of Nepaul, will shortly enter the plains of Hindostan, at the head of a large force destined to co-operate with the British troops in the restoration of order in the British provinces.

"The right honourable the governor-general in council directs, that the civil and military authorities of the principal stations through which his excellency may pass, shall unite in paying to his excellency the honour and attention which are due to his exalted station.

"At every principal military station, post, and camp, a salute of seventeen guns will be fired in honour of the maharajah, Jung Bahadoor; a salute of thirteen guns in honour of the maharajah's second in command, General Runodeep Sing; and salutes of eleven guns each in honour of Generals Bukht Jung and Khurg Baha-

* This individual, who has long attained an historical celebrity in this country as the "Nepaulese Ambassador," of jewelled memory, was a nephew of a former prime minister of Nepaul, whose death paved the way for the exaltation of his young relative; the latter, under his uncle's successor, becoming commander-in-chief of the army, and, in due time, possessing himself of almost sovereign authority. His visit to, and reception in, this country, greatly strengthened his position in his own; and shortly after his return home, he caused a marriage to be concluded between his daughter, then six years old, and the heir-apparent to the Nepaulese throne, then in his ninth year. When the revolt broke out in British India, Jung Bahadoor exercised paramount authority in Nepaul, and took every opportunity to evince his friendly disposition towards the English, by acts of kindness and protection towards such of them as were compelled to seek shelter within his territory, of which the following instance (among others) may be cited in proof:—About the middle of June, 1857, fifteen Europeans (seven gentlemen, three ladies, and five children) escaped from the Oude mutineers into the jungle region of Nepaul, and sought refuge in a post station, or serai, about ten days' journey from Goruckpore, and eighteen from Khatmandoo. The officer at the latter place reported the occurrence, and asked for instructions; when he speedily received the following reply:—"Treat them with every kindness; give them elephants, &c., and escort them safely to Goruckpore." The place indicated was at the time in the possession of the English, and was also the nearest dâk station to the Nepaulese territory.

door, commanding divisions in the Nepaulese force.

"The maharajah, Jung Bahadoor, will be accompanied by Brigadier-general Macgregor, C.B., in the capacities of military commissioner and governor-general's agent; and all civil authorities in the districts through which the Nepaulese camp may pass, are hereby required to give immediate attention to all requisitions which may be addressed to them by that officer."

The rumour of proffered assistance from Nepaul,* was at first received with some degree of incredulity, inasmuch as it had become known, that an offer of troops, which had been made by Jung Bahadoor at an early period of the rebellion, had been somewhat curtly declined. In that instance, the proposition from Nepaul was to place three bodies, of 1,000 men each, at the service of the Anglo-Indian government—one party to act in Oude, and the other two in the Lower Provinces; but as such disposition of the force would have had the effect of isolating them upon their respective fields of action, and a very natural suspicion existed as to the fealty of any native sovereign whatever, it was deemed prudent to decline the offer. At a later period, Jung Bahadoor renewed his friendly proposition—this time extending the number of troops to 10,000 for service in Oude; and his offer was accepted. The fact had no sooner become known through the official announcement above quoted, than curiosity was actively employed in efforts to discover the price at which the extraordinary and, under the circumstances, unexpected aid would be furnished. Various surmises were broached upon the subject; and, among others, the restoration to Nepaul of the Oude Terai—a district on its southern frontier, consisting of a strip of swampy forest-land, thirty miles broad, lying between the plains and the hills, which had formerly been ceded to the British government—was suggested; the value of the equivalent being somewhat awkwardly depreciated by the *Calcutta* press, which described the territory as of no earthly use to the English, and therefore as very proper to be ceded in return for valuable assistance in a time of need!

By another authority (probably self-constituted), it was announced that Jung Bahadoor had applied to the government for the grant of a tract of land in the northern part of the Oude district, with the right and title of prince, "protected" by the British government. His highness, it was said, was well aware that his present exalted position, won as it had been by sheer energy and indomitable strength of character, was, at best, a precarious one, especially in a court like that of Khatmandoo—famous for intrigues of unusual cunning and hardihood; and he felt, that were he the ruler, recognised as an ally by the British government, of ever so small a principality, even though it was but a strip of *terai*, trans-Gogra, it would give him such status and position among his unscrupulous adversaries round the throne of Nepaul, as would render him safe from their machinations, and permanently secure to him the influence he had already acquired in the government of that country.

However the question of remuneration for service in the field might be disposed of, it is certain that the stout hearts and sharp kookrees of Jung Bahadoor's Ghoorkas very soon found opportunity to prove their mettle upon the enemy of their friend and ally. Upon emerging from the mountain passes that form the southern boundary of Nepaul, the maharajah, Jung Bahadoor,

* Nepaul is about equal in extent to England, and is one of the few remaining independent states of Northern India; comprising the southern slopes of the Himalaya mountain chain, which forms its northern boundary; having on the west and south sides the British territories of Behar and Oude, and, on the east, Kumaon. The region is distinguished by its giant mountains, which separate it from Thibet; by the dense forest jungle of the Terai, on the Oude frontier; and by a beautiful valley, in which the capital, Khatmandoo, is situated, and which is covered with flourishing towns and villages, luxuriant fields and picturesque streams. The climate of Nepaul is temperate and healthy. The inhabitants, about two millions in number, comprise Ghoorkas, Newars, Bhotias, Dhanwars, and Mhanjees; but the Ghoorkas are the dominant race. The Newars are the aborigines of Nepaul, and are the artisans of the kingdom; while the Ghoorkas are hardy soldiers: the other three tribes are chiefly cultivators of the soil. In the latter half of the last century, Nepaul was for a short time a dependency of the Chinese empire; but a treaty of commerce with the Anglo-Indian government, in 1782, enabled it to throw off Chinese supremacy, and establish its own independence. In 1812, the East India Company made war upon Nepaul, and narrowly escaped ignominious defeat. A peace ensued, which lasted until 1816, when another rupture occurred. After a short but severe struggle, in which the soldierlike qualities of the Ghoorkas were established, a treaty of amity succeeded, which had not since been violated. A great portion of the transit trade between Cashmere and the Chinese empire, passes through Nepaul.

with his 10,000 Ghoorkas, composed of fourteen regiments of infantry, and four batteries of artillery of six guns each, reached Segowlie—a frontier town in the British dominions—on the morning of the 21st of December; and the chief was there received by the authorities assembled for the purpose, with great demonstrations of respect. The same day the troops were reviewed; and, on the following morning, a brigade marched for Bettiah, and another for Govindgunge. On the 23rd, the maharajah and the British officers in his suite, followed the troops to Bettiah, where they halted while carriages were collected for their further progress.

On the 30th of the month, the baggage of the Ghoorka force having all been conveyed across the Gundah, the army marched from the right bank of that river to Bimnowlee factory on the following day. On the 1st of January, 1858, the force reached Gobernath; and, on the 2nd, arrived at Purowno—a town of some importance in the Bengal presidency; where a lithographed proclamation of Mahomed Hossein's was found attached to the Tehseeldaree, which notified to the world at large, that his Nuseeb had risen higher than the stars, and called upon all men to assist him in the extermination of the Feringhees. Four burkandazes were tried at this place for having taken service under Mahomed Hossein, and three of them atoned for their crime by death. On the 3rd, the force marched to Ramkotah, the zemindar of which had been acting under the orders of Mahomed; and had his house burned down as a mark of disapproval of his conduct. His personal safety had been secured by a timely flight. Continuing their route, the Ghoorka force moved on towards Preepraitch, on the road to Goruckpore—the capital of a district in the presidency of Bengal, adjoining the Nepaulese dominions, and about 150 miles N.W.N. of Patna. The town, which is situated on the Raptee, had been for some time in the hands of a rebel force from Fyzabad; and, from its position in reference to the stations at Azimgurh, Jounpore, and other important places, its early recovery from the insurgents was desirable.

It should be observed, that previous to the advance of the Ghoorka force, Jung Bahadoor had stipulated, that a European officer should be attached to each of his regiments; and, accordingly, a number of officers of all arms, with General Macgregor at their head, were ordered from Calcutta to join the Nepaulese troops. A description of the chief and his army was given in a letter from one of these officers, in the following terms:—

"Yesterday, we went to see the maharajah in full durbar. He is a very fine fellow, and made a most favourable impression on us all. He was magnificently dressed; but, at the same time, in the very best taste.* He is accompanied by two of his brothers; one of them second in command, and the other without any specific appointment. The army, which consists of about 11,000 men, is formed into divisions, commanded by the Jung's half-brothers. Indeed, half the durbar was composed of his blood relations. After the durbar, which did not last half-an-hour, we went out to look at the troops. They were drawn up in lines of regiments one behind the other, the best, of course, in front; but we were very agreeably surprised, both as to their state of discipline, *physique*, and equipment. They marched as steadily as any troops I ever saw. The double march was singularly steady; and they formed column, square, and deployed, and passed in review in a most soldierlike and steady manner. Far from realising our preconceived notions of Ghoorka diminutiveness, they, at any rate in the crack corps, were giants; and even those in the non-selected regiments were very much larger than in our Ghoorka battalions. I inquired about their composition; and General Rumheer Sing, the second in command, informed me that, with the exception of seventeen, they were all pure Ghoorkas.† The Jung is most anxious to get at the enemy."

At length, on the morning of the 6th of

* Another correspondent with the army afterwards writes upon this subject as follows:—"Jung Bahadoor's dress was most magnificent. The first day he wore the skin of a wild animal for a coat, richly trimmed with head-bands of pure gold; his girdle was of the same, studded with precious stones; his trowsers of fine cloth of gold. As for his turban, it was really magnificent; first there was a row of rubies all round it, then emeralds; and a broad plate of pure large diamonds in front, with a large waving plume. Fancy, his entire dress was worth upwards of six lacs of rupees (£60,000.) His two younger brothers were with him, of course dressed as superbly, befitting their high rank in Nepaul."

† These hardy soldiers are of Monghol origin, but smaller and darker than the real Chinese. They first became familiar to the British by their resolute soldierly qualities during our wars with Nepaul; and

January, the maharajah, with his troops, set out from Preepraitch, about ten miles from Goruckpore, for the purpose of attacking the rebels at that place: the road was heavy and bad, running through thick jungle almost the entire way, and intersected by three nullahs. The force marched at 7 A.M., and, after proceeding about two miles, came upon the jungle, where it separated, one brigade taking ground to the right, and another to the left, for the purpose of turning the enemy's position near a broken bridge over a nullah in the centre of the wood. The movement had scarcely been completed before the centre column of the Ghoorkas came suddenly upon the rebel force strongly posted in the jungle. The Ghoorka guns at once opened fire, and for a time were vigorously replied to both by guns and musketry; but the conflict did not last; for, on the advance of the Ghoorka infantry, the rebels turned and fled, leaving behind them an iron gun, with limber and bullocks attached. From this moment, for about four miles through the jungle, it became a race for life between the enemy and their pursuers; but the former, spurred on by terror of the Ghoorkas, flew with extraordinary speed, strewing the road with their shoes, which they cast away to expedite their flight. On arriving at the bridge, which the rebels had only partially broken, a few sappers were brought to the front; and it was quickly rendered passable for the troops, who, shortly after crossing, came upon a body of rebel sowars, whom a few rounds sufficed to disperse. In this advance, the rapid and effective manner in which the guns were handled by the Ghoorkas, elicited the surprise and admiration of the European officers attached to the force; they having no limbers, were drawn by hand, the trail being supported on the shoulders of other men. After dispersing this body of cavalry the whole force reunited and advanced. Upon reaching the crest of a small eminence in front of Goruckpore, the enemy opened fire from a clump of trees, in direct line with the advancing column; but the Ghoorkas, having brought up their guns to the front, drove the enemy from his position, and then charged *en masse*. From this point it was a race into the station, the Ghoorkas cutting up the stragglers on the road with their kookrees. The intrenched position of the rebels had been abandoned by all but about a dozen men, who were instantly cut down; and the chase was continued through the town to the bank of the river, when a frightful slaughter commenced. A number of the rebels had succeeded in crossing by a ferry; and had they lined the opposite bank of the river, and kept up a fire upon the Ghoorkas, many, if not most of their party might have escaped with life; but *sauve qui peut* was the order of the day with them, and they all fled in confusion; the consequence was, that, without order or combination, they became a mob, and were struck down in great numbers, boat-loads of them being shot, drowned, or cut to pieces, until the river was actually red with their blood.

"So continuous," says an eye-witness, "was the file-firing for upwards of an hour, that the maharajah thought the sepoys were making a stand: he became desperate with excitement; and those who were near him must have thought we were fighting another Inkermann. Altogether, though no passage of arms, it was a very respectable 'scrimmage;' we took six guns, and two things which we have called '*zumbooruks*,' for want of a better name, mounted on carriages; and two not mounted, besides a little 1-pounder brought in by the villagers."

The result of this action was the entire clearance of the Goruckpore district. The rebel leader, Mahomed Hossein, fled to Tanda, a town on the road to Fyzabad, in the vicinity of which he again collected his scattered forces. The Ghoorkas, for a few days, remained upon the field of their triumph while waiting for carriage.

A letter from Goruckpore, of the 12th of January, gave the following account of the state of affairs at that place:—"This town has now been almost a week in our possession, and matters are rapidly returning to their former state. New thanadars and tehseeldars are appointed; several of those who held post under the Nizam (as Mahomed Hossein is called by the natives) are

although Hindoos by religion, they have little in common with Hindoos, as regards caste prejudices and exclusiveness; nor do they sympathise materially with the inhabitants of the plains of Hindostan. Being natives of a country of but limited wealth, they have, within the last few years, evinced a readiness to enter the military service of the Company as auxiliary troops; and, as such, have been incorporated into a force called the Simoor and Kumaon Battalions, which upon several occasions in the early stages of the revolt, found opportunity to exhibit their earnestness in the cause of their European employers. The troops of which we are now treating, form a distinct body, employed on a special service, and commanded by its own chief, the Jung Bahadoor, who was assisted on the occasion by a staff of British officers.

being brought in for trial, and execution quickly follows. Already we see convicts clearing up the station, and no doubt the gaol will soon be again as well tenanted as it was in August last. No regard is shown to a man's former rank: all alike are made to do sweepers' work, so far as clearing up and removing rubbish goes. The church, which had been completely dismantled by the rebels (who had taken away or destroyed everything removable, and smashed the windows), has been cleansed, and the writing effaced from the walls; the civil offices are crowded with candidates for situations; and British authority, I am happy to learn, is being rapidly re-established over the district.

"We expect hourly the arrival, at Goruckpore, of that consummate villain Mushurruf Khan,* who was apprehended a few days since by the ranee of Bustie, but was taken from her by a powerful zemindar of the same district, who is anxious to curry favour with the British government, now that it is again unmistakably in the ascendant. Ten men were hung the day after we arrived, and six on the following day; how many more since it is not easy to say, as the gallows was removed from the conspicuous spot it occupied in consequence of an intimation from the Nepaulese chief, that it was displeasing to him to see bodies hanging. Bustie, where the force will next move to, is about forty miles from this, and half-way to Fyzabad."

On the 22nd of January, the advanced brigade of Jung Bahadoor's force had reached Belwa Bagur on the Gogra, opposite to Fyzabad; and, with the brigades of General Franks and Colonel Rowcroft, formed a complete chain on the south and east of Oude, from Fyzabad to within twenty miles of Allahabad.

It should be observed, that early in December, the brigade under Colonel Rowcroft had moved up the country, in the direction of Goruckpore, where, ultimately, he established communications with Jung Bahadoor, who sent him a reinforcement of 500 men; and with these, the marines, and naval brigade, the colonel considered it safe to advance against a body of the enemy encamped at Sohunpore, on the Little Gundah. With the accession mentioned, Colonel Rowcroft's whole strength only amounted to 1,100 men, of whom but 160 were Europeans; the enemy, on the other hand, mustered over 5,000 men, with a large train of artillery. Leaving his camp between Myrwa and Mujhowlee, in the Sarun district, the colonel, on the 26th of December, moved forward to attack the position held by the rebels, and, after a sharp encounter, succeeded in dislodging them, and driving them across the river. In the accomplishment of this result, the British commander was necessitated to change his front several times, to prevent the enemy from overlapping his flanks, and so gradually forcing him to retire without a chance of engaging under an accidental advantage of ground which he had secured. In the course of the war, there was scarcely another instance of an enemy so numerically superior, being forced to retreat before a force so weak, and with such small loss to the attacking party—Colonel Rowcroft having but four men wounded. By his masterly operations at Sohunpore, he forced the rebels out of the district of Sarun, crossed the Little Gundah, and effectually assisted the ulterior movements of the Ghoorka force. The following is the despatch of Colonel Rowcroft, to the secretary of government, in reference to this spirited affair:—

"Camp, Mujhowlee, on the river Chota Gundah,
"25 miles west of Sewan, 28th Dec., 1857.

"I have the honour to report, for the information of the right honourable the governor-general, that the field force under my command received a reinforcement of the Goruchnath regiment of Ghoorkas (500 strong) on the morning of the 25th of Decem-

* This individual had formerly been sentenced to imprisonment for "budmashee," by Mr. Bird, the joint magistrate of Goruckpore. When the station was abandoned by the British, Mr. Bird alone remained at his post; but his efforts to maintain order were fruitless; the gaol was thrown open, and the prisoners liberated; and the first visitor Mr. Bird was honoured with from that undesirable locality, was Mushurruf Khan, who coolly walked into his house, and, sitting down upon a sofa, informed the magistrate that he had come to settle the little account they had between them. Mushurruf Khan was armed, and accompanied by a number of his gaol companions. Mr. Bird was alone, all police, gaol-guard, and rajah followers having deserted him. After a tolerably long stay, the worthy Naib Nazim left the house, with a promise that he would repeat his visit before long; in the interim, however, Mr. Bird escaped from the place on an elephant, and got safely through the jungle to Chuprah. Upon the advance of Jung Bahadoor's force, he accompanied it as joint magistrate of the district; and upon the subsequent recapture of Mushurruf Khan, he had the satisfaction of hanging his uninvited visitor, whom he first had paraded in a cart through the streets of Goruckpore, where, during the five preceding months, he had been accustomed to ride about with a species of regal pomp.

ber, sent on to join me by forced marches from Segowlie, by his excellency Maharajah Jung Bahadoor, and Mr. Samuells, the commissioner. It was represented to me strongly that they were too fatigued, foot-sore, and hungry, to march again that day, and that they had been without sleep for two nights. I therefore postponed for the day, though reluctantly, my arrangements to move and attack the rebels at Sohunpore, seven miles distant, and about midway between my intrenched camp at Myrwa and Mujhowlee. About half-past seven on the morning of the 26th of December, I marched from camp with the force,* leaving two companies (a hundred men) of Ghoorkas, and fifty matchlockmen of the Hutwa rajah's, for the protection of the camp; and of these, half a company and twenty matchlockmen to watch and secure the narrow causeway bridge over the river Jurhaee, less than half a mile in front of my camp. It was reported to me that the rebels were posted in the village of Sohunpore, and in two or three large topes (woods) close to it, on either side of the Mujhowlee-road, with a tank with high banks close in front of the village on the north, in which most of the sepoys, and three of their four guns, were posted. On arriving within little more than half a mile of the position of the rebels, I formed line, and took ground to the right, to turn their left flank, and act more easily on the tank. During this movement, the enemy pushed forward numerous skirmishers into the topes and cultivation, and opened fire of guns and musketry on our line. Our skirmishers, consisting of the marines, part of the naval brigade, and Sikhs, soon returned their fire, doing much execution among the enemy, especially the marines, with the Minié rifle. We also opened fire with our guns; and a few shells well thrown in two or three directions, checked the rebels for a time. I advanced the line a short distance, when the main body of the enemy rapidly moved to their right, to join a force previously in position—I strongly suspect, on our left; their aim apparently being to surround us with their numbers. I changed our front immediately to our left. During this time, a village on our left was steadily and gallantly held by Lieutenant Burlton (40th regiment native infantry), with the fifty Sikhs, and I sent two companies of the Ramdull regiment of Ghoorkas, to reinforce him in holding that post, and, if possible, to capture a gun firing on our left. Lieutenant Burlton reports that Subahdar Himkumal Bushnia (9th company Ramdull Ghoorkas) behaved very gallantly, constantly encouraging his men, and, in riding at one of the rebels who was attacking Lieutenant Burlton, inflicting, fortunately, only a cut through his turban and helmet, the subahdar was severely wounded by a tulwar-cut round the left hip, a Sikh then rushing up, cutting down, and killing the rebel. After changing ground to the left, I advanced the line towards the enemy, now and then allowing our guns to throw a shell or two. The enemy made a show of advancing a short distance, with about fifty sowars in their front. After advancing the line a short distance, two or three shells were beautifully pitched into the midst of this large body of foot and horsemen, at 900 or 1,000 yards distance, scattering them in all directions. I am sorry there was no opportunity to allow of the Ghoorkas joining in a charge. The main body then moved rapidly to their left, as if to gain their old position in the topes and village. Our line was changed to the right. During the former advance and this movement, the rebel skirmishers were firing from heavy cover on us from our right and right rear. I ordered the marines to skirmish and cover our right, and two companies of the Gorucknath regiment, who were placed in reserve to cover our right rear. The line and skirmishers advanced, firing a few rounds from our guns into the topes, and in the direction of the tank. The rebels seem to have had only a rear-guard at this time left at Sohunpore. The skirmishers rapidly advanced into the topes, which we found quite clear of the enemy. Three tents of Baboo Koer Sing's nephew, Hurkishen Sing, were here found all pitched, and a quantity of grain, &c. I ordered the tents to be burned at once. We then moved to the right, to get on the Mujhowlee-road, and continued our advance without delay to Mujhowlee, some six miles distant. Within about two miles of Mujhowlee, we saw the rear of the rebels entering the place; and on nearing it, I ordered the marines, and part of the naval brigade, and four companies of the Gorucknath regiment, to push on rapidly after the Sikhs composing the advance guard, in the hope of capturing their guns, crossing the deep ford of the Gundah. I am happy to say one large iron 6-pounder gun, and limber complete, full of ammunition, was taken near the river. The Sikhs, and some men of the Gorucknath regiment, with Captain Koolpurshad Sing Bushnial, were among the first down at the river in capturing the gun. The cultivation was so heavy, and we advanced on so quickly, it was difficult to ascertain the number of the rebels killed. Two other tumbrils—one full of ammunition, the other of powder—and some carts, were also taken. The rebels, by all reports and appearances, were 1,100 or 1,200 sepoys, and between 4,000 and 5,000 other armed men. The Naib Nazim, Mushurruf Khan, was present in the action with his force, and also Ali Kurreem, Moulvie of Patna, who was first reported to have been killed in the action, but now said to have got away the evening before. The governor-general will be pleased to learn, that this one day's work has completely cleared the district of this horde of marauding rebels, relieving the many villages of their plundering and oppression. The rajah of Mujhowlee and the people gladly welcomed us, as did other people on the road. The rajah states that the rebels made sure of surrounding and destroying us, as we were so few, and of being able to get into Chuprah, and to plunder the district. The rajah also states that, with the sepoys, matchlockmen, sword and spearmen, the rebels were more than 6,000 or 7,000 strong. I do not think the rebels had heard of the arrival of the second Ghoorka regiment on the 25th of December. I learn from the Mujhowlee rajah, and other reports, that there must have been some 120 of the rebels killed, by the number of bodies since seen in their positions in the field. Besides many wounded, a few rebels were killed at the ford, and six in one boat. I am happy to say we have had few casualties. The gun and basket-firing of the rebels was too high, their round shot and matchlock bullets mostly passing over our heads, one round shot killing a dhooly bearer and a villager in our rear. A Ghoorka private of the Gorucknath regiment was wounded by a musket-ball, and also

* Royal marines, 30; naval brigade, 130; Ramdull Ghoorka regiment, 500; Gorucknath ditto, 350 (one company of this regiment being at Sewan, and two in camp); four guns (12-pounder howitzers), two being mountain-train; Captain Rattray's Sikhs, 50.

one of the magistrate's sowars. It is a marvel none in the line were hit, for numbers of the round shot, &c., passed over or by us, tearing up the ground, and ricochetting, but without hitting any one. The action commenced about 10 A.M.; and by half-past 1 P.M. we had dispersed the rebels, and driven them through the topes and village of Sohunpore, and had followed them up and driven them out of Mujhowlee, and over the river Gundah by 4 P.M. The troops had a hard day's work, and went through their fatigue most cheerfully. I was myself in the saddle for ten hours, or would have written to you earlier; but I wrote and reported our advance and successful attack, and complete operation, to Brigadier-general Macgregor, with Maharajah Jung Bahadoor, the same evening, express to Bettiah. We bivouacked for the night near the river, having marched without tents or baggage, except two or three tents for the men of the naval brigade, and a few hackeries for the ammunition, and to carry the Ghoorkas and Sikhs in case of accidents during the action.

"I marched again yesterday morning (27th December) with a detachment of the naval brigade, two guns, eight companies of Ghoorkas (400 men), and the Sikhs—crossed the river, and moved through Selimpore, and about two miles beyond, to the house of one Narain Dial Conengoe, formerly an assistant collector, who had been forward in marauding and giving aid to the rebels. His house was blown up, burnt, and destroyed. We also moved to another village, to the house of one Sungram Lall, the nephew and toomandar of the above, and destroyed his house; but neither of the villages was injured. We returned to camp at half-past 4 P.M.

"I need hardly say that the troops behaved, as British marines and seamen ever do, most excellently and gallantly: Captain Sotheby was ever ready and present with the guns, and to afford me every assistance in the field. Captain Sotheby has paid great attention to the drill and training of the naval brigade for land service, and in quickly training the horses and ponies for the guns—horses for the large 12-pounder guns, and ponies for the three others, and the seamen to ride and act as gunners; and, under Lieutenant Turner, R.N., in charge of the artillery, they have had constant drill and training, and are now ready and steady for field service, and were in the action of the 26th December.

"Major Captain Sree Bhuggut Khanks, commanding Ramdull regiment; Captain Dercedass Opudiah, Ramdull regiment; Captain Koolpurshad Sing Bushnial, commanding Gorucknath regiment, and all the officers of the two Ghoorka regiments, were anxious and ready to render good service; and the men of both regiments were steady and willing in the field, and kept well to the front with the European force.

"I respectfully beg to recommend Captain Sotheby, R.N., of her majesty's steam-frigate *Pearl*, and all the civil, military, and naval officers, to the favourable notice of the right honourable the governor-general.

"I have reports that the rebels left their gun which played on our left behind them, in some well or jungle at Sohunpore, and also the two guns they are said to have crossed over the river, somewhere hidden beyond Selimpore. The rebels will feel the want of their guns and ordnance stores at Goruckpore, as they are said to be in want of ammunition.

"On the evening of the 26th, I dispatched a messenger to Myrwa to move on the camp and baggage, which was carefully brought on to this place at 4 P.M. yesterday, under Lieutenant Hamilton, 8th regiment native infantry, doing duty with the naval brigade.

"I have ordered a bridge of boats to be got ready to cross the river to-morrow, to facilitate the movement over of the numerous hackeries, the only carriage we have; to be ready to move and act according to reports brought in, and probable orders from Brigadier-general Macgregor, and to co-operate with the maharajah's Nepaulese army.

"A few sepoys and rebels were brought in prisoners during yesterday. They will be duly and speedily disposed of. Proclamations have been sent out to the villagers to capture all rebels, and offering rewards.—I have, &c.—H. ROWCROFT, Colonel,

"Commanding Sarun Field Force."

Having at length put Cawnpore into an efficient state of defence, and restored discipline in the camp there, after the irregularities that followed the disastrous occurrences of the later days of November, the commander-in-chief appointed Brigadier Inglis (of Lucknow) to the command, *vice* General Windham, removed to Umballah; and on the 24th of December, Sir Colin Campbell, with a force of about 8,000 men, commenced his march towards Futteghur (the British cantonment of Furruckabad), proceeding by the Great Trunk-road. On the 28th of the month, his force reached Meerun-ki-Serai, where he opened communications with Colonel Seaton at Mynpoorie, through Lieutenant Hodson, of the irregular horse which bears his name; who, with a hundred of his men, made a rapid dash over ninety miles of country overrun with rebels; and having received the chief's orders for the advance of Colonel Seaton to Furruckabad, he galloped back to Mynpoorie, having narrowly escaped being crossed in his ride by the retreating troops and guns of the rajah of Etawah, who had been driven from that town by Seaton's column during his absence. In the meantime Sir Colin Campbell continued his advance along the Great Trunk-road, and on the 29th, reached Jellalabad, a small village two marches from Futteghur, where a large body of matchlockmen, with several guns, appeared to dispute his further progress. Without a moment's delay the rebel force was saluted with a discharge of grape and round shot; and without an effort to maintain their position, the insurgents dispersed, leaving behind them eighteen pieces of cannon, besides a quantity of small arms which they threw away in their flight. On the 1st of the month of January were the head-quarters of the British force

at the village of Goorsuhagunje, six miles beyond which the road crosses the Kalee Nuddee by a suspension-bridge, which the enemy had broken down, and had also taken the precaution to remove or destroy all the boats in the vicinity. A brigade was at once sent forward with the sappers to restore this means of communication, and by the morning of the 2nd, the bridge was nearly completed, when the repairing party was fired upon from a village on the opposite side of the river. Had the enemy ventured upon this interruption some two or three hours earlier, they might, from the nature of the ground on the other side of the stream, have caused very serious annoyance; but they fortunately delayed until the bridge was nearly completed. A heavy cannonade was instantly opened upon the village by the guns of the naval brigade, while the whole force was brought up; and the bridge being now finished, the men advanced across it, and deployed in front of the village. The rebels scarcely had time to look upon the British troops before they were swept from the position they had taken, and driven up the road towards Futteghur, for several miles, by the cavalry and horse artillery, losing six guns and a quantity of ammunition in their hasty flight. Encamping for the night at the twelfth milestone from Futteghur, Sir Colin marched upon that cantonment early on the morning of the 4th, and hopes ran high that before the close of that day many a treacherous murder would be avenged upon the very spot on which it had been perpetrated; but they were not realised. At three o'clock P.M., the advanced column reached the station, but no semblance of human existence was there to meet it—no sound was heard save the echoes of the footfall of the impatient band that thirsted for retribution. During the preceding night the rebel camp had broken up, and its recreant occupiers had fled from the station; two heavy guns stood ready shotted on the parade-ground; the intrenched camp was left all standing, filled with the furniture, carriages, and other property of the fugitive English residents, afterwards murdered on their passage down the Ganges by order of Nana Sahib.* All the enemy's guns, except two, which he had carried off, and a large quantity of stores and ammunition, fell into the hands of the disappointed soldiers upon this occasion. On the 5th, the city of Furruckabad, three miles distant, was also taken possession of by Sir Colin Campbell, and, to the intense dissatisfaction of the troops under his command, without the slightest attempt at opposition, the whole of the rebel force having abandoned the place.

Fortunately, their retreat had been so precipitate, that they had not time to destroy the government property within the town; and thus Sir Colin found a large quantity of stores of the most valuable description, belonging to the gun and clothing departments, available for his immediate use. Having secured these important items of military property, the commander-in-chief sent a large stock of grain to Cawnpore, to assist the commissariat in supplying the troops of Sir James Outram at the Alumbagh. The nawab of Furruckabad had long been notorious as one of the most ferocious leaders of the insurgents, and the time had now arrived when punishment could no longer be evaded. In a telegram from the commander-in-chief at this time, it is stated—"The destruction of the nawab's palace is in progress. I think it right that not a stone should be left unturned in all the residences of the guilty chiefs. They are far more culpable than their misguided followers."

A letter from an officer attached to the force with Sir Colin Campbell, has the following details of the action of the 2nd of January, at the Kalee Nuddee, and of the advance to Futteghur on the following day. After describing the movements of the commander-in-chief on his way from Cawnpore, the writer says—"His course lay from Meerun-ki-Serai to Goorsuhagunje, where head-quarters were established on the 1st of January. A brigade was sent on to repair the suspension-bridge, fourteen miles from that place. They commenced work on the 1st, and, by the morning of the 2nd, had finished it all but one or two planks, which they were laying down when Sir Colin saw the villagers come out of the village opposite. He desired some one to go and tell them not to be afraid, as they would not be hurt, when all of a sudden off came a round shot from amongst them, which killed four men of the 53rd. The enemy were then discovered to be in force: the naval brigade opened on the village for about two hours, the enemy returning the fire with an 18-pounder and 9-pounder. The bridge was soon finished,

* See vol. i., p. 349.

and then Sir Colin with his force crossed, turned the enemy out of the village, and pursued them with cavalry and artillery for about eight miles. The naval rockets blew up a magazine of theirs very prettily, and knocked over a 9-pounder; this and another gun they left in the village. The cavalry captured four more—one an 18-pounder, and plenty of ammunition; in all, six guns that day. Our loss was Younghusband, of the Sikhs, shot through the lungs; and Maxwell, of the artillery, shot through the thigh. General Grant was slightly touched, and a spent ball hit Sir Colin on the stomach, but did not injure him; four men of the 53rd were killed, and six or seven of the 8th were also knocked over by a shell; no others wounded. They encamped at the twelfth milestone from here, and started again on the 3rd at 11 A.M. The cavalry, the night before, came upon a body of the rebels in the open, and cut them up in grand style. Fifty bodies were counted in a few fields—all sepoys. The force came near Futteghur about 3 P.M.; and, to their disgust, found the enemy had decamped during the night. They had an 18 and 24-pounder ready loaded, and were intrenched on the grand parade; also an intrenched camp outside the fort. They left all their guns but two, and ammunition, and merely made off with all the treasure, and two guns to protect it."

A letter from Futteghur, dated January 5th, stated, that, on the previous day, Nadir Khan, one of the individuals concerned in executing the orders of Nana Sahib for the murder of the European women at Cawnpore, was hanged in the midst of a great number of the native inhabitants, and that he died "calling upon the people of India to draw their swords and assert their independence, by the extermination of the English."

Another correspondent, at the camp of the commander-in-chief, says—"We arrived at Futteghur about 5 P.M. on the 3rd instant. We had a brush with the rebels on the way, and gave them a sound thrashing, killing about 200, and capturing seven guns—one of them a 32-pounder. The rebels bolted from Futteghur, leaving ten guns, a good deal of ammunition, and a vast quantity of miscellaneous plunder. They have gone across the Ganges into Oude, and, fools like, the panic-stricken wretches could not muster up courage enough to wait and blow up the bridge of boats, which, if they had done, would have delayed us for a week at least, instead of leaving us, as now, at liberty to cross over at any moment we choose. The chief's force suffered much during the advance on Futteghur. The 'old man' was determined to push on, and all in camp were eager to carry out his ideas. Forced marches, and sometimes nothing for breakfast and dinner, were accordingly the order of the day. Add to this, lots of hard work, and bivouacking on the open plain, and you will be able to form something like an accurate idea of the march from Cawnpore. The rebels' camp at Futteghur was a curious sight. It had evidently been abandoned in haste, and in hot haste too. It was full of articles plundered from Europeans. For instance, ladies' boots and shoes, with portions of dress, and many articles of personal requirement among females and children, were strewn about all over the camp. The Pandies must have been in a great fright, which we shall, doubtless, increase before long. We care not how soon."

Previous to the flight of the rebels from Furruckabad, the nawab had fired a portion of the town, and allowed his retainers to plunder it. At one time he had evidently contemplated resistance, as heavy guns were mounted on the walls of his fort, and at other points which might have been troublesome to the advancing troops; but the rapid and complete discomfiture of his advanced post at the village near the Kalee Nuddee, assured him that his only chance of safety consisted in flight; and he fled accordingly, seeking an asylum in Oude, the precise quarter in which the commander-in-chief desired hereafter to meet with him.

Almost at the same time these events were in progress, Colonel Walpole, who had been dispatched from Cawnpore to clear Etawah with his column, encountered and defeated the enemy at a place called Akbarpore, where he captured a number of guns, and arrested twenty persons of Nana Sahib's immediate retinue, whom he tried for their complicity in that chief's atrocities, and immediately hung. From thence, marching by Mynpoorie, and clearing the country as he advanced, he at length joined the commander-in-chief at Futteghur.

On the 1st of February, Sir Colin Campbell broke up his camp at Futteghur, and commenced his return march to Cawnpore. Himself, with General Mansfield, and the officers of his staff, pushed on in advance of the army, escorted by the 9th lancers and

a troop of Bengal horse artillery, and, proceeding at the rate of twenty-five miles a-day, he arrived at Cawnpore on the 4th of the month. When at Soorajpore, their last halting-place before reaching the city, the commander-in-chief was informed that the arch-rebel and murderer, Nana Sahib, was on the opposite side of the river in Oude, with a small guard of Mahratta irregular infantry: there was, however, no means by which he could be reached; although, but for the intervention of the river, the traitor, and his handful of adherents, might have been surrounded, and their capture, living or dead, effected by the chief's escort.

The main body of troops at Futteghur followed the commander-in-chief with all speed; the 82nd regiment, with some Sikh cavalry and infantry, only remaining to protect the station. Walpole's brigade was withdrawn across the Ganges, from the right bank of the Ramgunge, on the farther side of which he had been watching a large but inactive body of Rohilcund rebels, and arrived at Cawnpore on the 10th and 11th. Hope's brigade, which, on the 26th of January, overthrew, with loss, a body of Mussulman fanatics at Shumsabad Mhow (twenty-five miles from Futteghur), reached Cawnpore on the 7th; and on the following day, the commander-in-chief departed by rail for Allahabad, at which city the governor-general had already arrived, for the purpose of consultation with him. The interview was important in its results, as unity of purpose was thereby secured between the two chief authorities in India; and, on the 12th, Sir Colin rejoined the army at Cawnpore.

Meanwhile, Jung Bahadoor, with his Ghoorkas, remained inactive before Fyzabad in eastern Oude, being unable to take the place for want of ammunition. Supplies were consequently ordered for him from Benares; and, pending their arrival at his camp, the march of Brigadier Franks, on the road from Jounpore by Sultanpore to Lucknow, was halted at Budlapore. Such were the respective positions, on the 7th of February, of the two auxiliary forces destined to aid the commander-in-chief in the reconquest of Oude.

Turning to the north-west of that territory, the great province of Rohilcund still continued a wide field of disorder and outrage, although, by the beginning of February, no less than five Sikh regiments of foot, with cavalry and guns, had moved down the roads from Lahore, and were already within the boundary of the province. Before their arrival, however, a severe blow had been inflicted upon the rebels of Bareilly. Of these depredators, three large bodies were stationed at the following points, between Bareilly and the hills:—One party, under Fuze Huk, held the road to Peeleebheel, at a point fourteen miles from the bottom of the Nynee Tal hill; a second was at Rudapore, further to the west; and a third was in the centre, on the main Bareilly-road, twenty-four miles from the Nynee Tal hill, or rather from the camp at the foot of the hill, occupied by Colonel M'Causland, with the 66th Ghoorkas, some 500 Nepaulese and hill-men, with irregular horse, and four light guns; in all, about 1,200 men. With this little force, on the 10th of February, the colonel attacked the rebels on the Bareilly-road (commanded by Kalee Khan, who had advanced within thirteen miles of his camp), and utterly routed them, capturing three guns, and killing and wounding upwards of 500 of the rebel troops. His own loss, in killed and wounded, was thirty-five, including among the latter two officers of the 66th regiment. The action over, Colonel M'Causland prudently marched back to his camp, which was exposed to attack by the two other forces of the enemy, having, within twenty-four hours, traversed nearly thirty miles, and fought a pitched battle.

At this period all was quiet in the Punjab, from whence Sikh regiments moved down into Hindostan; while European ones came from Kurrachee to take their places. On the 4th of the month, Sir John Lawrence arrived at Loodiana with the 17th Punjab infantry, on his way to Delhi and Agra—the districts recently handed over to his superintendence; and from Mooltan the 7th fusiliers had arrived at Lahore, relieving the 81st regiment, which was thus free to reinforce the scanty garrison at Peshawur.

At the same time, a small Bombay force left Hyderabad, in Scinde, for Rajpootana, and arrived at Jeysulmeer, from which point it might be conveniently directed upon Joudpore, if necessary. The Rajpootanee force, under General Roberts, had also commenced its march from Nusseerabad to Kotah. In Malwa, the energies of the rebels appeared to be crushed; and the execution of the rajah of Amjhera, at Indore, had stricken a wholesome terror among the disaffected. The delinquent was

one of the first among the native chiefs to commence disturbance in his district; but was spared by Sir Robert Hamilton, the political commissioner, when his ministers were executed, upon the ground of imbecility—a plea that no longer availed him.

Further to the eastward, in Central India, Sir Hugh Rose and General Whitlock were pressing on, helping to reduce into an ever-narrowing circle, the yet smouldering fires of rebellion and anarchy. The first-named commander, after having relieved Saugor from the presence of the enemy, moved eastward against a strongly situated fort, called Gurratoka, about twenty-five miles from that place, supposed to be occupied by the remains of the mutinous 52nd Bengal native infantry. He proceeded to invest the fort, which, however, from its extent and situation, his force would have been perfectly inadequate to accomplish, when the occupants, seized with a panic, fled from the place. A party of cavalry and horse artillery, sent in pursuit, cut up nearly a hundred of the fugitives; and then, having demolished the defences of the fort, Sir Hugh moved with his brigade towards Jhansie, on which point his other column, with Captain Orr's force of the Hyderabad contingent, had already marched.

During these operations of Sir Hugh Rose, and pending the arrival at Jubbulpore of General Whitlock's force, a small Madras column, sent out from that station on the Great Deccan-road to the Ganges, had not been idle. Several rebel villages were destroyed; and an attack of the rebels in force upon the village of Sleemanabad, was gallantly repulsed by detachments of the 28th and 33rd Madras native infantry. Communications were also opened with Captain Osborne and the rajah of Rewah, by whom the fort of Bijrajooghur had been taken. The rajah of the place contrived to escape; but the *killadar* (commandant of the fort) and ninety-four other prisoners were taken. These men Captain Osborne hesitated to execute, doubting the temper of the Rewah men; and he accordingly sent the prisoners down the road to the Madrasees, by whom they were readily shot. General Whitlock's force was to leave Jubbulpore about the 15th of the month, and advance in two divisions—one along the great road to the Ganges, the other to Saugor by way of Dumoh.

The Calpee rebels, thus pressed upon in the rear, had been twice compelled to measure swords with the British troops—once near Etawah, where 125 of them were destroyed in a walled enclosure, by a force under Mr. Hume, a collector; and the second time towards Cawnpore, where a detachment of the 88th regiment attacked a party of them which had crossed the Jumna, and utterly routed them, leaving eighty of their number lifeless on the field.

In the presidency of Bombay, since the occupation of Shorapore and the capture of its chief at Hyderabad, the Southern Mahratta country had remained tranquil; but, in the Sawnut Warree district, a state prisoner (one of the insurgents of 1844) having escaped from gaol, collected about 200 followers, and attacked a small treasury station of the government, at a place called Tullowan, defended only by a havildar and ten sepoys of the ghaut police. The little garrison, on being summoned to surrender the post, manfully refused to do so, and sustained and repulsed a series of attacks from the armed budmashes; which continued during four hours, and in which several daring efforts were made to fire the place over their heads. Failing in open assault, the rebels demanded a parley, through an influential man of the neighbouring village, and, during the conference, attempted a surprise, but were again foiled. At length they appeared to remember that the wives and children of the soldiers were in the village; these they immediately seized, and placing them in front of the position held by the loyal treasury guard, threatened indescribable atrocities if the place and treasure were not instantly surrendered to them. To their threats, and to the shrieks of the terrified captives, the brave men were alike deaf; and at length the assailants withdrew, taking with them the unfortunate women and children. Such were among the cruel incidents of the terrible war that still desolated homes, and destroyed families, throughout the wide and bloodstained provinces of Hindostan at the close of the first year of its duration.

Of the prospect of its speedy termination, expectations were various and sanguine, in the early part of the year 1858, even among those who, by position and circumstances, were naturally deemed well informed upon the subject. Of the confidence with which the entire and speedy suppression of the revolt was then asserted, the following passages, in a letter received by Lord

Elphinstone, the lieutenant-governor of Bombay, from an officer of distinction in the camp of the commander-in-chief, dated at Meerun-ki-Serai, on the 28th of December, may be instanced as one proof of the mistaken views entertained upon the subject, even by persons actually upon the scene of operations. The writer, referring to the revolt generally, says, "The neck of the business, all over the country, is broken:" and the whole tone of intelligence forwarded to Europe by the Indian mails of January, might be understood as expressed by those few but positive words. But it proceeded yet further to reassure and inspirit all who were interested in the pacification of the country, and the personal safety of its European residents. "Now," said the letter, "that the overwhelming superiority of the British forces to those of the mutineers has been established by the series of brilliant exploits, that ended with the rout of the numerous, and well-appointed, and half-victorious Gwalior contingent, a desultory and comparatively feeble opposition is all that is likely to be encountered in our progress towards the complete pacification of the country. The Doab, which for so many months was abandoned to rebel chiefs and lawless soldiery, has been swept clear of the enemy; Bithoor, Etawah, Mynpoorie, Futteghur, Furruckabad—all in our hands. Their petty rulers and landholders, if still at large, are at least fugitives in Rohilcund or Oude, and their lands have passed from them for ever. The mutineers under Bahadoor Khan, at Bareilly, have next to be attacked; and here some resistance may be met with; but neither from them, nor from the hordes whom Sir James Outram is holding in check at the Alumbagh, and whose destruction will be the latest event of the insurrection, do we look to receive anything more than a momentary obstruction to the re-establishment of the benign and just rule of England."

Unfortunately for the accuracy of this prediction, Oude had yet to be conquered; and rivers of blood were yet to flow, before the blessings of peace could be again realised by the native populations of the greater portion of the Anglo-Indian empire, or safety be insured to its European residents.

CHAPTER IX.

BRITISH FORCE AT THE ALUMBAGH; THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF AND SIR JAMES OUTRAM; ADVICE AND CAUTION; THE STAFF AT FAULT; THE REBEL TROOPS IN LUCKNOW; BATTLE OF GUILEE; OFFICIAL DETAILS; ACTIONS OF THE 12TH AND 16TH OF JANUARY; REPULSE ON THE 21ST OF FEBRUARY; QUARREL BETWEEN THE DELHI AND OUDE SEPOYS IN THE CITY; ADVANCE OF THE REBEL FORCE ON THE 25TH OF FEBRUARY; THE BEGUM AND COURT IN THE FIELD; DEFEAT OF THE REBELS; STATE OF LUCKNOW; ADVANCE OF THE BRITISH FORCE UNDER THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF; THE ASSAULT; DEFEAT AND DISPERSION OF THE REBELS; FINAL OCCUPATION OF THE CITY.

It will be remembered, that when Sir Colin Campbell retired from Lucknow, in November, 1857, with the relieved garrison of the presidency, and the women and children whom he had rescued from destruction, he left Sir James Outram, with a strong division of British troops, to hold possession of Alumbagh, and form a nucleus for future operations in Oude.* The force selected by the commander-in-chief for this important service, consisted of two brigades of infantry, composed of the 5th, 75th, 78th, 84th, and 90th regiments of the British line, the 1st Madras European regiment, the Ferozepore regiment of Sikhs, the 12th irregular horse, a body of volunteer cavalry, and a formidable detail of artillery, engineers, sappers, &c., &c.; the whole amounting to about 3,500 men, partly stationed at the Alumbagh, and partly in an intrenched camp between that post and the city.

In consequence of the successful result of the action at Cawnpore on the 6th of December, it appeared of importance to the commander-in-chief, that the road between that place and Sir James Outram's post in Oude, should be thenceforth kept free from

* See *ante*, p. 98.

interruption by scattered parties of the enemy, and the communication between himself and the force at the Alumbagh rendered less precarious. In order to effect this desirable object, the following memorandum was forwarded to the major-general by the chief of the staff at Cawnpore:—

"Head-quarters, Cawnpore, Dec. 8th.

"The commander-in-chief is of opinion, that you should take immediate steps in pursuance of the advantages gained the day before yesterday at Cawnpore, to put your communications with this place in a thoroughly effective condition. You will, therefore, on the receipt of this memorandum, detach to the rear 400 European soldiers, 200 Madras infantry, Captain Olphert's light field battery, and half your cavalry, with all your camels.

"This force, which should be placed under your best officer, must clear the vicinity of the road from Alumbagh to Cawnpore, of all refractory characters, including Munsik Ali, who disturbs the neighbourhood of Onoa. This force will collect, as it marches, as much carriage as possible, bringing it to the north bank of the Ganges, to be laden with gram and supplies for your field force. The difficulties of procuring carriage at Cawnpore are very great, but every effort is being made in your behalf."

The instructions thus conveyed appear to have been met with strong objection by Sir James Outram, who considered that the weakening of his force to so great an extent, while in the immediate proximity of an enemy nearly ten times his numerical strength, would be to risk the safety of the position entrusted to him, and, in all probability, might lead to its loss. On the 11th of the month, therefore, he submitted his view of the inexpediency of the measure enjoined upon him, in the following letter to the chief of the staff, for the information of the commander-in-chief:—

"Camp, Alumbagh, Dec. 11th, 1857.

"Sir,—I am directed by Major-general Sir James Outram to acknowledge the receipt of the message dispatched by you, by cossid, on the 8th instant, with the account of the commander-in-chief's victory over the Gwalior force, which arrived yesterday. He did not, however, bring the 'memorandum' by the chief of the staff, for the guidance of Sir J. Outram, G.C.B. Sir James only received the copy of that this morning. He is desirous of being informed if the memorandum was sent by the cossid, that he may deal with him according to his deserts, if he has been playing false. He has been examined, and will remain a prisoner until information is received from you.

"Sir J. Outram is much concerned to find, by that 'memorandum,' that the commander-in-chief expects him to detach so large a force to the rear as 400 Europeans and 200 Madras infantry, as well as half the cavalry, and Captain Olphert's light field battery.

"In his letter to the governor-general in council of the 9th instant, which was forwarded, under a flying seal, for the commander-in-chief's information, he states—'We have barely carriage for a weak brigade; which, however, could not be detached with prudence, to a distance involving an absence of more than a day, without exposing the camp to considerable risk, menaced as it is by many thousands of the enemy, supported by several guns posted in the gardens and enclosures on this side of the canal, on our front and flanks, which daily send round shot into our advanced posts, though from so great a distance as to do no injury.'

"The enemy are now busily employed in erecting a battery on our left flank, which very likely is intended for defensive purposes, but, at the same time, might become offensive at any moment: they are also daily strengthened by the fugitives of the army defeated by the commander-in-chief.

"They have lately brought out two horse artillery guns. These guns could do much harm by moving on our flanks, if we had no guns of a similar description to oppose to them; and it must be recollected that they have a strong reserve of guns in the city, which might, at any time, be brought out against this camp or the Alumbagh. We are also entirely without gram, and we shall be obliged to make more distant expeditions in search of it; and these parties must, of course, be increased in strength in proportion.

"The cavalry force is most inefficient: the horses of the volunteer cavalry, and the irregulars, who have all been in the presidency, are so reduced in condition, that they can render little or no service; and our present want of gram, and the cold at night, prevent their regaining it. The military train can only mount 140 men: their saddle-trees being so bad, that no amount of stuffing suffices to prevent sore

backs; and these, therefore, comprise the only efficient cavalry we have.

"Detaching 200 Madras infantry from Bunnee, would weaken Colonel Fisher too much, as strong parties of the enemy, accompanied by guns, have been reported as moving along the old road to our rear, and in the direction of that post; and Sir James thought it expedient, on Colonel Fisher's application, to reinforce him with 50 Europeans; they will, however, accompany the convoy, and remain at Bunnee on their return.

"The major-general also writes to point out the extensive nature of his position, the right of which is Jellalabad, and the left resting on a village to the left of the main road—a front, altogether, of nearly four miles. This extent is rendered necessary by being obliged to occupy Jellalabad, in which direction all the grazing and forage for the cattle is obtained; and the villages on the left front and flank have to be occupied, in order to prevent the enemy commanding the main road and our flank with their guns, from a very strong defensive position. Sir J. Outram trusts that the commander-in-chief will view these points in the same light that he does, and agree with him in the inexpediency, under these circumstances, of detaching the force proposed to the rear.

"To-night, the convoy, consisting of 350 camels, will leave this camp, escorted by 150 European infantry, fifty Sikhs, and twenty-five cavalry, and be joined at Bunnee by fifty of the 90th regiment, now stationed there. This is the utmost of the force Sir James feels himself justified in sending. He retains 150 camels, for the purpose of bringing in gram, which, from information received, he hopes to lay his hands on. Your letter only specifies camels; and Sir James has not sent any carts, as it delays the march of the convoy, and involves a larger escort accompanying it.—I have, &c.,

"F. Berkeley, Colonel,
"Chief of the Staff."

The remonstrance thus submitted by Sir James Outram, through the chief of his staff, was by no means satisfactory to Sir Colin Campbell, by whose orders the following memorandum was immediately transmitted to the Alumbagh, for the guidance of the major-general:—

"Head-quarters, Cawnpore, Dec. 12th.

"The commander-in-chief has had under his consideration, a letter addressed to the chief of the staff by Colonel Berkeley, deputy-adjutant-general, by order of Major-general Sir James Outram, G.C.B., in which the reasons of the latter are alleged for not giving execution to his excellency's orders, conveyed in the memorandum by Major-general Mansfield, chief of the staff, on the 7th of December.

"It is a subject of the deepest regret to his excellency that he cannot coincide in the reasoning of Sir James Outram, the order above alluded to having been considered with the greatest care before it was given, with reference to the country in which Sir James Outram's camp is pitched, and the knowledge of what it is in the power of the enemy to attempt.

"His excellency entreats Sir James Outram to believe that he is fully alive to the circumstances of his position, and he does not think it possible for him to be threatened by real danger.

"Including the posts of Alumbagh and Bunnee, Sir James Outram has at his disposal 4,400 fighting-men, of which the bulk is composed of European infantry, besides a very powerful artillery. The effect of the late successes on the right bank of the Ganges, cannot but be felt throughout the province of Oude as elsewhere.

"If the left be threatened by a battery, his excellency would suggest the advisability of attacking and destroying it before it can become a cause of annoyance. If, on the occasion of a detachment going out, Sir James has fears for his position, his excellency would further venture to suggest that the front of the camp should be contracted, or that it should be converted into a bivouac, in case of really imminent danger.

"The strength of detachments is always calculated by the commander-in-chief with the greatest care, with reference to general circumstances, with which it is hardly possible that any one but his excellency should be acquainted.

"In conclusion, his excellency observes, that nothing advanced in this memorandum is said by way of reproach, but merely of advice and friendly caution."

The "advice" and "caution" thus furnished, might naturally, from its tone, seem to require the paragraph that closed the memorandum, which was calculated to operate as a salve to the wound that document might tacitly inflict upon the feelings of an officer of the rank and merit of Sir

James Outram, who, as a disciplinarian himself, could do no other than bow in silence to the reproof thus administered to him by his superior in rank and responsibility. Further correspondence on the subject was therefore avoided; but the irritable feeling on either side had scarcely time to calm down, before some "routine" blunders in the quartermaster-general's department at the Alumbagh, brought down the following communication from the chief of the staff, "for the guidance of Sir James Outram," and his officers in charge of departments:—

"Head-quarters, Cawnpore, Dec. 15th.

"Two hundred gun-bullocks have been dispatched to Sir J. Outram, yoked to carts. He will have the goodness to apply them to the guns. A fortnight's provisions for all Sir James Outram's force, including Bunnee, together with what stores of clothing, tentage, and boots, it is in the power of Brigadier Inglis, commanding at Cawnpore, to give.

"Sir James Outram will arrange in future, by order of his excellency, to send a sufficient escort, with carriage, once a fortnight, to take out what supplies he may want from Cawnpore to his camp. This escort must never consist of less than 350 European infantry, 150 native infantry, seventy cavalry soldiers, together with two field guns. Colonel Fisher, commanding at Bunnee, being under the command of Sir James Outram, will be supplied by the commissariat of the major-general's division, and not from that of Cawnpore, which belongs to another.

"It will be easy for Captain Maclean and Captain Christopher so to arrange together, under the orders of the deputy-commissary-general, that the supplies meant for Bunnee, shall not travel onwards to Alumbagh.

"Sir J. Outram is informed that, owing to the neglect of his deputy-assistant-quartermaster-general, or other staff officer, a quantity of flannel shirts and serge jackets, besides other articles, which had been provided by the commander-in-chief for the use of his division, were positively allowed to return to Cawnpore, instead of being made use of as intended.

"The chief of the staff is aware that an order was issued, on the occasion of the commander-in-chief quitting Alumbagh, that the quilts, &c., brought for Sir James Outram's division, should be taken charge of at once. It appears never to have occurred to his staff officer to have examined the other bales besides those containing quilts, although it was perfectly well known to every one in the force, that what stores were in Alumbagh, had been brought solely for the use of the Lucknow garrison under Sir James Outram.

"Sir James Outram is requested to inform the officers subordinate to Colonel Berkeley, now on the staff of his division, of the commander-in-chief's marked displeasure on this account, and to enforce their personal attention and superintendence of every duty committed to their charge. Any staff officer failing in this respect in future, will be immediately deprived of his appointment, according to a general order lately published on the subject."

It may be presumed, that the warning thus given had its intended effect, as no record appears to be extant of any continued displeasure of the commander-in-chief with the staff at the Alumbagh; nor did another instance occur during its occupation by Sir James Outram, of objection to the declared arrangements of Sir Colin Campbell.

We may now resume our detail of active operations in connection with the important position held by the force under Major-general Sir James Outram, and the final reoccupation of the capital of Oude.

From the time of the departure of the commander-in-chief, on the night of the 22nd of November, no serious aggression on the part of the rebels was attempted until the 22nd of the following month, when General Outram received information that the enemy were preparing to cut off his communication with Cawnpore, and to form a chain of outposts between the camp and Bunnee, about fourteen miles on the Cawnpore-road, where he intended to place guns in position; and to effect this purpose 5,000 men, with four guns, were collected at a village called Guilee, about three miles from the camp, in the direction of Dilkoosha, and at a short distance from the city. The troops at the Alumbagh were already becoming tired of the inactivity enforced by their position; and Sir James Outram, feeling that the occasion warranted immediate action, determined upon taking the enemy by surprise, and thus frustrating their project. Accordingly, the necessary force for an attack was detailed

off; and at 4 o'clock A.M. on the 22nd of December, the troops—consisting of 1,100 infantry, and 150 cavalry, with six guns—marched from the station, and arrived near the advanced picket of the enemy by daybreak. The force quietly approached, under cover of a ruined village, until within a hundred yards of the rebels, when they halted; and scouts were sent out to discover their position. These were absent but a few minutes, when they returned and reported to the general. Sir James Outram at once advanced alone a short distance, to satisfy himself of their accuracy, and then silently beckoned to the troops to advance. As they emerged into the open plain in rear of the village, the cavalry videttes of the enemy were seen directly in front of them; but so completely surprised were the latter, that for some moments they stood gazing upon the advancing column as if incredulous of sight. They at length challenged; but without loitering for a reply, the astonished troopers discharged their carbines at random, and galloped off to their main body. As soon as the English troops were fairly in the open ground, but before they could deploy into line, the enemy, who were favourably posted in a thick tope, fired upon them with musketry and round shot. Sir James Outram at once gave the order to form line and advance; and without giving the rebels time to fire a second volley, the troops rushed forward with a hearty cheer, and drove everything before their bayonets. Their first trophy was the gun belonging to the enemy, which was taken with the loss of only one man killed and one wounded. The troops continued to advance, skirmishing through a jungle on the right of the enemy's position; and having driven them out of the latter, reformed line, and advanced across a wide plain in pursuit. The ground being favourable for cavalry at this place, the volunteer corps made a brilliant charge, and drove the enemy in confusion towards the town, leaving three guns to their pursuers. As the object of the general was simply to drive them from the position they had taken, and capture such guns as they might have brought with them, without hazarding a general engagement, the troops were now halted, and shortly after returned to the camp, which they reached about 11 A.M., to breakfast. The loss of the enemy in this morning encounter, was estimated at 150 killed, and four guns. On the side of the British, the killed and wounded amounted to three only.

The following despatch of Major-general Outram to the deputy-adjutant-general of the army, gives the official details of the battle of Guilee:—

"Camp before Lucknow, Dec. 23rd, 1857.

"Sir,—I have the honour to report, for the information of his excellency the commander-in-chief, that I had yesterday an affair with the enemy at a village called Guilee, three miles from hence, situated a little to the right of the road to Dilkoosha.

"I had been informed two days previously, by my spies, that the enemy contemplated surrounding my position, in order to cut off supplies, stop all foraging expeditions, and to intercept my communication with Bunnee. With this object, they dispatched a force to Guilee, which took up a position between that village and Budroop, which places are about a mile distant from each other.

"On the evening of the 21st instant, I learnt that the rebels had been reinforced, and that their strength amounted to about 4,000 infantry, 400 cavalry, and eight field guns.*

"Having ascertained that a space of about half a mile intervened between their position and the gardens skirting the canal and the Dilkoosha, I moved out at 5 A.M., in the hope of surprising them at daybreak and intercept their retreat to the city, with a force detailed in the accompanying divisional order, which I have this day issued, and to which I beg to refer his excellency for all details, and for the terms in which I express my appreciation of the conduct of the troops on the occasion.

"The main body of the enemy being on the march considerably in advance, retreated to the city by a detour to the left, out of our reach, and concealed by intervening topes of trees, on hearing the attack on their rear; but the loss of four horse artillery guns, much ammunition, besides elephants and baggage, and some fifty or sixty men slain, will, I think, deter the enemy from again venturing beyond their defensive works, or at any rate, from attempting, for some time to come, to carry out their plan for surrounding this camp within a too limited circumference; and I have great hopes that the success of this expedition will be productive of good effect

* Since ascertained to be only four, all of which were captured.

in restoring confidence to the neighbouring inhabitants."

Divisional Orders issued by Major-general Outram, G.C.B.

"Camp, Alumbagh, Dec. 23rd, 1857.

"Major-general Sir James Outram has much pleasure in recording, in divisional orders, his satisfaction with the conduct of the officers and men* under the command of Brigadier Stisted, engaged yesterday in the skirmish at Guilee, in which four guns and twelve waggons, filled with ammunition, were captured. The right column, under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Purnell, her majesty's 90th regiment, consisting of detachments of the 78th and 90th regiments, and of the Ferozepore regiment of Sikhs, excited his admiration, by the gallant way in which, with a cheer, they dashed at a strong position held by the enemy, and from which they were met by a heavy fire; regardless of the overwhelming numbers, and six guns reported to be posted there. The suddenness of the attack, and the spirited way in which it was executed, resulted in the immediate flight of the enemy, with hardly a casualty on our side.

"Colonel Guy, in command of the left column, consisting of her majesty's 5th fusiliers, under the guidance of Lieutenant Moorsom, deputy-assistant-quartermaster-general, was equally successful in his simultaneous attack on the adjacent village of Guilee; in which, and the adjoining tope, two guns were captured. The enemy were now rapidly followed up across the plain by the volunteer cavalry, under Captain Barrow, until they found refuge in a village, from which they opened a fire of grape and musketry. They were, however, speedily dislodged, by the assistance of two of Captain Olphert's guns, under the command of Lieutenant Smithett; and, changing their line of retreat, they endeavoured to reach the city by the way of the Dilkoosha.

"The military train, under Major Robertson, having been, however, dispatched to make a flank movement, followed them up so closely, that they dispersed their cavalry, and drove their guns into a ravine, where they were captured, the leading horses, of which the traces were cut, only escaping. The major-general was particularly pleased with the very cool and soldierlike behaviour of the military train. Far ahead of the infantry, and unable to remove the guns which were captured, they were menaced in their front by a large body of fresh troops from the city, and attacked, on their right flank, by the main body of the enemy, consisting of about 2,000 infantry, who had commenced their march previous to our attack; and who, on hearing their rear assailed, also changed their route to one in the direction of the city; and seeing their guns in possession of so small a force as that under Major Robertson, made demonstrations of an attempt to regain them; but by the bold front shown by the military train, and the gallant advance of their skirmishers, were held at bay until the arrival of a party of the 5th fusiliers, and two 9-pounder guns, under Captain Olphert, who completely secured their capture, and enabled a working party of Madras sappers, under the command of Lieutenant Ogilvie, to extricate them from the ravine into which they had been driven. Captain Hutchinson, chief engineer, on this, as on several other occasions during the day, afforded much valuable assistance.

"The major-general has to thank Lieutenant-colonel H. Hamilton, commanding the reserve, for the good position taken up by him; which, with the fire of the two guns under Lieutenant Simpson, which were most judiciously posted, were of great assistance in checking the advance of the enemy, during the protracted operations of removing the captured guns.

"Sir James Outram has also to express his acknowledgments to Brigadiers Hamilton and Eyre, who were left in charge of the camp, and who, with the small force at their disposal, checked the dispositions for an attack, which the enemy was commencing with their skirmishers on the left flank until the return of the force to camp caused them to abandon their intentions.

* Two 9-pounder guns, royal artillery, Captain Maude; four ditto, 2nd company 3rd battalion Bengal artillery, Captain Olphert; 112 of the military train, Major Robertson; 30 of volunteer cavalry, Lieutenant Hay and Lieutenant Graham; 550 of H.M.'s 5th fusiliers, Colonel Guy; 103 of H.M.'s 75th regiment, Captain Brookes; 156 of H.M.'s 78th highlanders, Captain Lockhart; 108 of H.M.'s 84th regiment, Captain O'Brien; 270 of H.M.'s 90th light infantry, Captain Guise; 150 of the regiment of Ferozepore, Captain Brasyer; 40 Madras sappers, Lieutenant Ogilvie: total, six 9-pounder guns, under Captain Olphert; 190 cavalry under Major Robertson; 1,227 infantry, under Brigadier Stisted; right column under Lieutenant-colonel Purnell, H.M.'s 90th light infantry; left column, under Colonel Guy, 5th fusiliers; reserve, under Lieutenant-colonel Hamilton, H.M.'s 78th highlanders.

"It will be the pleasing duty of the major-general to make his excellency the commander-in-chief acquainted with the successful result of yesterday's operations, and his approbation of the conduct of all those concerned in them."

A letter from the Alumbagh, written a few days after this spirited affair, says—"On the 22nd of December, the enemy made a clever attempt to obtain possession of the road to Cawnpore. They posted 1,200 men inside a jungle, with a sandy plain in front, and the road close at hand. Sir James Outram understood the plan; and at night, two regiments were silently put in motion. The soft sand deadened all sound, and dawn found them within the enemy's pickets. A rattling volley, a cheer, and the enemy, pouring in one discharge, fled, leaving their guns (four) and about a hundred men dead on the field. Since that day nothing has been seen of the foe, who are believed to be quarrelling fiercely among themselves, instigated by some one whom the spies and our officers call the queen-mother. They are said to be losing heart; and some of the chiefs have sent silver fish (the symbol of nobility) to the general, as a token of surrender. Maun Sing and Bal Kishan (the finance minister) are reported as amongst those who are anxious to treat; and as several European captives are in their hands, if the rebels are sincere in their advances, it is hoped that their overtures may not be altogether rejected. All information, however, as to their intentions, is at present doubtful; for, in contradiction to the rumours of their inclination to succumb, it is said that 27,000 men are at work repairing the intrenchments vacated by us in November, and that they intend to hold them to the last man. However true this may be of the sepoys, it is certain that the peasantry are turning round, which is not a good omen for them. For a fortnight after the retreat from Lucknow, not a grain of wheat or a wisp of hay could be procured from them, even by force: but the victory of the 6th of this month, by Sir Colin Campbell, suddenly changed the tone of popular feeling. It was then discovered that 'the English raj was really *not* over;' and the 'Sahib loge' speedily became much honoured by these servile people. Grain, forage, milk, bread, and vegetables poured into the camp with unprecedented abundance, and no difficulty was made in furnishing such supplies as the country round afforded. The country is still swarming with armed vagabonds hastening to Lucknow, to meet their common doom, and die in the last grand struggle with the Feringhee. The more the better. It is the dispersion, not the strength of the enemy, that we dread."

From this time until near the middle of January, the enemy continued to receive almost daily an accession to their numbers, until the force within and around the city, amounted to near 87,000 men: they did not, however, make any demonstration against the camp at the Alumbagh, beyond keeping in activity a vigilant system of *espionage;* by means of which the measures of the commandant of that garrison were made familiar to them, even before any attempt was made to carry them into effect: they also laboured hard at restoring the fortifications of the various important positions of the city, and in providing stores of ammunition, &c., in order to be fully prepared for the attack they anticipated from the force led by the commander-in-chief, and which they were aware would not be long delayed. This lull in their offensive operations did not arise from any indifference on their part to the important position held, as it were, at their very gates by Sir James Outram; and it was deemed necessary that, previous to the arrival of any large British force before Lucknow, the garrison at Alumbagh should be annihilated. For this purpose an opportunity seemed to present itself by the absence of a considerable number of the British troops, who had been dispatched to convoy a supply of provisions from Cawnpore; and accordingly a large force was detailed to attack the garrison in its weakened state: but Sir James Outram had intelligence of the intended attack, and was prepared to meet it. At sunrise on the morning of the 12th of January, the rebels were seen advancing from the city in a stream of columns, amounting, in round numbers, to 30,000 men, forming a wide semicircle in front and flank of the Alumbagh and camp. General Outram, who had no idea of being confined to the walls of his citadel, at once massed his force of little more than 3,000 effective men into two brigades, and sent them out to confront the enemy. A fierce and sanguinary contest ensued; for, while the main body of the enemy attacked the two English brigades, a second division proceeded to assault the fort of Jellalabad, which formed

the right extremity of the British position; while a third, by a detour, reached the Alumbagh, defended only by a very small portion of the garrison, and endeavoured to intercept and cut off General Outram's communication with it. The struggle continued between the mere handful of men under the British general, and the overwhelming numbers of the enemy, from sunrise until four o'clock in the afternoon, every gun being incessantly employed in repelling the advance of dense masses of the enemy. Foiled at every point by the indomitable bravery of the troops opposed to them, the enemy at length withdrew to their positions in the city, and the gardens and villages surrounding it, leaving on the field upwards of 400 killed. To pursue the retiring force with such disparity of numbers was not considered prudent, after the arduous exertions made by the men during fourteen hours of incessant fighting, and Sir James Outram remained content with holding possession of the field, and securing his position at the Alumbagh. The whole of the casualties on the English side in this affair, amounted to six wounded.

On the 16th of the month, the enemy appeared again in the field before Alumbagh. The force upon this occasion was led by a Hindoo fanatic, supposed to be a fakir of the Monkey Temple in Awadh, disguised to represent the Monkey god Humayun. This enthusiast marched at the head of the insurgents, and incited them, by his cries and gestures, to rush upon and exterminate the little band, which they might have been sufficient to crush by mere force of numbers. Fortunately all the fanaticism in the world will not stop bullets; and the noisy and nimble-footed rebels had a far greater relish for keeping at a safe distance from English bayonets, than for grappling with them at close quarters. They therefore could only screw their courage up, on this occasion, to a tiresome and desultory conflict, which lasted from ten in the morning until nine at night, when they hastily retreated, leaving their leader, the representative of the Monkey god, a prisoner in the hands of the English troops, and a large number of killed and wounded upon the ground. The loss of the British was again but trifling—a circumstance partly attributable to the general's appreciation of the value of European life, and partly to the withering power of the Enfield rifle; for even numbers are of little value against an enemy who can fire half-a-dozen rounds before the old musket can be brought within range; and thus it is that the disproportion of forces, and of casualties on either side, were satisfactorily accounted for.

The result of the attack on the 16th of January, was notified to the governor-general and the commander-in-chief, by the following telegram from Major-general Sir J. Outram:—

"Alumbagh, January 17th, 1858.

"The enemy attacked my position yesterday, the 16th, in force, led on by a Hindoo fanatic, Biduhe Dass Hunnooman, who was severely wounded and taken prisoner. The attacks from various quarters lasted, with slight intermission, from 10 A.M. till 9 P.M. —Loss on our side trifling: that of the enemy severe. This is the second attack within the last three days."

At this period, the force of the enemy in and around Lucknow was daily increasing. Hour by hour they received accessions of troops from Goruckpore, from Rohilcund, and even from Central India. The leaders, driven from Etawah, Allygurh, Futteghur, Goruckpore, and Banda, were also swarming to Lucknow with their bands of desperadoes, and had there concentrated, it was supposed, upwards of 100,000 fighting-men, with from eighty to 100 guns, and abundance of ammunition. The fortifications of the city had been carefully restored, the streets intrenched, and most of the houses loopholed for musketry; in short, everything appeared to indicate that the rebels, driven to bay, intended to die fighting, or to drive the Europeans from Oude, believing they could now hold Lucknow as once they had held Bhurtpore. From the report of the spies sent among them at this time, it appeared to be the general belief that the present struggle between the sepoys and the British would terminate in the destruction of both parties. Thus an officer who was engaged in executing a party of the rebel prisoners, asked each before he died, why he had fought, and what was the proposed object of the war? and each gave, in effect, the same answer—"The slaughter of the English was required by our religion; the end will be, the destruction of all the English and all the sepoys; and then—God knows."

Meanwhile an important contest of opinion was silently operating in the official world, at the seat of government, and at the camp as well as at the court. One party, led by the government in Calcutta, was anxious

that Lucknow should be attacked at once, and disposed of. "There," said they, "is the true seat of the rebellion; and that once secured, the bands scattered over the country would lose hope, and the rebellion would die out: but until that central point of union is destroyed, every day's delay adds to its strength and *prestige*; while the victories of the British troops only add to the number and the desperation of its defenders." It was contended, that while Lucknow continued in the hands of the rebels, the revolt had still a centre and a flag, around which the discontented from every quarter might and would rally.

The other party, headed by the commander-in-chief, were represented as holding it essential to clear Rohilcund first. They felt that the large bands of mutineers and insurgents still roaming over that province might intercept communications, and produce serious embarrassment; while the concentration of rebel troops at Lucknow would eventually be advantageous as bringing the difficulty to one point, instead of having it distributed all over the country. Another reason for delay also had some influence in this quarter: the Sikh levies, depended upon for the augmentation of Sir Colin's army, were slow in coming forward; and without them, the whole numerical strength of his command was inconsiderable. It was urged, that although some 13,000 men (the whole number that the persistent energy of the commander-in-chief was yet able to collect) might be sufficient, with its native auxiliaries and the Ghoorkas from Nepaul, to recapture Lucknow, yet it would not suffice to take that place by street-fighting against 100,000 men—to leave a strong garrison there, and then, with the remainder of the little force, to effect the clearance of Rohilcund, with the hot season immediately before them. The commander-in-chief, therefore, was content to "bide his time."

From the 16th of January to the end of the second week in February, the rebels at Lucknow did not venture upon any renewed demonstration of their designs on Alumbagh; but hoping, probably, by another attack, to disarrange some part of the measures they justly calculated might be contemplated for their discomfiture, and being aware that the bulk of the English forces in India, under Sir Colin Campbell, were actually in motion towards the frontier of their country, they ventured upon repeated struggles with the troops at the Alumbagh, and, as usual, met with signal defeat. The circumstances attending the most important of these affairs were as follow.

Exasperated by the continued loss to which the rebel force in and around Lucknow had been subjected by troops notoriously inferior to them in numerical strength, some adherents of the principal adviser of the queen (Mummoo Khan), issued a proclamation, in which it was declared that there were only 200 Europeans at Alumbagh, and yet that no one dared to attack them except Mummoo Khan. The vain-glorious boast gave great umbrage to the sepoys and their officers, who forthwith held a council of war, at which it was decided that two-and-a-half months' pay should be given to the troops engaged in a proposed assault, and certain distinctions were to be conferred upon them in case of success. The sepoys, who had more stomach for rewards than for the fight that was to win them, did not evince any considerable ardour in competing for the questionable prize, until at length one of the mutineer native officers of rank undertook to annihilate the entire English force at the Alumbagh within ten days, upon condition that he was appointed to the chief command for the occasion. His proposal was accepted; but half the stipulated period had already elapsed without any approach to the promised extermination, when it was discovered that Sunday, the 21st of February, would be a favourable day for the enterprise. A feud had for some weeks existed between the begum (acting as regent for her son) and a moulvie, who possessed great influence over the troops; but, in the hope of the prospective triumph, they were reconciled; and the Hindoos swore on the Ganges—the Mohammedans on the Koran—that they would destroy the British troops at the Alumbagh, or perish in the attempt. The plan of operations was to surround the force by making a wide detour to the rear, and, when the circle was completed, to close in, making desperate assaults at five or six different points at the same time; mass after mass being poured upon the Feringhees, until not one should be left alive to carry tidings of the defeat to the English commander-in-chief. The scheme was cleverly designed; and had its execution been equal to the spirit that conceived it, the result might have been serious: fortunately, it was not so.

Late in the evening previous to the

meditated attack, Major-general Outram was duly informed of the proposed operations of the rebels, and adopted instant measures to counteract them.

Just before daybreak on the morning of the 21st of February, a body of the rebel army, amounting to 20,000 men, with a large train of artillery, silently emerged from their shelter in the city and adjacent villages, and moved towards the British position. The major-general had already dispatched some cavalry and guns from the Alumbagh, to meet the right and left wings of the enemy, cautiously permitting them to proceed with their intended circle until it amounted to a horse-shoe. Unaware of the measures taken to arrest their progress, and supposing everything to be favourable to their project, the enemy commenced to fire from their front and both flanks at the same moment. They were at first replied to languidly, with the hope of drawing them on; but before they could find heart to advance, the British cavalry and guns were at work on both extremities of their line, and a general rout ensued. They were hotly chased by the cavalry and horse artillery; and their aggregate loss in the affair amounted to upwards of 500 men. The casualties on the side of the British amounted to six wounded only.

An officer in the force sent out to attack the rebel troops, describes the affair as follows:—"Early on the morning of the 21st of February, a body of the rebel troops, amounting to 20,000 men, emerged from the city and some adjacent villages, for the purpose of taking Alumbagh by assault. Their first operations having filled all the trenches with as many men as they could hold, and placed large masses of infantry in the topes as a support, a simultaneous movement was commenced round both flanks of General Outram's position, threatening, at the same time, the whole length of his front, the north-east corner of the Alumbagh, and the picket and fort at Jellalabad. Outram perceiving, at a glance, the nature and object of the attack, lost no time in strengthening the several endangered posts. At the Alumbagh and Jellalabad posts the enemy met a severe check, owing to their having ventured within range of the grapeshot which the British poured out upon them. The major-general then detached 250 cavalry and two field-pieces, in charge of Captain Barrow, to the rear of Jellalabad. Upon the arrival of the detachment at this point, it came in front of a body of 2,000 of the enemy's cavalry and 5,000 infantry, which were advancing towards the garrison; but were so effectually kept at bay by the two field-pieces, that their intended scheme of attack was frustrated; and they halted, apparently undecided whether to fall upon and overwhelm the handful of men opposed to them, or to retire to another and less dangerous position. The enemy's attack on Major-general Outram's left flank, was made by no less than 5,000 cavalry and 8,000 infantry; to oppose which formidable number, he sent only four field guns and 120 men of the military train, under Major Robertson; and this mere handful of brave men, with their four guns, actually succeeded in driving back the armed masses before them. A large convoy from Cawnpore was known to be on its march at this time, and the necessary escort had taken away the greater part of our cavalry—a fact of which the enemy was aware; and yet, with a disproportion of numbers so great in their favour, and with all the advantages of choosing their plan of attack, and for the accession of reinforcements equal to, or even exceeding, their number in the field, this large army suffered itself to be ignominiously beaten by a few hundred men. The truth is, that our men now so heartily despise these miserable rebels, that a picket, or sometimes a dozen of men, will suffer themselves to be surrounded, without thinking of falling back on the main body, and then knock the enemy over with the Enfield rifle, man after man, as they come within reach. The assailants never dream of making a rush over the quarter of a mile at which the weapon is fatal, knowing that any that might escape would immediately fall into our hands; no party, however small, being left unwatched."

Cooled down by this repulse, the prudence of the enemy for a time restrained their courage; and during the 22nd, 23rd, and 24th, everything remained quiet on their part: but on the night of the 24th, a quarrel that had for some time existed between the Delhi and Oude sepoys, broke out into a fierce encounter, and there was much firing between the belligerent parties in the city. This, however, was but the prelude to another attempt upon the English position. About 9 A.M. of the 25th, information was sent in by the pickets, that the enemy, in large masses, were

endeavouring to creep round by the left, and get into the rear of the garrison. The pickets were instantly strengthened, especially on the flanks, and the troops were ordered to stand on the alert, but to make no movement until the enemy was close at hand. Upon this occasion, the queen, with her son and the officers and members of her court, came out of the city on state elephants, to encourage the assailants, and to be eye-witnesses of the anticipated victory. Stimulated by the presence of the begum, a strong body of the rebels advanced into a grove of trees near Jellalabad, when the order to charge was given, and, in less than five minutes, the leading column of the enemy was cut off from both its flanks. Two guns were captured in this charge, and two more immediately followed. The rebels were panic-stricken. The rout became general, and so precipitate, that the cavalry were seen riding over their own infantry in the way back to the city: Unfortunately for the pursuers, the ground was extremely broken and irregular, which interfered materially with the punishment the fugitives would otherwise have received; but the horse artillery, as usual, committed great havoc. From this time to the first week in March, the enemy remained quiet in their stronghold, which, with the exception of the residency compound, had been wholly in their hands since the early part of July in the preceding year.

The subjoined extracts of letters from the Alumbagh, during the period occupied by the occurrences referred to, are interesting, as furnishing personal views of the state of affairs in Oude at the time, and of camp life at the Alumbagh. The first is dated February the 17th; and reads thus:—"In the midst of my work yesterday, and whilst it was blowing a tremendous dust-storm, the rebels attempted to attack us, and turned out pretty strong on our left. Smithett was first sent off with a couple of guns, and Timbrell followed with four others. Captain Olpherts accompanied the party; and Robertson, with the military train, formed the cavalry escort to the guns. On seeing the rebel infantry, Olpherts, with the guns, galloped up to within 200 yards, and pitched in grape. The enemy fired once, knocked over one havildar driver, and then cut! Olpherts then gave them round and shrapnel, and retired, having spoilt a few of them. For some reason the cavalry did not charge; had they done so, they might have cut up a lot. These rebels are getting more impertinent every day; and whilst I am writing, they are peppering away at a great pace. On the 15th, the guns, with Major Robertson, who commanded the cavalry, went out at a good trot for four or five miles, and then suddenly came down upon a party of the enemy's infantry hovering along the Bithoor-road, escorting someone in a dhooly. This we have since learnt was the moulvie of Lucknow. The guns were galloped smartly to the front—came about in splendid style at about 150 yards' distance, and then gave them grape. It was a splendid sight. The moulvie was wounded in the shoulder, and eight fellows were killed, and many wounded. If we had had a few more cavalry we might have cut up every one of them, and taken the moulvie prisoner; but Robertson did not like to leave the guns, as the enemy's cavalry were beginning to come out. We then came back, and not before it was time; for the rebels had put their whole army in motion, and were advancing upon us. On the 16th, the rebels attacked our position again, but, after a sharp contest for several hours, they were driven off. These fellows give us no peace by day or night, and our guns are now kept harnessed, in momentary expectation of being required. However, we are all jolly, and have no sickness in camp."

Another extract is from a letter dated "Alumbagh, February 20th." The writer states—"The engineers' park here is assuming most magnificent proportions—gabions in thousands, fascines in tens of thousands, and sand-bags by cart-loads, have already arrived from Cawnpore, or been made on the spot; boats, ladders, &c., are in proportion, and the sapper corps numbers nearly a thousand men. The enemy have shown their teeth frequently of late; but they have never succeeded in gaining anything beyond a loss, nor will they. They were to have attacked us in force yesterday, and once or twice we were on the alert, under the idea that they were coming on; but nothing occurred out of the usual practice of loud drumming and long-range practice; nor do I suppose that the attack threatened for to-morrow will be more to the purpose; for though they talk of bringing 'scaling-ladders' up to the Alumbagh enclosure, they are likely to sit down and calculate the cost before they venture to cross the intermediate 'open.' Their esca-

lade will be like their artillery attacks *à la distance*. The cause of their present activity is, that five days ago, a subahdar of the 65th regiment undertook to destroy the English in ten days, if he were made commander-in-chief for that time. He has now only half his time to do it in, poor fellow. The moulvie was wounded the other day in the arm by grape. His life will be saved, but his arm will be useless for the remainder of his days—no very protracted period, I fancy, if he falls into our hands. The begum, they say, is in a dreadful state of mind at the turn affairs have taken. The Delhi troops compelled her to release the moulvie, who, having set up a throne of his own in rivalry to that of her son (the present 'boy-king'), had been secured and thrown into prison; and as the moulvie declares that everything has gone wrong during his confinement (whereas, had he been at large, he would long since have exterminated us), the Delhi gentlemen are decidedly disrespectful to her majesty the queen-mother. The local troops, by whom her son was placed on the throne, though very respectful, are unequivocally disobedient. They profess their readiness to fight *on being paid*—a condition with which their royal mistress cannot comply; and they are not the men to be coaxed into perilous activity by the promises of the lady, although she has increased their pay to twelve rupees per mensem—that of the recusant Delhi-ites remaining at nine rupees. To add to the poor woman's discomfort, Maun Sing has broken away from the rebels, and entered into an alliance with Macgregor. Maun's example has been followed by other sirdars; and a very general feeling of distrust seems to prevail in the rebel ranks. So uncomfortable is the position of the poor begum, that even her favourite, Mummoo Khan—the darogah of the ex-king's seraglio, and well known to be the father of the present boy-king; though, of course, the latter is, in theory, the son of Wajid Ali—has latterly presumed to be insolent towards her, and has, in consequence, been more than once reprimanded for it in durbar. The begum holds daily *levées*, and addresses the officers of state, civil and military, with much energy from behind a purdah. Poor thing! she talks of poisoning herself and her son also, so soon as the Kaiserbagh is stormed; and it is the very best thing she can do. It will save herself and Sir Colin Campbell a world of trouble; for if taken, it is impossible she can be let off; and I am sure Sir Colin would much rather not have the hanging of her—he hates that sort of thing."

As the time approached when Lucknow was again destined to revert to the possession of the English authorities—a fact to be realised only through torrents of blood and days of frightful carnage—it may be *apropos* here to observe, that during the interval between November and March, the defences of the city had been greatly strengthened and augmented. Although not surrounded by a fortified wall, as Delhi had been, its many miles of area, full of narrow streets and lofty houses, and occupied by an enormous military force, in addition to the ordinary population, constituted it a formidable stronghold. The city, it will be remembered, lies on the right bank of the river Goomtee, which there runs nearly from north-west to south-east; all the buildings on the opposite or left bank of the river being nearly suburban. After winding round the buildings called the Martinière and the Dilkoosha, the river changes its course towards the south. The south-eastern extremity of the city is bounded by a canal, which enters the Goomtee near the Martinière; but there is no defined boundary on the south-west, west, or north-west. Between the crowded or commercial part of the city, and the river, there extended, previous to the revolt, a long range of palaces and gardens, occupying, collectively, an immense area, and known by the several names of the Secunderbagh, the Shah Nujeef, Shah Munzil, the Motee Mahal, the Kaiserbagh (or Palace of the King), the Chuttur Munzil, Fhurreed Buksh, the Residency enclosure, Muchee Bowun, the great Emaumbarra, and the Moosabagh: these various palaces and stately buildings occupying an almost continuous line of five miles along the right bank of the river, and forming a belt between it and the poorer and more dense portion of the city. To cross the river, there were at this time three bridges—namely, one of stone, near the great Emaumbarra; an iron suspension bridge, near the residency; and a bridge of boats, near the Motee Mahal.

In preparing for the struggle which they were well aware was before them, the rebels did not neglect the various precautions of defensive warfare; and rightly judging that the English commander would avoid a hand-

to-hand contest in the streets, and would direct his attack towards the south-eastern suburb, they exerted themselves in strengthening that side of the city. In their plan of fortification they prudently treated the buildings and courts of the Kaiserbagh as a citadel, and interposed between it and the expected besiegers a series of formidable works. The exterior of these was a line of defence extending from the river to a building known as "Banks' House;" of this line the canal formed the wet ditch, and behind it was a rampart or embankment with guns. The second defence consisted of an earthwork beginning at the river-side, near the Motee Mahal: and the third, or interior defence, was formed by the principal rampart of the Kaiserbagh itself. All these lines consisted of well-constructed earthen parapets, or ridges fronted by wide and deep ditches, and strengthened at intervals by bastions. But not alone on these formidable works did the enemy rely; for, with prudent foresight, they had loopholed and fortified almost every house and enclosure, constructed strong counter-guards in front of the gateways, and placed isolated bastions, stockades, and traverses across each of the principal streets. The three lines of defence all abutted at one extremity on the river Goomtee; and, at the other, on the great street or road called the Huzrutgunge, which was one of the chief avenues, and was loopholed and bastioned. Nearly one hundred guns and mortars were placed in position upon the various works; and the number of troops collected for the defence of the place, was computed as ranging between ninety and one hundred thousand. Whatever the exact number of troops might then have been, it was certain that, at the beginning of March, the city contained above 60,000 revolted sepoys; and at least 50,000 irregular volunteers, and armed retainers of insurgent chiefs; besides the ordinary city population of some 300,000 persons; and upon this immense host of living beings, congregated and massed within the boundaries of Lucknow, the storm of war was about to burst with pitiless but just severity. The insurgent chiefs of Oude, with their followers, animated by a desire to avenge the wrong inflicted upon their native sovereign by the prostration of his throne, and the degradation of his kingdom to the level of a mere English province, were there assembled to make a last effort for native independence. The mutinous and revolted sepoys of the Anglo-Indian government, whose lives scarcely depended upon the alternative afforded by victory or defeat, were there also in their desperation; and the position of the mere resident population was necessarily compromised by their presence. This, however, was a result which the stern necessities of the war rendered unavoidable under any circumstances.

Of the leaders and chief personages who exercised influence over this vast multitude at the time, the first and prime mover of the insurrectionary movement was the begum, Huzrut Mehal, first wife of the king of Oude, then a prisoner at Fort William, Calcutta. This personage is represented to be a woman of much energy of character; who, since the departure of her husband, had assumed the regency of the kingdom, acting in the name of, and during the minority of her son, a boy of eight years old, whom she now desired to be looked upon as the successor of his father upon the musnud. A favourite counsellor of the begum, named Mummoo Khan, raised by her to the office of chief judge, and one Shirreff-u-Dowlah, the chief minister, were her principal advisers; the commander-in-chief, Hissamut-u-Dowlah, also exercised great influence in the councils of the regent; as did also a moulvie, or Mussulman fanatic, who, though professing allegiance to the infant prince, laid under strong suspicion of aiming at the throne for his own purposes—a surmise that created much personal ill-feeling at times between the begum and himself. Most of the chief officers of the existing Oudian government, had purchased their places by large gifts to the begum or her favourites, and were consequently deeply interested in the success of her cause in the approaching struggle. The powerful military commands under Shirreff-u-Dowlah, were held by eunuchs of the royal palace.

One serious obstacle to success in this war—which, as regards the Oudians exclusively, might be regarded as a war of independence—was the simple fact, that the court of Lucknow was a vast mass of intrigue, in which the various members of the royal family only sought how they might obtain power and wealth at the expense of each other, and of the bulk of the people; while the ministers and officers were only subservient to their purposes, so far as might conduce to their own personal interests. The begum and the moulvie

leader, although moved by different considerations, were in fact the chief levers by which popular resistance to British rule was moved, and by them every measure was resorted to that would incite the fanaticism of the native population against the English, who were studiously represented as murdering all that fell into their hands; and resistance to the death was inculcated as the only means by which a chance of deliverance could be preserved to the people of Oude.

After the reduction and reoccupation of Futteghur and Furruckabad, it will be remembered, the commander-in-chief continued for some days encamped in the neighbourhood of the former place, busily occupied in collecting his resources for the final advance into Oude. While thus stationed, his excellency dispatched to the governor-general the following account of the operations of the various forces under his command:—

"Head-quarters, Fort Futteghur, Jan. 5th, 1858.

"My Lord,—I have already had the honour to inform your lordship by telegraph, of the various arrangements which have been made for the march of the force, under my immediate command, up the Doab. Having been obliged to part with much of my carriage to meet the wants of Major-general Sir J. Outram, G.C.B., in Oude, considerable delay was unavoidable at Cawnpore after the action of the 6th. The time, however, was not lost. A brigade under Brigadier the Hon. Adrian Hope was detached to Bithoor, where every vestige of the Nana Sahib's property was swept away; and, after very considerable exertion, much treasure recovered from the wells belonging to his former palace. The troops had worked hard at this duty; and it was not completed when it became necessary for Brigadier Hope to close on me, subsequent to my march. The 88th foot was accordingly ordered out from Cawnpore, under Colonel Maxwell, C.B., to prosecute the researches which had already been attended by much success. An order has been given to transfer the treasure so found to Mr. Sherer, civil magistrate of Cawnpore.

"Another brigade had been detached under Brigadier Walpole, to make a detour by Akbarpore, through Etawah to Mynpoorie, with orders to rejoin me on the Grand Trunk-road. The effect of this movement has been excellent; and Captain Bradford, the officer whom I selected to act as a special commissioner to accompany Brigadier Walpole's force, has been enabled to shape out the police arrangements. He has punished some notorious malefactors and disaffected districts, as shown by the various reports which have been forwarded to the secretary of government. In consequence of the march of this column, it would appear that there has been a complete sweep of rebels and bad characters from the southern part of the Doab. Brigadier Walpole joined me yesterday at Futteghur, and has received my entire approval for the able and judicious manner in which he has carried out the duty entrusted to him. I am informed, by the civil authorities, that my protracted stay at Cawnpore was of much benefit; and I am convinced that, apart from any immediate military object, it is necessary for the re-establishment of authority, that the march of the troops should be deliberate. Time is thus afforded to the magistrates and special commissioners to visit rebellious towns and villages, and again display to the people, in an unmistakable manner, the resolution of your lordship's government to visit punishment on all those who have, during the last few months, set aside their allegiance. Our movements have accordingly been regulated on this principle with reference to the day on which Brigadier Walpole was ordered to be at Mynpoorie, and the date of the probable arrival of Colonel Seaton's column from Delhi, at the same place. Having completed my means of movement with the carts which had returned from Allahabad on the 23rd December, after conveying the wounded to that station, I marched to Chowbepore on the 24th.

"On the 28th, while the head-quarters and one brigade were advanced to Meerunka Serai, Major-general Windham, C.B., was detached with his remaining brigade to Futtiah, the rajah of which place had abandoned his fort the night of the advance from Cawnpore. The fort was destroyed by the engineers, and several rebels belonging to the villages in the neighbourhood were disposed of by the magistrate. Mr. Power accompanied this brigade, and was enabled to make a good circuit round the country. Measures were taken, from our several halting-places, to destroy the country boats on the Ganges, in order to prevent interruption of the Doab, from the Oude side of the river, when the troops should have moved on. A considerable number were burnt, but it is probable that many may have escaped notice.

"On the 31st of December the leading brigades arrived at Goorsaigunge, Brigadier Greathed and Major-general Windham closing up, the one from the river in the evening, and the other from Futtiah the next day. Early in the forenoon of the 1st of January, Brigadier Hope was sent forward with two regiments to the Kalee Nuddee, to prevent the further destruction of the iron suspension-bridge by the rebels. They disappeared on his approach, and the corps of royal engineers and Bengal sappers, with a party of sailors, under Major Nicholson (royal engineers), set to work with great vigour, and worked day and night for the repair of the bridge, which had been very much injured. I consider that Major Nicholson, and the officers and men under his command, deserve great credit for the unflagging industry and real skill displayed on this occasion. The sailors were specially useful to Major Nicholson in the management of the ropes which replaced the broken part of the iron-work of the suspension-bridge.

"On the morning of the 2nd of January, I rode out, accompanied by the chief of the staff, to see if the bridge was ready for the advance of the column. Shortly after my arrival, while I was inspecting the work, which was nearly complete, I observed an unusual movement amongst the villagers in a village about half a mile to the right front of the bridge. It soon became evident that an attack was about to be made on the working parties. The picket, which had been placed on the enemy's side of the river, to cover the working party, was quickly reinforced. The pickets there, consisting of a wing of the 5[illegible]

regiment, were skilfully laid out by Major Payn, of that corps, under the direction of Brigadier Hope, to the left and along the road. The enemy attacked with guns and musketry, whilst the remainder of the 53rd was passing the bridge in support, and the heavy guns were being advanced from the position in which they had originally been placed, to cover the working parties. The right wing of the 93rd highlanders remained on the right bank of the Kalee Nuddee, in reserve. A raking fire was quickly opened by Lieutenant Vaughan, of the royal navy, and Major Smith, commanding a field battery, royal artillery. It not appearing expedient to press the enemy till the remainder of the force should come up (for which orders were sent), the position now taken up by the 53rd regiment was secured, and the fire of the enemy kept down by our guns; but an advance was not permitted. I may mention that the flanks had been secured, when the bridge was first occupied, by the detachment of a wing of the highlanders at Rowen, a village about three miles to the right, where there was a ford; a patrol having been sent also on the previous day to destroy whatever boats might be found, for several miles up the Kalee Nuddee, to the left of the bridge. At 11 A.M., the main column from the old camp began to arrive, Brigadier Greathed's brigade leading. At the same time it was observed that the enemy had got a heavy gun in position, which had not opened before about half-past 2 P.M.; the 53rd, supported by the 93rd, advanced on the village, to the right, which had already been evacuated in consequence of the fire brought upon it; whilst Brigadier Greathed marched along the left of it, the cavalry moving at a sharp pace on the line of the enemy's retreat towards Futteghur. The retreat of the enemy soon became a rapid flight, considerable execution being inflicted by the cavalry, under the immediate superintendence of Brigadier-general Grant and Brigadier Little; all the guns which had been opposed to us, viz. (*vide* return), eight in number, falling into our hands. In this skirmish all the troops engaged behaved remarkably well; and the only fault I had to find was with their too great eagerness for attack. The rebels who were dispersed on this occasion consisted of three or four battalions of the 41st and other corps of native infantry. In the 41st the rebels had begun with much system to organise a second battalion, their recruits being dressed in a neat uniform. Their rout was complete, and it is said, apparently on good authority, that the fugitives who escaped have made for Bareilly.

"The camp was pitched, late in the evening, on the road to Futteghur, five miles from the Kalee Nuddee, where I had the pleasure of meeting Colonel Seaton, who had ridden over from Bewer to report the arrival of his force and convoy in person. He was directed to make certain arrangements with the latter, and to close on Futteghur, after being joined by Brigadier Walpole. A very large stock of grain was ordered to be sent to Cawnpore, to ease that district, and lighten the labours of the commissariat, for the supply of Sir James Outram.

"On the 3rd, I marched on Futteghur, which had been deserted after the defeat of the previous day, by all the followers of the nawab. The flight of the rebels was so rapid, that they had no time to complete the destruction of the government property. It is with the utmost satisfaction I have to inform your lordship of the very large amount of stores, of the most valuable description, belonging to the late gun and clothing agencies, which have been saved to the state. A notorious malefactor (one Najir Khan) was seized, with his guns, in the town. I caused this to be done by the inhabitants, under fear of punishment on themselves. He was executed at the principal gate, on the 4th instant. Mr. Power, civil service, has applied to me to sanction the appointment of Mr. Capper, civil service, to assist him in the Futteghur district. Mr. Power represents his new assistant as a man of much experience in these districts, and acquainted with the people. I have therefore ventured to give the sanction required, subject to your lordship's approval.

"The destruction of the nawab's palace is in process. I think it right that not a stone should be left unturned in all the residences of the rebellious chiefs. They are far more guilty than their misguided followers. A brigade will proceed to-morrow to visit two very mutinous villages, at a distance of some twenty miles from Futteghur. A garrison has been left at Mynpoorie, consisting of her majesty's 38th foot, two field battery guns, and 200 Wale's horse. This garrison will furnish the escorts from Mynpoorie to Agra, so long as such precautions are necessary. I have intimated to Colonel Fraser, the chief commissioner, North-West Provinces, that it is not expedient to leave a small detachment by itself at Etawah; but that that place should trust rather to the influence of the Mynpoorie garrison on the one side, and the last arrangements made by me in the Cawnpore district on the other. That arrangement consists of a movable column, which is now being organised by Brigadier Inglis, at Cawnpore, for the purpose of marching about the district, in aid of the civil power.

"Having reached this point, and the communication being fairly established between Calcutta and Agra, I await your lordship's further instructions.

"I have, &c.,

"C. CAMPBELL, General, Commander-in-Chief."

The necessary arrangements for the campaign in Oude—which had been retarded by the non-arrival of a powerful siege-train from Agra, and other accidental obstacles to immediate action—were at length completed; and the various divisions of the army, under their respective brigadiers, were in readiness to march simultaneously towards Lucknow. Sir Colin Campbell then, on the 4th of February, as already stated, returned to Cawnpore with a portion of the force under his immediate command; and, after a flying visit to the governor-general at Allahabad, returned to the "City of Blood," to set in motion the vast machinery he had organised, and so well knew how to manage.

At length, about the 11th of the month, all was ready for action; and part of a British army, more formidable than any that had previously taken the field against the rebels, began to cross the Ganges into Oude. It had originally been intended to effect the crossing of a portion of the

troops at Futteghur; but, for sufficient reasons, Cawnpore was ultimately selected for the passage of the whole. To increase the facilities for this important operation, a second bridge of boats was constructed; but even with this additional means, the crossing was a slow and difficult one, and occupied several days in its accomplishment, from the vast number of vehicles employed. For instance, a small portion of the ammunition only, without reference to any camp-equipage or baggage, required the assistance of 1,500 carts; and the artillery, which was on an enormous scale, comprising the siege guns, the naval brigade guns, the field guns, and those of the horse artillery, numbered not much less than 200 pieces, and extended to an immense line of march.

The following notification enumerates the component parts of the force destined to achieve the final conquest of Lucknow, under the guidance of Sir Colin Campbell:—

"Head-quarters, Camp Cawnpore, 10th Feb.

"The troops now in Oude, and those advancing into that province, are formed into divisions and brigades, and staff officers are attached as follows, the whole being under the personal command of his excellency the commander-in-chief. Such appointments as now appear for the first time, will take effect from this date.

"*Artillery Division Staff.*—Major-general Sir A. Wilson, Bart., K. C. B., Bengal artillery, commanding; Major E. B. Johnson, B. A., assistant-adjutant-general; Lieutenant R. Biddulph, R. A., deputy-adjutant, quartermaster-general; Lieutenant-colonel C. Hogge, Bengal artillery, director of artillery in the ordnance department; Captain C. H. Burchard, 20th regiment native infantry, aide-de-camp; Lieutenant H. G. Deedes, 60th royal rifles, extra aide-de-camp.

"*Brigade of Field Artillery.*—Brigadier D. E. Wood, C. B., royal horse artillery; Lieutenant S. S. Frith, Bengal horse artillery, major of brigade.

"*Brigade of Siege Artillery.*—Brigadier G. R. Barker, C. B., royal artillery; Lieutenant A. Burney, Bengal horse artillery, major of brigade; E troop royal horse artillery; F ditto; 1st troop 1st battalion Bengal horse artillery; 2nd ditto 1st ditto; 2nd ditto 3rd ditto; 3rd ditto 3rd ditto; 3rd company 14th battalion royal artillery and No. 20 light field battery; 2nd company 3rd battalion Bengal artillery and No. 20 light field battery; 3rd company 8th battalion royal artillery; 6th ditto 11th ditto; 5th ditto 12th ditto; 5th ditto 13th ditto; 4th ditto 1st battalion Bengal artillery; 1st ditto 5th ditto; 3rd ditto 5th ditto; detachment Bengal artillery recruits; the naval brigade will form part of the division under Sir A. Wilson, but will be under the immediate command of Captain W. Peel, C.B., royal navy, and independent of the brigade of siege artillery.

"*Engineer Brigade.*—Brigadier R. Napier, B. E., chief engineer; major of brigade, Lieutenant H. Bingham, Veteran E., brigade quartermaster; Lieutenant-colonel H. D. Harness, B. E., commanding royal engineers; Captain A. Taylor, B.E., commanding Bengal engineers; 4th company royal engineers; 23rd company royal engineers; head-quarters sappers and miners; Punjab sappers and miners; corps of pioneers.

"*Cavalry Division.*—Brigadier-general J. H. Grant, C. B., commanding; Captain W. Hamilton, 9th lancers, deputy-adjutant-general; Lieutenant J. S. Roberts, Bengal horse artillery, deputy-assistant-quartermaster-general; Captain the Hon. A. H. A. Anson, H. M's. 84th regiment, aide-de-camp.

"1*st Brigade.*—Brigadier A. Little, H. M.'s 9th lancers; Captain H. A. Savel, H. M.'s 9th lancers, major of brigade.

"2*nd Brigade.*—Brigadier W. Campbell, H.M.'s 2nd dragoon guards; Captain H. Forbes, 1st light cavalry, major of brigade; H. M.'s 9th lancers; 2nd battalion military train; 2nd Punjab cavalry; detachment of 5th light cavalry; Wale's horse; H. M.'s 2nd dragoon guards; H. M.'s 7th (Queen's Own) hussars; volunteer cavalry; detachment P. I. cavalry; Hodson's horse.

"1*st Infantry Division.*—Major-general Sir J. Outram, G. C. B., Bombay army, commanding; Captain D. S. Dodgson, 30th native infantry, deputy-adjutant-general; Lieutenant W. R. Moorsome, H. M.'s 52nd light infantry, deputy-assistant-quartermaster-general; Lieutenant F. E. A. Chamier, 34th native infantry, aide-de-camp; Lieutenant Hargood, 1st Madras fusiliers, extra aide-de-camp.

"1*st Brigade.*—Brigadier D. Russel, H. M.'s 84th regiment, major of brigade; H. M.'s 5th fusiliers; ditto 84th regiment 1st Madras fusiliers.

"2*nd Brigade.*—Brigadier C. Franklyne, H. M.'s 8th regiment, major of brigade; H. M.'s 78th highlanders; ditto 90th light infantry; regiment of Ferozepore.

"2*nd Division.*—Captain R. C. Stewart, H. M.'s 53rd regiment, deputy-assistant-adjutant-general, commanding; Captain D. C. Steute, deputy-assistant-quartermaster of the army, aide-de-camp.

"3*rd Brigade.*—Brigadier W. Hamilton, H. M.'s 78th highlanders; Captain G. N. Fendall, H. M.'s 53rd regiment, major of brigade; H. M.'s 34th regiment; ditto 53rd regiment.

"4*th Brigade.*—Brigadier the Hon. A. Hope, H. M.'s 93rd highlanders; Captain J. H. Cox, H. M.'s 75th regiment, major of brigade; H. M.'s 42nd highlanders; ditto 93rd ditto; 4th Punjab rifles.

"3*rd Division.*—Brigadier-general Walpole, R. B., commanding; Captain C. A. Howell, 71st native infantry, deputy-assistant-adjutant-general; Captain T. A. Carey, 17th native infantry, deputy-assistant-quartermaster-general, aide-de-camp.

"5*th Brigade.*—Brigadier Douglas, H. M.'s 79th highlanders, major of brigade; H. M.'s 23rd regiment ditto, 79th highlanders, and 1st Bengal fusiliers.

"6*th Brigade.*—(General Lugard)—Brigadier H. H. Horford, rifle brigade, major of brigade, two battalions rifle brigade; 3rd ditto ditto, 2nd Punjab infantry; Captain C. C. Johnson, deputy-assistant-quartermaster-general, will be attached to army head-quarters. Deputy-judge-advocate-general to the force; Captain A. C. Robertson, H. M.'s 8th (the King's) regiment; field paymaster, Captain H. C. Tombs, 13th native infantry; baggage-master, Lieutenant H. Morland, 1st Bengal

fusiliers; provost-marshal, Captain A. C. Warner, 7th light cavalry; post-master, Major C. Apthorp, 41st native infantry; superintending surgeon, J. C. Browne, M.D., B.H.A.; field-surgeon, Surgeon Wilkie; medical storekeeper, Assistant-surgeon Corbyn. All staff appointments connected with Major-general Sir J. Outram's force, not specified above, will hold good until the junction of that force with the army head-quarters. All appointments not filled up in the above orders, will be filled up under the orders of officers commanding divisions and brigades.

On the night of the 26th of February, it was announced in orders that the greater part of the troops stationed around Cawnpore, should march for Lucknow at daybreak on the following morning, and that all the head-quarters' staff, except those in immediate personal attendance on Sir Colin Campbell, and on the chief of the staff, (General Mansfield) should proceed in three marches to Bunthura—a large plain on the road to Lucknow, and about nine miles from the city, and there await further orders. The following graphic description of the preparations for the march of the troops, and the advance to Bunthura, is from the pen of the *Times*' correspondent, who had joined the camp at Cawnpore on his special mission:—

"It requires but short notice in India to move a camp. For days past I had been disturbed by the gurglings and grumblings of the great internal waterworks of two huge camels which I had for the transport of my baggage, and which were picketed close to my tent. The *utile* was never so little mingled with the *dulce* as in the instance of the camel; he is a horribly necessary animal, ungainly in his gait, disagreeable in his disposition, misanthropical and dyspeptic, and teetotal in his habits; sharp and unrelenting in his bites, of unaccountable phantasies in his likings and dislikings, unreasonably susceptible of pressure and oppression—a sort of inborn animal democrat, of a querulous and morose turn of mind, and possessed of the power, which he delights to use, of making the most horrible noises with his throat, his jaws, his tongue, and his stomach. With loud protestations they submit to monstrous cruelties from their keepers, and bite innocent well-meaning people who are like to take an interest in them. They will allow, without anything more than a grunt, their leader to tear open their nostrils with a jerk of the string which is passed through the cartilage; ten to one they will spit at you spitefully if you approach to offer them a piece of bread. They will march for days, the nose of one fastened to the tail of another in endless procession, and never seek to escape from bondage; and yet the same creatures will gnash their tushes awfully at an unhappy European who ventures to rub their rugged sides. However, they form an institution of India—possibly a part of the traditional policy—and they must be respected accordingly. I had secured for a ridiculous price a palkee gharry belonging to one of the Agra fugitives, drawn by a horse, whose special recommendation was that he had drawn this vehicle thirty miles a-day for several days previously, but who had evidently made up his mind that he had by so doing secured himself an immunity from locomotion for the rest of his natural life. A promise of a mount of an elephant also entered into the consideration of my resources, and I had furthermore the aid of a white mare, which I had bought for a high price at Cawnpore. I only enumerate these matters, as they may enable one to judge of the paraphernalia of the march in India; and I have not as yet said one word of the two other camels which were appointed to carry my tent. Under the eaves of that tent had gathered a strange population: they came as sparrows come to a house, without the knowledge or consent of the owner; but the analogy fails in other respects except noise, because the natives require to be paid. There are two men who belong to the tent-post, as in England certain gentlemen belong to horses; then there is a man to carry water, who belongs to a large skin to contain that liquid; next there is a cleaner or sweeper; then there is a *khitmutgur* (or servant), and there is his and my master, one Simon—'an assizes man' he says himself, but he only means that he is a follower of St. Francisco d'Assisi; and then follow camel-keepers, and horse-keepers, and grass-cutters, so that I feel very much as Sancho did in his government of Barrataria.

"On the morning of the 27th, soon after midnight, commenced a tumult in camp, the like of which I never heard before; first began a loud tapping of all the tent-pegs, as if an army of gigantic woodpeckers were attacking us. This was caused by the *kélassies* (or tent-men) loosening the tent-pegs, so that they might be drawn easily from the ground when the word "to march" was given. Then followed a most hideous, grumbling, growling, roaring noise, as if

many thousands of aldermen were choking all at once, only that it was kept up for hours; that was caused by the camels objecting to the placement of the smallest article on their backs, and continuing their opposition till they stalked off with their loads. Then came the trumpeting of elephants, the squeaking of bullock-cart wheels, the hum and buzz of thousands of voices, and at last the first bugle-call, which announced that the time for turning-out had arrived. Daylight was still striving with the moonlight for mastery, and casting a sort of neutral tint over the camping-ground, on which blazed the flames of many watch-fires, when the heads of our columns began to cross the bridge of boats at Cawnpore. There was but a waste of baked earth where, at sunset, had been a camp—only a few tents belonging to the commander-in-chief and the head-quarters' staff, were left behind; and for hours the bridge echoed to the tramp of men and horses, the rumble of artillery, and to the tread of innumerable elephants and camels and oxen. The Ganges is at this season at its lowest, and the bridges are not, I should think, more than 300 yards long; one is used for the exit, the other for the entrance of Cawnpore. They lead to a level sandy plain, overflowed by the Ganges for several hundred yards in the rainy season, on which there were now moving, as far as the eye could reach, the strings of baggage animals and the commissariat carts of the army, with their fantastic followers. The road has been much cut up by the passage of artillery, and in some places is only to be distinguished from the land at each side by the flanking line of telegraph-posts. The country, as we go on, is as level as a bowling-green, but on all sides the horizon is bounded by the groves of mangoes. The country is green with early corn; but close to the roadside the presence of our hosts has made itself visible, and the trees are stripped of their branches, and the fields trampled and brown, the young crops being used as food for animals, and the boughs and branches as provender for elephants and camels. The villages by the roadside, built of mud, but rather better than those in Bengal, were deserted and in ruins, and, except in the wake of the army, not a soul was visible. The dust flew in clouds—a light choking powder, which filled eyes and lungs and mouth, and rendered all the senses unpleasant. It was with great satisfaction, therefore, that I learnt, after a little purgatory of some three and a-half hours, that we were approaching Oonao (pronounced Ohnow), where Havelock fought and beat the enemy on two successive occasions in his advances to Lucknow. It is about eleven miles from Cawnpore, and it presents an irregular outline of mud houses, with high mud walls, which in the distance looked like those of a fortress. Above them peer the minarets of some small mosques, and there are thick groves of mangoes and orchard trees all around it. The road passes it on the left; and in half-an-hour more we saw before us a wide plain, destitute of trees, over which the crowds of vultures and kites that ever follow a camp were wheeling in great flocks, telling us that we were near our resting-place. Through the clouds of dust we could distinguish our tents in the distance, and, passing through multitudes of transport animals and parks of carriages of all sorts, we found our tents all ready for us, each man with his peculiar residence pitched on its own plot of ground, and all the interior apparatus arranged just as it was when he walked out of it in the morning. The mess tent, not the least important of the mansions of this canvas city, was ready also with its crowd of white-robed, black-faced, mute attendants, its curious dishes, and its warmest Allsopp. Camels and hackeries and elephants came pouring in all day till late at night, and the sun set through a thick veil of dust, through which might be seen dimly the fleet of camels steering their course steadily along the line of the main road towards Lucknow.

"Feb. 28th.—This morning was very like yesterday morning: if possible, there was more noise and dust. The first bugles went at two o'clock, and at 3.30 the camp was struck, and the force under Walpole was again in motion. It was a strange scene—not to be described or imagined. The moon was shining brightly on the vast array, which, when in motion, became comparatively silent; but the ground, indeed, thundered with the beat of many feet, and now and then the shrill neigh of a charger provoked a thousand responses. The camels looming to a gigantic size in the light passed noiselessly like spectres. As we approached the road—narrow for such a host—the clamour uprose again, and dhoolies, hackeries, ox-carts, and baggage animals became involved in immense confusion, which was not diminished by the efforts of the baggage guard to restore order by com-

mands issued in the vernacular, and enforced now and then by the aid of a musket stock. At last we got into files upon the road, and rode on in clouds of dust. Presently in front we heard the joyous clash of a brass band, playing a quick step, and, getting off the road, we managed to join our old friends of the rifle brigade, and renewed acquaintanceship with talk of old marches in the Crimea. As the sun rose upon one side and the moon set upon the other, the spectacle assumed a weird, unearthly aspect, which not all the hard reality around us could quite destroy. We were marching over historic ground. We trod the very earth which had felt the tread of Havelock and Outram's gallant little columns, and before us were positions made memorable by their valour. Oonao was succeeded by Busheerut-gunge; and at every few hundred yards spots were pointed out, even trees identified, as the places where 'We caught sight of the enemy's sowars,' or 'where Havelock gave the men such a wigging for straggling a little in the ranks.' Through dust and smothering pillars of pulverised earth we went on; but, fast as we went, we heard that an hour before, Sir Colin, with General Mansfield and a small staff, accompanied by his little escort of irregular horse and a solitary English lancer, had dashed on towards Bunthura. They had started from Cawnpore soon after midnight, and at a swinging gallop had passed through the regiments on the march. It was nearly eight o'clock in the morning when we debouched upon another wide plain, passing the camp of another battalion of the rifle brigade and some Punjabee infantry, and pitched our tents at Nuwabgunge for the day. The heat was very great, and as there was nothing to see but clouds of dust, nothing to feel but dust—dust everywhere, in eyes, in nose, on clothes, in tea, on plates, on meat and bread, in water, in the tent, outside the tent,—I was glad of a fit of fatigue which enabled us to sleep through several hours of the fervour of the sun.

"March 1st.—First bugle at 2 A.M. Second bugle at three. Turn out. The same noise, and more dust. The moon, however, was barred with black clouds this time, and half the stars were covered with a veil, through which flashed the lightnings incessantly. A storm was gathering rapidly; and scarcely were the tents down and we half a mile away, when the thunder was rolling over us, and the pattering of rain was heard on the ground. There was a sight this morning to enchant and to defy the painter—the sky in one place twinkling, clear, and azure, with stars innumerable; in another, covered with a pall of dense rolling masses scarred incessantly by lightning, through which now and then the moon revealed herself in diminished glory; and, in the east, the horizon just flushing with the first hues of early morning. I was rather rudely disenchanted. My horse, frightened by the lightning, began to take alarm at elephants, at camels, at dhoolies; and at length, tired out by his fretfulness, I determined to give him a good run across the plain. Scarcely had I put spurs into him when I perceived a dark line on the plain in front of me. I tried a pull at his head. I might as well have taken a pull at a locomotive, and so I rode him straight at this dark line, which grew darker and higher as I approached it, and in another instant went smash down into the bottom of a deep trench. As the horse rolled over I managed to get clear of him, and he flew away along the trench till it opened upon the plain, when he dashed off, saddle, bridle, and all. I was so little hurt that I was able in a few minutes to get upon a camel on which was seated an excellent friend of mine, who came to my succour, and so I rode into the camp at Bunthura."

The departure of the commander-in-chief for Lucknow was, as already observed, retarded firstly by the non-arrival of a convoy with a siege train, and a number of women and children from Agra, who were *en route* for Allahabad; and, secondly, by the slow movements of the Ghoorkas under Jung Bahadoor. At length, on the 23rd of February, the convoy, with the long imprisoned and involuntary residents of the fort at Agra, reached Cawnpore, and were received with hearty welcome into the intrenchments near the city, which by that time, had been rendered almost impregnable. These persons were quickly forwarded on their way by the Great Trunk-road to Allahabad, and one great source of anxiety was thus removed from the mind of the commander-in-chief; since for some time previous, the equivocal situation of those ladies and their little ones had been a most embarrassing ingredient in his calculations.*

* Mr. Russell in his graphic delineation of events, gives the following humorous sketch of some of the difficulties Sir Colin Campbell had to contend with:

Various were the opinions in the English camp at this time, as to the probable results of the approaching contest. Some were inclined to believe that the sepoys would fight for their lives when the day of the assault should arrive, with desperation, if not with success, and that the matchlock-men would leave them to fight the dreaded battle alone. Others reversed the hypothesis; but all were agreed that the fight must be one of fierce and exterminating fury on both sides. It was known, as already stated, that intestine feuds raged within the city, and that the councils of the enemy were distracted by the terrible seriousness of the circumstances around them; but the rebel government still maintained some form of order, and held frequent durbars, at which expedients of all kinds were resorted to, to alarm and exasperate the inhabitants against the British rule. Among other measures, placards were posted in all the streets, informing the people that the English had sworn to murder every man, woman, and child in the place, and calling upon them to defend their lives to the last; it being certain that they could not secure safety by cowardice. A report was also promulgated, that the soldiers had received orders to spare no one within the city; and that, very recently, at Meangunge, they had abused, and afterwards killed, all the women whom they found in the place.

At daybreak, on the morning of the 2nd of March, the commander-in-chief, with his personal staff, left the camp at Bunthura, and marched towards Lucknow, taking with him the whole of the 2nd division, under Major-general Lugard,* and the cavalry force (with the exception of some small parties and detachments on duty with the camp). On the following day, the Dilkoosha was occupied, after a slight effort at resistance, in which Colonel Little was wounded; and here the chief established his head-quarters, while the several brigadiers brought their troops to the assigned positions. On the 6th of the month, Major-general Sir James Outram, leaving the Alum-bagh under sufficient protection, crossed the Goomtee with 6,000 men and thirty guns, by two pontoon bridges thrown over the river for the purpose, and entered upon a very careful and leisurely *reconnaissance* of the country between the bridge and the village of Chinhut, being closely watched by the scouts of the enemy, who hung like a cloud on his left flank. Leaving Chinhut on the left, he advanced for about three miles along the Fyzabad-road, intending, after he had selected his camping ground, to make a detour on the right, and reconnoitre Maryon, the old cantonments of Lucknow, where two divisions of the enemy were reported to be stationed. Before this, however, could be accomplished, the force was attacked by the enemy, who were driven off with considerable loss. The English division suffered little, numerically; but Major Smith, of the queen's bays, a gallant officer, was amongst the slain upon the occasion. On attempting a forward

"At Lucknow he was in a fever at the various small delays which they considered necessary, and, courteous as he is to women, he, for once, was obliged to be 'a little stern' when he found the dear creatures a little unreasonable. In order to make a proper effect, most of the ladies came out in their best gowns and bonnets. Whether 'Betty gave the cheek' a little touch of red or not, I cannot say, but I am assured the array of fashion, though somewhat behind the season, owing to the difficulty of communicating with the Calcutta *modistes*, was very creditable. Sir Colin got fidgety when he found himself made a *maître d'étiquette* and an *arbiter morum* among piles of bandboxes, 'best bonnets,' and 'these few little clothes trunks;' but he sustained his position with unflinching fortitude, till at length, when he thought he had 'seen the last of them' out of the place, two young ladies came trippingly in, whisked about the residency for a short time, and then, with nods and smiles, departed, saying graciously, 'We'll be back again presently.' 'No ladies, no; you'll be good enough to do nothing of the kind,' exclaimed he; 'you have been here quite long enough, I am sure, and I have had quite enough trouble in getting you out of it. The Agra ladies ought to have been ready long ago. They were warned over and over again, but—Well, it's the old story.' It is rather a joke—too common to be appreciated—to keep a husband waiting while 'one is putting on one's bonnet;' but when the cares of the toilette prove an obstacle which an army cannot overcome, which frustrate strategic combinations, delay great sieges, and affect the fortunes of a whole campaign, it is sufficient to make generals, at all events, wish that good Mother Eve's earlier style was now in fashion among her daughters.

* This division consisted of the 3rd and 4th brigades of the army of Oude, and comprised the 38th, 42nd, 53rd, and 93rd regiments; part of the 34th and the 4th regiments of Punjab rifles. Most of the regiments were in a highly efficient state, but the highlanders were most conspicuous, not only for their costume but for their steady and martial air, on parade and in the field. An eye-witness says of the latter corps—"As they marched off in the early grey of the morning, with the pipes playing 'The Campbells are coming,' one caught a vision of the interior of Lucknow through the dancing sheen of their arms; the chief inspected them and seemed proud of his countrymen;" and it was only natural he should be so.

movement, a second attack was made, which was repulsed with still greater loss; the cavalry pursuing and sabring some hundreds of the fugitive rebels. It was, by this time, late in the day, and as the men had been under arms since three in the morning; it was resolved to bivouac for the night, on the plain of Chinhut, which, on the 30th of the preceding June, had been the scene of the late Sir Henry Lawrence's defeat, through the treachery of his native artillery drivers.*

The night passed without annoyance from the enemy, but early on the following morning, they again made their appearance, and after half-an-hour's fighting, were driven off, multitudes of them being cut up by the lancers in their flight. Major-general Outram then marched upon, and invested the Chukkur Kothi, or King's Race-house; but as the place was commanded by the enemy's guns, it was not considered tenable until a breaching battery against the city could be established. In the afternoon of the 8th, another attack was made by the enemy with the usual result, and the same day the commander-in-chief visited the camp at Chinhut, to ascertain personally the state of affairs across the river. The duty of further *reconnaissance* now devolved upon General Hope Grant, who made a wide sweep to the north-east, but encountered no resistance; and in his absence Sir James Outram was again attacked by the enemy in great force, who were driven off, but not before they had inflicted serious loss upon the English troops. The next day (the 9th) the Chukkur Kothi was carried by Sir James, with all the buildings and gardens round it; an exploit by which he was enabled to turn and enfilade the canal which formed the first great line of works of the enemy. The principal casualties resulting to the British force upon this occasion, occurred in the pursuit of the sepoys through the dark rooms and passages of the buildings, as the latter from their hiding places, could see their pursuers advance, and fire at them before they were aware of their danger. While Outram was thus dealing with the enemy from across the river on the 9th, Sir Colin Campbell advanced from the Dilkoosha, and captured, with trifling loss, and but slight opposition, the Martinière. On the 11th, General Outram pushed his advance as far as the iron bridge, and established batteries by which he commanded the passage of the stone bridge also, and on the afternoon of the same day, the begum's palace was stormed by a brigade of the 93rd highlanders, the 4th Punjab infantry, and 1,000 Ghoorkas, all of whom behaved with great gallantry. Major Hodson, who had rendered himself conspicuous as the captor and prompt executioner of the Delhi princes, accompanied the storming party as a volunteer, and was wounded in the stomach by a grape shot, from the effects of which he died on the 12th, to the great regret of the whole army. The Imaumbarra, a magnificent building erected by a former king of Oude to the memory of the twelve patriarchs of the Mohammedan faith, and which had been converted into a formidable stronghold, was breached and stormed at nine A.M. on the 14th; and the storming columns pursued their advantage so closely, that they entered the Kaiserbagh with the flying enemy, and after a very inconsiderable resistance, obtained possession of it. This palace had been looked upon by the Oude troops as their citadel, which they were bound to defend to the last extremity, and it had consequently been strongly fortified with defensive works, and was mined in all directions. It, however, fell before the impetuous onslaught of the British troops, and its loss so much disheartened the enemy, that they seemed to abandon any idea of further resistance; throughout the night the discomfited rebels streamed out of the city by the stone bridge, and great multitudes of the inhabitants with their property, managed also to escape; but that means of exit was speedily closed to them, and Brigadier Hope Grant, with the whole of the cavalry and horse artillery, on the left bank of the river, was ordered to pursue the fugitives, some thousands of whom, nevertheless, managed to escape in the directions of Sundeela, Seetapore, and Fyzabad, to the infinite chagrin of our troops. On the 16th, Sir James Outram received instructions to clear the Chuttur Munzil, Motee Mahal, the ruins of the Residency, and the iron and stone bridges, on the right bank of the river; and Douglas's brigade, consisting of the 79th highlanders, 23rd Welsh fusiliers, and the 1st Bengal fusiliers, were marched across the river by the floating bridge below the Badshabagh, and with artillery and a portion of the 4th dragoons in support, took up ground near the begum's palace, till the moment came for the attack. A

* See *ante*, p. 6.

heavy bombardment and fire were maintained from daybreak on the 16th, on portions of the city near the stone bridge, and a rumour spread that the begum had appealed to Sir James Outram to suspend his proceedings, in reply to which she was invited to come in and surrender herself to the government; and at the same time, facilities were offered to her for compliance, by suspending the attack upon the stone bridge, that it might not endanger her movements; but as the morning advanced, it became evident that her majesty either could not, or would not trust herself into the hands of the English generals. The hour at length arrived for active operations, and the troops pressed on, but most of the buildings in which the rebels were expected to be met with, had been abandoned, and they had retreated to houses beyond the ruins of the residency, and close to the south side of the iron bridge, which they appeared inclined to defend. The houses and palaces between the iron and stone bridges, being also occupied by them in force; the line of march lay through the same buildings by which Sir Colin Campbell had, a few months before, led out the garrison of Lucknow; and the courts and halls of palace after palace, echoed to the tread of the avenging phalanx, as the grim stern British soldiery threaded the mazes of the Lall Bagh, the Furra Buksh, and Chuttur Munzil, until at length they came out upon a large space in front of the Bailly Guard, whose pierced gateway, one shattered turret, and some tottering walls, were mere heaps of rubbish, surrounded by the remains of a trench. As the troops emerged from the Chuttur Munzil, they found the 20th regiment waiting for them, in reserve, in case they were needed. The residency grounds, and the iron bridge, were quickly in the possession of the troops, who then turned their guns against the stone bridge, across which the enemy, horse and foot, men, women and children, were still endeavouring to escape. Passing the Muchee Bowun, a fine building which was blown up by Sir Henry Lawrence to clear ground for his guns, the troops entered a broad avenue with magnificent arched gateways, and turning sharp to the left, came in front of the Imaumbarra, a grand and simple fronted edifice with a noble mosque, ample squares, and magnificent flights of marble steps, broad esplanades, and gardens once sparkling with fountains. After a short pause, only interrupted by an occasional shot, from individuals secreted in the various nooks of the building, the men of the 79th regiment proceeded to install themselves in the great saloon, and the whole structure was at their mercy. The day's proceedings were most satisfactory, and by midnight the whole of the city along the river's bank, was in the hands of the British. Up to this period it was computed that upwards of eighty guns had been captured, and at least 3,000 of the enemy had fallen.

On the morning of the 17th, Sir James Outram received instructions to endeavour to take possession of a large isolated building near the river, on the extreme west of the city; and his column thereupon proceeded without interruption through the streets, until the object was accomplished. At the same time Jung Bahadoor's troops were advancing from the south: but were stoutly opposed by the enemy, who, with a considerable force of infantry and guns, and some horse, suddenly advanced to attack the Ghoorkas, and after a hard fight, took up a strong position in their front. The Jung, however, turned their flank and put them to flight with great loss, capturing ten guns. By this fortunate result, Sir James Outram was enabled to open communications halfway across the city, and measures were at once taken to check the plunder and outrages of the camp followers, for which purpose the following order was issued by the commander-in-chief:—

"Twenty-five men of her majesty's 9th lancers under a sub-officer are immediately to be sent into the town for the purpose of checking plundering. The party will be under the orders of Brigadier-general Lugard, to whom the officer will report himself.

"With a still further view of checking plundering, Brigadier-general Lugard will send out strong patrols continually, day and night, until the present license ceases. These patrols are to be commanded by officers."

During this day a deplorable accident, which involved the death or disabling of many brave men, who had escaped injury in their encounters with the enemy, occurred from an explosion of gunpowder, under the following unfortunate circumstances. By Sir James Outram's orders, several thousand pounds of powder, a part in tin cases, and the remainder in skins, were carried in carts to a deep well, for the purpose of being thrown to the bottom of it, to be out of the way of mischief. As the first c

was thrown down, a rush of fire burst from the well, and blew up the cases in the nearest cart; the explosion, with the swiftness of lightning, leaped from cart to cart, singeing and burning all the men engaged in the duty. Two officers, Captain Eliot Brownlow, B.E., and Captain Clarke, R.E., with sixteen European sappers and thirty Sikhs, were carried to the hospital tents, and several Sikhs were also killed on the spot. Of this hapless party all died.

On the 17th, it was announced in orders, that Major-general Sir Archdale Wilson, of Delhi, K.C.B., would leave the camp on medical certificate. His mental and physical energies had been prostrated by incessant labour and fatigue before Delhi, and a fall from his horse, on the day the Martinière was taken, so much shook his frame, that he was reluctantly compelled to resign his command. On the following day (the 18th), the Ghoorkas, under the command of Jung Bahadoor, advanced from their position; and, in the face of a tremendous fire, penetrated into and occupied the suburb adjacent to the Charbagh bridge. By this operation, which was effected with a gallantry that elicited the warm encomium of the commander-in-chief, the Ghoorkas obtained possession of an important quarter of the town lying between the palaces and the canal, and added seventeen guns, of various calibre, to the trophies already won from the disheartened and despairing rebels. This advantage, moreover, was obtained with scarcely any loss to the captors. It was immediately after this success, that one of those interesting episodes occurred which were of so frequent occurrence during the war of the revolt, and it arose under the following circumstances.

Of the many individuals who were missing from bereaved European families at different periods of the insurrection, several remained for many months undiscovered, while wandering from place to place, in hourly peril, or enduring an imprisonment more terrible than death, in the scattered strongholds of their vindictive enemies. Rumour, fitful and vague, would occasionally reach the European garrisons, that one or other of the mourned was still in existence; but for many of the lost ones hope had been long extinct. Among such, for a considerable period, were a party of English officials and their families, who had barely escaped with life from the outbreak at Seetapore, on the 3rd of June, 1857.* The fugitives comprised the civil commissioner of Seetapore, Mr. Christian, with his wife and infant daughter; Sir Mountstuart Jackson and two sisters; Captain Patrick Orr, his wife and daughter; Lieutenant Burnes, Sergeant-major Morton, and the wife and children of a European sergeant, who was absent with a detachment at the time. The heroic conduct, and chivalrous self-denial of Lieutenant Burnes, in his noble but vain efforts to save the little girl (Christian), whose father had been cruelly murdered by the mutineers, is already upon record,† and will be admired so long as heroism and manly feeling are appreciated on earth. Sir Mountstuart Jackson, in his flight, had two sisters to protect. The eldest, a beautiful girl, was separated from him in the first confusion of the outbreak, and was carried off with some other European ladies to a fort of one of the Oude chiefs. Sir M. Jackson himself, his youngest sister, Captain Patrick Orr, Mrs. Orr and infant, Lieutenant Burnes, Sergeant-major Morton, and Miss Christian, were taken by Lonee Singh, a powerful zemindar in Oude, to his stronghold at Mitawlee. The unfortunate Captain Orr, who, in former days, had been a personal friend of Lonee Singh, to the extent of becoming his surety for rents due to the late king, amounting to a lac of rupees (£10,000), naturally looked for gentlemanly treatment from one so much indebted to him for past kindness; but the first act of the ruffian, on getting possession of his victims, was to put the whole of the men in irons, although the wife of Captain Orr fell at the feet of the ingrate, and endeavoured to recall to his memory the obligation he owed to her husband. Subsequently the rigour and torment of captivity in his hands became unendurable, and two of the gentlemen (Jackson and Burnes) were goaded to madness. Their gaoler was engaged in a work of extermination, and no pleading could divert him from his purpose. At length, after subjecting his prisoners to the most brutal treatment for several weeks, Lonee Singh sold them to the begum for 8,000 rupees; and they were accordingly transferred to the custody of that personage, whose cruelty was not less vindictive than that of their former tormentor. The prisoners were now separated, although the whole party were confined in the palace at Lucknow. Here, at the first sound of the guns of Sir Colin Campbell, in November,

* See vol. i., p. 203.

† *Ibid.*, pp. 203–4.

the unfortunate gentlemen were brought from their prison-house, and murdered; while the victorious shouts of the relieving troops yet rang in their ears. This atrocious act was perpetrated at the instigation of the moulvie of Fyzabad, whose forfeited life had been spared at the outset of the rebellion, on the strength of some legal informality, and who thus displayed his gratitude to the countrymen of his preservers. The ladies were, now upon the intercession of Maun Singh, removed from their first prison, and placed in charge of officers belonging to the household of the begum, but were still supposed to be confined in an apartment of the palace. At length, by an accident, information was received of the existence of one of the ladies, and a communication was opened by means of the vakeel of the brother of Captain Orr, who was in the garrison at Alumbagh. Through this person Mrs. Orr wrote to her brother-in-law, to describe her condition, and appeal for his aid. This lady stated that she had been compelled to adopt native clothing, and, with her child, and Miss Jackson, were shut up in an apartment so low, that they could only sit or lie down in it. She expressed her gratitude for the kindness with which Maun Singh had protected them so long as he could do so, and for the efforts he had promised to make for their liberation; but she wrote as fearing the worst.

Almost immediately after the successful attack of Jung Bahadoor upon the Charbagh, two of the British officers attached to the Ghoorka force, Captain McNeill, Bengal artillery, and Lieutenant Boyle, of the same corps, set out to explore some deserted streets in front of their advanced posts, when they were encountered by a native, who said he was one of Sir James Outram's *employés*, and besought their protection for his house and property. In the course of conversation, he mentioned, incidentally, that he knew where the English ladies were confined, and offered to point out the place. Almost immediately afterwards, another native appeared, and presented two notes; one from Mrs. Orr, the other from Miss Jackson, imploring immediate succour, as their enemies were making search for them. The officers at once returned to the nearest Ghoorka post, and called for volunteers. Forty or fifty willing fellows stepped out of the ranks; and, with the native before them, as a guide, started off at a rapid pace to the rescue. They proceeded for more than half a mile through the silent, winding streets, expecting, at every turn, to receive a volley; and at length came to a house apparently shut up and abandoned. "This is the house," said the guide. The door was instantly burst open; and at the noise of the entering party, the owner, Meer Wajeed Ali, a daroga of the court, made his appearance; and learning the object of the intruders, began to stipulate upon terms; but Captain McNeill cut the affair short, by demanding the instant and unconditional production of the European ladies in his custody. Finding that to procrastinate was simply to bring a dozen kookrees in unpleasant contact with his throat, the daroga led the officers to an obscure and miserable apartment, wherein two ladies, in oriental costume, had shrunk terrified into a dark corner. At the unexpected sound of the question, "Are you the English ladies, and do you wish to leave this place?" those to whom it was addressed were not able to reply from excessive joy; and for a short time, they were speechless with thankfulness and emotion. But there was no time to be lost, as the Moulvie and his followers were known to be searching for them. The ladies, clad as they were, descended to the street, and were about to be placed on the horses belonging to the two officers, when Captain McNeill observed a palanquin in the court of the house. At the moment the ladies approached, some budmashes, with drawn swords, sallied from an adjacent building, to attack the party; but a few shots from a revolver, and the knives of the Ghoorkas, speedily put an end to this obstruction; and six of the daroga's retainers being impressed for the service of palanquin bearers, the ladies, escorted by a part of the volunteer force engaged in their rescue, moved rapidly off, the speed of the bearers being greatly accelerated by the ready bayonets around them; and thus, in a short time, they reached the advanced post of the Ghoorkas, and were in safety.

The two ladies were shortly afterwards comfortably lodged in a house near Banks's bungalow, in the old residency; but, for a long time, they showed, by anxious and agitated demeanour, the prostrating effects of their long captivity. Their lives had, indeed, been spared, but they were watched night and day by armed guards, who did not refrain from using gross and insulting language towards them, and whose constant delight it was to tell them of the outrages

and massacres which were taking place throughout India, before and during the period of their captivity. Their lives had been, doubtless, preserved by order of the daroga, that he might secure his personal safety, in case the British became masters of the city; and for this purpose, he had contrived, at a late period of the attack, to have them secreted in his house; where, day by day, they lived in expectation of death by torture, or even a worse fate.

Upon this interesting subject, it may be permitted to refer to a letter published in the *Bombay Standard*. The communication from which the extract is taken, is dated "Lucknow, March the 20th;" and its authority is vouched for:—"But how shall I essay to convey to you an idea of the feelings which the recovery of our dear captives has caused me? With Mrs. Orr I was not acquainted: but you know the obligations under which I lie to Mr. Jackson, and the deep, tender affection which both my wife and myself bore to his dear nephew and nieces. When the disturbances commenced, Sir Henry Lawrence, who had insisted on our continuing to live with *him*, when Mr. Jackson left, authorised us to send for the girls, Mrs. Christian, and one or two others, and planted escorts for them on the road. But, alas! our letters never reached them. The Seetapore mutiny had broken out. Christian and Mrs. Christian were murdered, and Mountstuart and his dear sisters were fugitives. The two girls got separated. The sweet, gentle, fragile Georgina was taken in charge by John Hearsey, and after much dreadful suffering, was, with other prisoners, cruelly murdered within sight of the residency. We saw the deed from the residency turrets, but knew not who were the victims on the 23rd of September—dear Madeline—that bright-eyed, light-hearted, merry, loving Madeline—after still more fearful dangers, sufferings, and privations, was brought along with Mrs. Orr, Sir Mountstuart, young Burnes, Captain P. Orr, little Sophy Christian, and little Missy Orr, into the Kaiserbagh, on the 26th of October. On the 17th of November, the gentlemen were executed; and since then, who shall tell the anguish of the ladies? Poor little Sophy Christian succumbed at length; she died of fever. Dear little Louisa Orr was got out on the 4th of this month, and the two poor ladies alone remained. I cannot master my feelings sufficiently to tell you at present of all they had to endure. Suffice it to say that—barring the *last* outrage—they were subjected to almost every indignity that a set of cowardly, black-hearted, and foul-mouthed devils could offer. But God was with the dear creatures in their captivity. He sent his Holy Spirit to console them; most marvellously did he interpose all his almighty power in their behalf on one occasion. Their greatest privation was that of God's Word: their Bibles had been taken from them. In vain had they endeavoured to procure even a Testament; and they were compelled to rely on their memories for their scriptural exercises. At length, in answer to their reiterated and earnest entreaties for a little medicine for poor little Sophy Christian, a powder was sent, wrapped up in a small dirty piece of paper, torn from the corner of an English book. To our dear friends, the smallest scrap of print was indeed a treat; and, on examining it, they found it to be literally a God-send. It contained verses 12 and 13, and part of verse 14, of the fifty-first chapter of Isaiah; these are the blessed words that their God thus miraculously sent to our dear countrywomen in their extremity: "I, even I, am He that comforteth you. Who art thou that thou shouldst be afraid of a man that shall die, and of the son of man, that shall be made as grass? And forgettest the Lord thy Maker, that hath stretched forth the heavens, and laid the foundations of the earth; *and hast feared* continually *every day because of* the fury of the oppressor. The captive exile hasteneth that he may be loosed," &c. Have you, in the whole course of your life, seen or read of a more wonderful instance of God speaking to and comforting His elect in the midst of their tribulation? I confess, that were I to read of such a thing in a newspaper, or even in a religious biography, I would not believe it. But as surely as I pen these words—as surely as I shall have to answer God at the great day, I have seen and read, and with grateful adoration kissed, the blessed fragment of God's word above quoted, which carried comfort to our dear friends in the Kaiserbagh, and sustained their faith at a time hell had put forth its whole powers to induce them to curse God and die. I rejoice to say that, though weak, and not altogether free from ailment, the dear, noble-minded creatures are likely, in a few weeks, to recover their former health and vigour. May that All-merciful Being who has hither-

to so wonderfully preserved and sustained them, continue to watch over their comings in and their goings out. I can write no more. I am quite beside myself with joy. And yet it all appears to me so like a dream, that I am constantly going over to see them, to be certain there is no delusion."

The following series of extracts from the letters of officers in the camp of the commander-in-chief, supply many interesting facts, and will form a continuous narrative of important events connected with the recapture of Lucknow. The first extract is from a communication dated the 10th of March, in which the writer says:—"We took the Martinière yesterday almost without a struggle and with very little loss, some eight or nine killed and wounded. The enemy may more properly be said to have run out of it, than to have been driven out of it, for they never allowed our men to come near them. No guns were captured, nor were many dead bodies found, either in the Martinière or in the line of earthworks in its rear, which also fell into our hands. The game seems to be up with the sepoys. They give us no trouble. The only sign of vitality they exhibit is the keeping up a wild, irregular, ill-directed, harmless fire of cannon, musketry, and matchlocks. Our movement to advance, is invariably their signal to retreat. Captain Peel, R. N., was wounded yesterday in the batteries, a flesh wound in the upper part of the thigh. With General Outram's force, which is making great progress on the other side, *i.e.* the cantonment side of the river, one officer, Major Smith, of the 2nd Dragoon guards has been killed, and one, viz., Captain St. George of the Bengal fusiliers, dangerously wounded. If we are to credit some of our camp quidnuncs, Outram has got into the Residency, but the more cautious put it down as a shave. General Franks arrived on the 4th of March, having had a slight skirmish with the rebels, whom his skirmishers pursued into a small fort, in attempting to take which Ensign Smith, H. M. 97th, was mortally wounded. His (General Franks') officers speak highly of the skill with which he handles his men. Jung Bahadoor, it is expected, will arrive to-morrow. Lucknow will soon be in our possession."

The following extract is from a letter, dated Lucknow, March 11th, from an officer with Brigadier Franks' column:—"I must write to you to-night, although I am quite tired, having been out the greater part of the day, and have to be up again early, as we go to picket at the Secunderbagh to-morrow morning, and will most likely be there all day and the following night. The siege is going on vigorously, and to-day we took the begum's palace, after an obstinate resistance by Pandy. His position was surprisingly strong, and good soldiers alone could have done what was performed to-day in so short a time. The 93rd had the brunt of it, and steady good fellows they are. All praise to them; their loss, I fear, has been heavy. As our guns galloped up into action, we saw a string of dhoolies going away, two of the Highlanders put their heads out and hurraed, calling out, 'Go at them.' The musketry firing was very heavy; our men cheered and went at the place in good earnest, but were received by volleys from loopholes, that did not, however, prevent them from tumbling down a deep and wide trench encircling the place, and scrambling up on the other side, and going in wherever there was an opening. The brutes had an eighteen-pounder just beyond, which commanded the road and stopped our progress. One of our guns was sent for, and afterwards two heavy guns of the naval brigade came and silenced the fire; but we were all the time under heavy musketry fire, and the place was taken when we left. The Secunderbagh was taken without opposition. I hear Pandy's picket marched to occupy it at the same time as ours did, the former politely giving us possession by taking to their heels. Poor Hodson of the irregular horse, who guaranteed, it is said, the king of Delhi's life, was mortally wounded; he was brave to a fault, as most of our irregular cavalry officers are. It is amusing to hear some old officers talk of days gone by, and what they have done, and the men of their day could do. I think there is as much pluck in the British officer now as there ever was. Two officers of the 93rd, I am sorry to say, were killed. The shelling and firing are going on, and will doubtless continue night and day. The Pandies, it is said, are bolting to Rohilcund; at any rate, from to-day's resistance enough must be left to fight it out. The Kaiserbagh is reported to be strongly entrenched and fortified, and there Pandy will make his last stand. I believe it is to undergo shelling from all our heavy guns. The rebels have fortified themselves well in every direction, and with pluck could defy us, but the cheer

and dash are too much for the gentle Hindoo, whose heart then begins to fail him. He likes the old adage, 'He that fights and runs away, lives to fight another day.' The begum, it is said, intends to defend her palace to the last."

The next communication is dated the 12th March:—"Outram's force has cleared all the other side of the river as far as the stone bridge, and his guns and mortars, by firing into the enemy's defences in flank and reverse, have been of the greatest possible use to the commander-in-chief's force on its advance to the different posts. There has been an almost incessant cannonade for the last three days and nights, and it is still going on. The chief yesterday evening had got as far as the Shah Mujif, and this morning has, I fancy, taken the Motee Mahal, but I don't know this for certain. Yesterday afternoon the 93rd highlanders and 4th Sikhs, advanced with deafening cheers and a tremendous musketry fire, and took a place called the Begum's Palace, a little in advance of Banks' House. It was an immensely strong place, with three lines of loopholed walls, and a large ditch. About fifty of the sepoys (some of the 22nd amongst the number) were killed here, the others having bolted. Major McDonald of the 93rd was killed, and another officer of the same regiment, of the name of Sergison. You will be sorry to hear that poor Moorsom was shot dead at the head of the iron bridge yesterday afternoon. Hodson has been very badly hit through the groin, and I believe Dale has been sent for, and gone to supply his place, he taking the Chukkur Kotee on the 9th. Six Pandies, who could not escape, defended the lower rooms, and killed Anderson of the Sikhs, and Lieutenant George of the 1st Bengal fusiliers, besides four privates of the same, and two Sikhs, and wounded five others, total thirteen, before they were themselves polished off. Outram's force is too weak to leave a party at the stone bridge (his head-quarters being at present at the Chukkur Kotee) but he has left cavalry to the westward of the old cantonment to intercept any who may try to escape in that direction, *viâ* the stone bridge. He surprised the camp of a chief (I forget his name) who was on his way to Lucknow, killed some of his men, and captured two of his guns near the Gaon ghât, far beyond the stone bridge. Jung Bahadoor is, or was with the commander-in-chief, but I have no idea where his forces are, Franks' Ghorkas are encamped at different places between Dilkoosha and Jellalabad, some of them also hold Banks' house. Brasyer's Sikhs and the 84th hold the Dilkoosha; the 32nd and 8th, and Blunt's battery arrived here yesterday morning."

Another letter, also dated the 12th March, says:—"There have only been two casualties to-day in our whole force, I believe, but the operations of the day have consisted chiefly in battering away with the heavy guns at the Motee Mahal and mess-house defence. There is a report here that the mess-house has been taken, but I don't think it is the case. General Outram's force on the other side, has been of the greatest service, by taking all the enemy's defences in flank or reverse. It will cross by the stone bridge, and possibly make for the Residency. It has a heavy battery at the iron bridge, to command the stone bridge; it has also two other heavy batteries, and one mortar battery, at different posts along the bank of the Goomtee. The chief's force has a mortar battery at the Begum's Palace, which was stormed yesterday evening by the 93rd highlanders, and 4th Punjabees. It is about 800 yards from the Kaiserbagh. Poor Hodson died this afternoon, from the effect of the wound he unfortunately received yesterday. There has been an almost incessant war of cannon for the last three days and nights, and at this minute the mortars are firing away as hard as they can. The Pandies are becoming compressed within the limits of their defences around the Kaiserbagh, and it is only to be hoped that Outram's force may be enabled to cut off their retreat into the city, and then there will be no escape for them. I am afraid, however, that many of them will bolt in the course of to-night and to-morrow. The road to the westward is open to them; we are doing all we can with our cavalry, to prevent escape from, or supplies being taken into the city, by our left, and as for three to four miles within which distance the old Cawnpore road is, they will be well looked after. They have shown a very strong disposition to attack us here all to-day, and after repeated rounds of shrapnell being sent amongst them they dispersed both this morning and this evening. They are not nearly so strong in one point as they were, and have removed most of their guns. We are much reduced in strength, having only three regiments (weak) of infantry, but we

are strong in artillery, and have about 1,400 sabres. This would be a good strong force, if it was not that we have to protect a front of about three miles."

Writing under date the 13th March, this writer adds:—"Showers of shells poured into the Kaiserbagh all night long, and a tremendous hammering at the mess-house going on all this morning. The Ghoorkas are closing in a good deal towards the city. Another regiment (the Madras fusiliers) ordered away from this, and two squadrons of the 7th hussars sent here. All the ammunition ordered up to the front. Harwood, of the 1st Madras fusiliers (General Outram's extra aide-de-camp), wounded. Altogether about 200 of our men *hors de combat*, and fourteen or fifteen officers hit."

The state of the commander-in-chief's camp at the Alumbagh on the 2nd of March, is thus described:—"The troops are in a first-rate condition, and well supplied by the commissariat, but their accommodation is not so good, twenty men having to sleep in tents warranted to hold only sixteen. But in this latter respect they are better off than many of the officers who are without tents of any description, and who have to provide shelter for themselves out of a few piles, some mud, and straw. The brave Sir Colin is described as being worse off, in the way of accommodation, than any of his men, and as sharing all the privations to which the lowest in rank are subject. Conduct like this cannot be too much admired, but (if the accounts which have been published are true) his recklessness in exposing himself to the fire of the enemy, cannot be too much censured, for his life is far too valuable to be thus needlessly endangered. It is said that when remonstrated with, he coolly replies, the rebels are such miserable shots, that there is no danger, and that he rides, if possible, slower than before past the point of danger. The walls of Lucknow are said to be covered with rebel proclamations, calling on the Mussulmans to massacre every Feringhee, and reminding the Hindoos of the contempt with which the English regard their caste notions, holding as they do that the prince and the scavenger are equal in the sight of God. It is reported that Rajah Balkishen, the finance minister under the administration of the king, is dead."

A communication dated "Camp Dilkoosha, March 13th," says—Our present position is as follows:—Sir Colin holds the Mess-house, Motee Mahal, Shah Nujeef, Mosque, Barracks, Begum's Palace, and Banks' House on the right bank of the river; on the left bank, Sir James Outram is advanced to the stone bridge. The Ghoorka camp extends from Jellalabad to the Dilkoosha. The Kaiserbagh is a large range of mosques and palaces, covering as much ground, I should think, as Windsor Castle, and is intrenched on all sides. However, the range of works already taken without a struggle is so enormous that it is supposed there will be little fighting. The amount of labour Blackie has thrown away is perfectly marvellous; the loop-holing itself is prodigious, and notwithstanding all this, no resistance has as yet been made, except at the Begum's Palace. We are to have, I believe, eighty heavy guns and mortars concentrated on the Kaiserbagh to-day.

"Alumbagh, March 15th.—Just a few lines to inform you that the 'Kaiserbagh' was taken yesterday morning, with a loss on our side of fourteen killed and wounded. Brazyer, of the Sikhs, among the latter. A lot of guns captured, most of them honeycombed. The city will soon be in our possession now. Poor Hodson was killed four days ago, whilst charging a battery with the infantry; he volunteered his services. Moorsom was also killed, he was on Outram's staff; both good men and true. Two officers of the 93rd killed also. The 18th and 32nd, and Blunt's 9-pounder battery, came up as the 9th, but were speedily ordered back again to Cawnpore, for some reason or other. The Sikhs had been driven into Cawnpore by the Calpee lot; so I hear. An officer from Cawnpore arrived with despatches for Outram two days ago. Heavy cannonading has been going on for some days. Captain Peel is wounded. A good many men of the 98th blown up by a mine—convoys still arriving. The enemy are dispirited, and do *not* fight pluckily. Outram is living in the 'Chukkur Kotee;' weather getting hot, over a hundred degrees in the shade. There ought to be lots of loot in Lucknow. Can you inform me why the jewels and other valuables, to the amount of a crore of rupees, are not given as prizes to the garrison of Lucknow and Havelock's force, according to the order of General Sir James Outram to that effect, who appointed prize-agents for that purpose?

"Lucknow, March 17th.—On Tuesday

the 9th of March, the second division entered Lucknow, or, I may say, got some way into the 'West end,' and the commander-in-chief attacking the Martinière, found it deserted; the immense earthen ramparts, with a ditch deeper than that of the 'Redan' (so the Crimean men say), forsaken. Our flank movement entirely dumfoundered the enemy, who, when they saw our column marching from Dilkoosa to their tents, must have made up their minds to desert a line of works which they knew were no longer tenable. Their knowledge of the art of war, instead of having been of much use to them, has been a perfect snare. Their parapets have been pierced for embrasures, and loopholed for musketry: their ditches have been deep and wide, and the ground for yards in front has been cleared of cover; but they had no flanking defence, and seem never to have understood that, to make a military position of any strength, one work must flank another. But I must give you an account of what the 5th brigade did, as well as I can; for really, so little falls to the notice of a single individual, that although one knows there has been great success, it is difficult to say to what extent it has been carried. We moved down from our camp to Chinhut, for the purpose of attacking the Yellow Bungalow, or Race-stand, the troops to be pushed on as occasion might require. The 1st Bengal fusiliers, and two companies of the 79th highlanders, charged at it in fine style, dashed in with a cheer, and, as usual, our enemies turned tail, leaving some seven or eight men below in a series of vaults, who could not get out, and fired at our men as they came near. Later in the day they were all disposed of after having killed an officer and two men, and wounded nine others. However, the brigade pushed eagerly on. The 23rd fusiliers, as fine a regiment as ever stepped, went far into the place, and the rifle battalion scoured it, nearly, if not quite, up to the iron bridge. The first fusiliers, who are very weak, but up to any work, were for some time kept back in an inclosed ground behind a mosque; but they afterwards went forward, I think. The head-quarters of the 79th highlanders were also on ahead with the 23rd. In the meanwhile, the chief entered on the Martinière side, and the enemy, between his army and ours, retired altogether from the ground between the Dilkoosha and our camp, which, next day, was brought down to the sands before the Race-house. A picket of the fusiliers, and the 79th, was still kept a little ahead of the Race-house, to guard two guns which played into Lucknow. No guns answered them, but a dropping fire of musketry was kept up from about the Secunderbagh at our men; who, being well under cover, were not hit, I think. Time will not allow me to go into the details of the different buildings we took; but yesterday, the 16th, our brigade went in to attack the residency and buildings there about; for although the principal portion of the inhabitants and mutineers were reported to have left the city on the 14th, yet we know that some 5,000 desperate villains have sworn to die there, and we are determined not to baulk their fancies. The 23rd and 1st fusiliers went into the town (I saw very few Pandies), and pop, pop, was heard going on; and presently the order came for the 79th to advance, which they did. They fired once or twice at that regiment as it passed through the town, but no damage was done. We passed the iron bridge, leaving it on our right, found the houses all deserted, and then down to the Imaumbarra, which is a most splendid place; and there the 1st fusiliers were peppering away at flying Pandies, running over the roof and along the passages. After this (I suppose) the 79th encamped there. The brigade left camp at seven, and did not reach its destination till past four. All our advances were preceded by a heavy fire of artillery, and accordingly we did not lose many men. The palaces and buildings are shattered to pieces, I am sorry to say, and looting goes on all over the place; silk and crockery seem to be about the only things worth taking, though some camp-followers have got bars of gold and shawls; but they soon get looted in turn by the Europeans. It seems to be 'every man for himself.' General Wilson was invested with the K.C.B. to-day, in full open durbar! Musketry has been heard all day; but nearly the whole of the city and all the principal buildings are in our hands.

"Dilkoosha, March 18th.—Outram's operations yesterday were most successful. He cleared all the principal streets about the chowk, occupied Shirreff-u-Dowlah's house, which was found to be highly fortified and full of powder, and advanced close to the Jumma Musjid, which, as I write, is in our possession. I regret to say, however, that

the gratifying nature of our yesterday's operations was sadly dashed by a terrible accident. The troops came across several waggons of gunpowder, some loose powder in tin cases, some in bags. The waggons were in a narrow lane. General Outram ordered the powder to be well flooded with water, and then carefully thrown into a well in a neighbouring garden. It would have been most dangerous to have attempted to carry it off, as there were several fires on the line of route. Sir James' orders about the sousing of the water were not fully carried out, nor his injunctions as to the care with which the tins and bags should be thrown into the well. One tin case was hurled with violence into the well. It struck the side with force; the powder exploded; a sheet of fire shot up from the well, communicated with the rest of the powder, and a fearful explosion occurred. Some forty-two men suffered. Of five or six not a vestige remained; the rest were burned in the most frightful manner. Their clothes were burnt and blown off their bodies. A European could not be distinguished from a native. It was, they say, a fearful sight to see the naked skinless bodies of our men as they rushed about in indescribable anguish, screaming for water or brandy, and imploring their officers, by the love of Jesus, to shoot them and put them out of agony. Two officers were injured; one mortally, it is feared; the other is sadly disfigured. Several officers, amongst them Captain Weston and Captain Tulloch, had a most wonderful escape. Sir James Outram and his staff, and Brigadier Eyre, had left only about *one* minute before the explosion. Sir James met a company of the 79th advancing to the place. He changed their route to some other point; and but for this providential accident, they too would have been blown up. The Ghoorkas have taken some eighteen or nineteen guns near the Charbagh. There was a grand investiture of the Bath yesterday. Sir Archdale Wilson and Sir Edward Lugard were invested by the chief; salutes were fired, which rather alarmed the fellows in front. In the evening the chief gave a grand dinner party."

"March 20th.—The operations yesterday were admirably conducted, as regarded our division, and the result most satisfactory. But unfortunately, General Campbell made some mistake in the road, and did not join us at Moosabagh. General Grant found the river swollen and unfordable, and chafed like a caged lion as he saw us slashing away, much desiring that aid which the state of the Goomtee prevented him rendering. They say that the first oath this brave soldier and good man ever was heard to utter, escaped his lips on that occasion. General Outram had been promised a troop of horse artillery. They sent him, instead, a battery of foot. The royal artillery is awfully slow, and thus many hundreds escaped, who would have been sent to their long account had we had that glorious fellow, Olpherts, with us. Great looting went on during the 17th and 18th, and several Pandies were shot in the different streets and houses where they were concealed; it was dangerous going anywhere; six and eight would be found in a house. I hear several very valuable articles were got by the men and camp-followers. As usual, a prize agent was appointed after all the valuables had been taken away, and he called upon officers to give up what they had. Some men are said to have got bars of gold, gold mohurs, jewels, diamond bracelets, &c. On the 19th, we followed part of Outram's force, and advanced through the remainder of the town, took possession of the Moosabagh, where the enemy had a kind of rearguard, with the begum, whom we were in hopes of catching; she is willing to give herself up, but Pandy wont allow her to come. As usual they bolted; our cavalry cut up a good number; we chased them for about three miles, and took a number of guns, carts, camels, bullocks, &c., and saw numbers of people hiding themselves; the male portion received little mercy, the women and children were allowed to go away. One woman was killed. She shot a lancer dead with a musket from behind a mound. There were two other men there, and they ran her through with their lances. I saw the body. A Pandy of the 21st native infantry was hid in some tall cultivation, and suddenly cut at an officer riding by. Fortunately the stroke missed him, but brought his horse down. The brute was going to cut at the officer, who could not extricate himself from the horse, when four others ran to his rescue with their revolvers, but made such bad shots, that I believe out of twelve shots, not one struck him. Pandy kept going at one, then another with his tulwar, and nearly killed one of our officers, whose horse saved him from going too close to the brute: two or three

gunners went on him with their swords, and killed the brute; but not before he had severely wounded one of them in three places. People are coming back to the town. Some negotiations seem to be going on. It is said that the town is to be ransomed for two crores of rupees.

"Lucknow, March 22nd.—The town is being gradually cleared of 'budmashes,' and the civil officers are labouring most energetically to encourage the peaceful inhabitants to return to their houses and avocations. But their efforts are much thwarted by the plundering and violence of the camp-followers, whose numbers render them uncontrollable in a large, rambling, straggling city of tortuous streets and intricate lanes like Lucknow. Sir James Outram has, however, obtained Sir Colin Campbell's authority to establish a very strong provost establishment; and it is hoped that a few shootings and hangings may tend to prevent further excesses. The plunder, unfortunately, has not been confined to camp-followers, and there are unpleasant rumours in circulation, which, however, it may be best to refrain from repeating. The 'moulvie' and the 'begum' are reported now to be about thirty miles from Lucknow, endeavouring to reorganise the rebel army. The chief commissionership in Oude has, I believe, been offered to and declined by General McGregor, whose health demands that he should return to Europe. Colonel Edwardes is generally understood to be the chief commissioner designate. From information derived from an authority that is indisputable, there can be no cause to doubt that the ladies lately rescued from captivity were spared outrage. They have been treated with great harshness and indignity, subjected to cruelly severe confinement, imperfectly clad, imperfectly fed, and compelled to listen to the foulest vituperation and abuse. But, luckily, one of them at least was, through her ignorance of the language, spared the pain of understanding the words addressed to them and uttered in their hearing. The darogah, who alone showed them anything approaching to kindness, and all who aided in their escape, have been handsomely rewarded by Sir James Outram; and that officer and Sir Colin Campbell have nobly vied with each other in their kindness to the poor captives.

"Lucknow, March 25th.—Just had a race of about fourteen miles after some Pandies, who had arrived so far on their way to relieve Lucknow, when they were met by their noble Bhaiees, who had escaped from Lucknow, and announced that their relief was too late. The enemy had fourteen guns; two of them were of very small calibre, 2-pounders, I suppose; the others 6-pounders, 9-pounders, and one 5½-inch mortar. Pandy no sooner got sight of us than he took to his heels. Our troops at a gallop could not get within sight of them at all. About 120 pucka Pandies, who were caught up and surrounded by the Punjab cavalry, made a desperate fight. Seeing themselves hemmed in on one side by poor Macdonald's squadron, and on the other by Brown's or Cosserat's, they had the cheek to cry out, 'Don't touch us, and we will not touch you.' This, as you may suppose, had little effect upon Macdonald, who closed in on them at once; but the Pandies reserved their fire until the cavalry was within a few yards of them, when they fired, and shot poor Macdonald dead—hit Cosserat, I fear, very severely, and wounded a great many of the men. One Sikh behaved beyond all praise. He was shot mortally, and dropped off his horse: having recovered after a moment from the shock, he mounted his horse again, charged, and cut down two Pandies. The weather here growing awfully hot, and dours likely to last for the next year! A lot of zemindars of the surrounding country have sent in their pugries in token of submission, and have expressed their readiness to do whatever the chief wishes. People have not yet begun to return to the city, and so far they have acted wisely; for the Europeans have been, for the last day or two, in such a mood, that no native left was safe. A soldier shot a native two days ago through the body, for not giving up a tattoo he asked him for; they are, however, returning to order again, and I hope soon all will be going on smoothly here again."

Many extraordinary and exciting incidents connected with the recapture of the city of Lucknow, are elaborately and amusingly described in detail by Mr. Russell, the special correspondent of the *Times* newspaper, who traces the progress of the struggle after the reduction of the Imaumbarra, in the following lively sketches, among others:—"The sepoys, dismayed by the fierce onslaught, and by the lesson they had previously been taught at the begum's palace, abandoned their position; and as they fled, with Brasyer's Sikhs and the 10th

regiment in fast pursuit, they rushed in such confusion through the detached houses and courts between it and the Kaiserbagh, that a universal panic was created, and the Sikhs entered by the ramps and gateways along with the enemy. They were supported by men of the corps engaged in the assault on the Imaumbarra; and at the very aspect of those men inside the defences, sepoys and nujeebs lost heart, and fled out of the courts and buildings. Some were shut up, or secreted themselves in recesses, and in the many mysterious apartments of an eastern palace; but all who were found in arms were shot down or bayoneted on the spot." When Brigadier Napier, soon after eleven o'clock, reported that the troops were in the Kaiserbagh, every one was taken by surprise. It happened at the time, that a grand durbar was being held by the commander-in-chief, for the formal reception of Jung Bahadoor; but, before the ceremony was half ended, Captain Hope Johnstone rushed in, announcing the capture of the Kaiserbagh. All state formalities were broken through at once. "Everybody," says an eye-witness of the scene, "shook hands with everybody; and, by common consent, the pomp and circumstance of the ceremonious visit were, amongst the stern and terrible realities of victory, postponed to a future day, and all repaired to the last scene of triumph as quickly as possible. Sir Colin at once mounted; and, accompanied by his staff and a host of followers, proceeded to the Imaumbarra, and from thence to stairs which led up on the roof of the palace, vociferously cheered by his soldiers as he passed along. From this position, a good view could be obtained of portions of the Kaiserbagh; but it was rather too much exposed to fire from the minarets and buildings in the vicinity, to be perfectly agreeable or safe. The road from the begum's palace, and on to the Kaiserbagh, could now be seen thronged with dhooly-bearers, some returning with heavy litters, full of groaning, wounded men, others in a stream tramping through the dust, to join their regiments. Artillerymen, sailors, and oxen were busily employed in dragging up heavy guns and mortars, to secure the new possession; while troops, among whom were men of English, Scotch, Ghoorka, and Sikh regiments, were marching rapidly towards the Kaiserbagh, or were already in the courts and streets around it. The narrator then proceeds:—"Descending from the roof, as one struggled over the masses of fallen brickwork, the traces of our sap, choked up here and there with fallen earth, were close on our left; till the sap reached a long corridor by the side of a court, which served as an excellent covered way for our sappers. The enemy's cooking places, brass pots or lotas, charpas, clothing, belts, ammunition, broken muskets and matchlocks, swords, pistols, chapatties were scattered over the ground on every side; but there were not many dead visible till we reached some of the courts. The large hall of the Imaumbarra, which appeared to have been used as a sort of museum, and had contained many curious models of mosques and many fine glasses and chandeliers, was a heap of ruin. Working our way through Sikhs busy in melting down gold and silver lace, in huge fires, under earthen pots that served as crucibles, through wounded Ghoorkas staggering back to the rear, we approached the Kaiserbagh. The air was still heavy with gunpowder; bullets were still whistling around from desperate men shut up in the works, and from the enemy in the inner line of defences. Every window of every house was filled with brick or baked mud and loopholed, and the tops of all the houses and walls had a raised parapet pierced in the same way above them. The heat and the dust were fatiguing and oppressive; but the excitement carried one forward, and at last we managed to get through the breach in the parapet of the outer work, which our sappers were enlarging for the passage of guns, and to enter one of the courts of the Kaiserbagh, through a small gateway or broken door. It was surrounded by rooms with latticed windows, to which access was gained by means of stairs opening into the court, the strong doors of which were barred on the inside. The walls were decorated with indifferent frescoes, representing feats of arms and female dancers. On one side, the trees of a garden could be caught sight of through venetian blinds, and there was evidence that we were near to the king's zenana, and that the buildings around it were the houses of his eunuchs. We proceeded forward to the entrance of the main building. Our men were just crashing through the rooms of the palaces, which were, as yet, filled with the evidence of barbaric magnificence and splendour, and the cries of the dying were not yet stilled when we entered.

"The Kaiserbagh cannot be described; the whole place is a series of palaces, kiosks, and mosques, all of fanciful Oriental architecture—some light and graceful, others merely fantastic and curious, connected generally by long corridors, arched and open in the front, or by extensive wings, which enclose the courts and gardens contained within the outer walls. In every room throughout the endless series, there was a profusion of mirrors in ponderous gilt frames; from every ceiling hung glass chandeliers of every age, form, colour, and design. As to the furniture, in many instances it looked like collections from the lumber rooms of all the old palaces in Europe, relieved by rich carpets and sumptuous divans, by cushions covered with golden embroidery, by rich screens of Cashmere shawls, and by table covers, ponderous with pearls and gold. In some of the rooms were a few pictures in gorgeous frames; but the hand of the spoiler had been heavy among all. Those which hung out of the reach of the musket-stock and bayonet-thrust, were not safe from a bullet, or the leg of a table converted into an impromptu missile for the occasion. Down came chandeliers in a tinkling, clattering rain of glass; crash followed crash, as door and window, mirror and pendule were battered down by the excited victors. Sikh and soldier were revelling in destruction, and delirious with plunder and mischief: those who could not get in at once to carry on the work, searched the corridors, and battered off the noses, legs, and arms of the statues in the gardens; or, diving into the cellars, either made their fortune by the discovery of unexpected treasure, or lost their lives at the hands of concealed fanatics. There had, as yet, been no time to guard against indiscriminate plunder, inasmuch as it never was expected that ths Kaiserbagh and all its treasures would have fallen that day into our hands."

Our men were in high delight with the gay dresses of the eunuchs, which they found in some of the rooms; and it was with difficulty they were induced to take off the crowns of lace, and peacock's plumes, and bird of paradise feathers, and the sword belts they stuck over their heads and shoulders. Here, as in every other building, there were quantities of kites, the flying of which appears to have been a favourite amusement with the childish but ferocious races that inhabited the place. Cyrus cranes, tame monkeys, apes, antelopes, and numbers of paroquets, in cages, were appropriated by the men in this quarter; but as some officers were looking at one of the men who had dressed himself out in a fantastic eunuch's attire, a shot from one of the rooms of the court passed between them, announcing that that was no place for antics, and the party speedily shifted their quarters. "In the next court, which was sheltered from fire by the walls around it, some men had made a great seizure. They had burst into some of the state apartments, and they were engaged in dividing the spoil of shawls and lace, and embroidery of gold and silver and pearls. In a nook off this court, where there was a little shade, we retired to rest ourselves, as there were no means of approaching the front part of the buildings, which were on fire, and explosions of mines were momentarily expected. Two men of the 90th were in before us, and, assisted later by some of the 38th, we saw them appropriate moneys worth enough to make them independent for life. The rooms off this nook had been used as stores by the king or some wealthy member of his household, and each moment these men went in only to emerge with a richer trophy. In one box, they found diamond bracelets, emeralds, rubies, pearls, and opals, all so large and bright and badly set, that we believed at the time they were glass. In another was a pair of gold-mounted and jewelled duelling pistols of English make, and the bill, stating that his majesty, the king of Oude, owed the maker £280! Then out they came with bundles of swords, gold-mounted and jewelled, which they at once knocked to pieces for the sake of the mountings, leaving the blades behind them. Next came out a huge chemical laboratory—then a gold saddle-cloth, studded with pearls—then gold-handled riding-canes and cups of agate and jade, gold-mounted and jewelled. The happy possessors of these riches were quite mad with excitement, and their enquiries were almost too rapid for reply—'Is this gold, sir?' 'Is that a diamond?' 'Is your honour shure that's raal goold?' 'Is this string of little white stones (pearls) worth anything, gintlemen?' It was a great drawback to have a conscience under such circumstances—a greater not to have a penny in one's pocket; for in this country no one, except an old stager on the look out for loot, carries a farthing about him; and, as one of the soldiers pithily ob-

served, 'these here concerns only carries on ready money transactions.' He was an experienced operator, that gentleman. If a native soldier came in, and walked off with anything which he found in a dark corner, out-pounced our friend upon him, rifle in hand, 'Leave that there, I tell you. I put that there myself;' and there was something in his eye which explained his meaning so clearly, that the article was at once abandoned, and, if found to be valuable was retained; if not was 'made a present of.' Close to us were large boxes of japanned work, containing literally thousands of cups and vessels of jade, of crystal, and of china, which the soldiers were carelessly throwing about and breaking into atoms. Had the enemy made a strong attack upon us at that moment, not one half of our troops could have been collected to repel it; and such were the scenes through every court of the many mansions of the Kaiserbagh.

"While these proceedings were going on, intelligence reached General Mansfield, the chief of the staff, that some women of the zenana were secreted in one of the strongest parts of the Kaiserbagh, and Captain Hope Johnstone of the staff, with some officers with two companies of the 38th regiment, were immediately ordered to the spot indicated for their protection. Some of the soldiers had already in their search for plunder forced an entrance to the apartments, and in doing so, the son of one of the begums (a deaf and dumb youth of twenty years of age), and two or three of the ladies of the zenana, were unfortunately killed by a discharge of musketry when the doors were broken in, and before the soldiers saw that the persons before them were females. When the officers with their men entered, the terror of the begums and their attendants was extreme. They expected instant death. Huddled together amid the smoke, they could scarcely be calmed by the assurances of the officers, who at once took measures to remove them to a place of safety. As they were going out, one of the ladies pointed out to Captain Hope Johnstone a box which he had just taken from the floor and laid upon the table. She told him it contained jewels to the value of ten lacs of rupees, or £100,000. He at once placed sentries at the doors, and gave orders that no one should enter. Having, with the aid of his brother officers, taken the ladies out of danger, he returned to the zenana; it was blazing from end to end, the sentries only escaped by clambering up to the roof, from which they were with difficulty saved; but the jewels were gone. Had Captain Johnstone taken them, they would have been his own; for the Kaiserbagh on this day was given up to plunder, and what each man could get became his property.

"Those stately buildings, which had never before been entered by European foot, except by a commissioner of Oude on a state visit, were now open to the common soldier, and to the meanest camp-follower of our army. Their splendours vanished like snow in sunshine—the destruction around one, the shouting, the smashing noises, the yells of the Sikhs and natives, were oppressive. I was glad to get away, just as our mortars began to thunder away at the enemy's works again. There were burning stockades, and thousands of pounds of powder near at hand. In every court, there was abundance of all kinds of ammunition, except 6-pounder shot; which, as well as many 9-pounder balls, were rudely made of hammered iron. In one court we found a large brass mortar, with heaps of live brass and *stone* shells near it; but I could not find any fusees. It was late in the evening when we returned to camp, through roads thronged with at least 20,000 camp-followers, all staggering under loads of plunder; the most extraordinary and indescribable spectacle I ever beheld—a flood of men covered with clothing not their own, carrying on heads and shoulders, looking-glasses, mirrors, pictures, brass pots, swords, firelocks, rich shawls, scarfs, embroidered dresses, and 'loot' of all kinds, from ransacked palaces. The noise, the dust, the shouting, the excitement, were almost beyond endurance. Lucknow was borne away piecemeal; and the wild Ghoorkas and Sikhs, with open mouths and glaring eyes, burning with haste to get rich, were contending fiercely against the current, as they sought to get to the sources of such unexpected wealth. The commander-in-chief and the chief of his staff were already in Sir Colin's camp, and the expression of the day's face told how much the result of the day's operations had pleased him."*

Having illustrated some striking incidents of the struggle for Lucknow, so far as the preceding extracts extend, the narrative of active operations is resumed.

* Russell's Letter, see *Times*, May 6th, 1858.

Late in the afternoon of the 18th of March, orders were issued to Sir James Outram, to drive the enemy from their strong position at the Moosabagh, the only post of strength now held by them. The force under the command of Sir James was ready to march from their quarters at the great Imaumbarra, at 6. 30. A.M.; and the general and his staff left their quarters at Banks' House, in the old residency, soon after daybreak, Sir Colin Campbell and the head-quarters' staff riding out to view the operations. The enemy had collected, at this their last post, in numbers estimated at from 8 to 10,000; and both the begum and moulvie were reported to be present with the troops. The position occupied by them was situated outside the verge of the city, close to the Goomtee, and consisted of a large cluster of buildings, surrounded by gardens and high walls, which were loop-holed, and otherwise prepared for defence. Immediately in front of the walls was a similar enclosure, belonging to Ali Nacky Khan, the king's vizier; and the road to both passed through a low suburb, with occasional large palaces and mosques, which were capable of being converted into formidable obstacles to the advance of troops. As no very serious resistance was expected from the rebel troops in the defence of the post, the principal cause for anxiety was, how to secure and punish such of them as might attempt to escape by flight; and, accordingly, a strong force of cavalry was disposed in various directions, to intercept them.

As the troops detailed for the assault, marched through the gateway, in front of the Imaumbarra, the enemy were observed retiring in haste from their advanced posts in the houses opposite, and retreating on the Moosabagh, from which place also a similar movement was speedily visible, and a vast number of the enemy were soon in rapid flight before the English troops had a chance of getting near them. The rebels fled in broken masses, mingled with towns-people and budmashes, followed by the lancers. Some few of their matchlock men and sepoys kept up a smart fire, and their guns were placed to cover the retreat as much as possible, occasionally directing their attention towards the group of officers composing the head-quarters' staff. At length, after a faint effort to rally near the river, they finally gave way and fled through the enclosures and corn-fields with which the country is diversified, speedily distancing the pursuers by the rapidity of their movements. A sikh regiment was placed in the Moosabagh for its security, but no enemy again appeared to dispute their possession.

To prevent the outrages that continually occurred in the city through collisions between the troops, it was determined by the commander-in chief to withdraw them from the streets as soon as a fair proportion of the respectable inhabitants should return to occupy the houses; but for some time there appeared little ground for expecting that persons would return, owing to the frequency of explosions, and to the wanton outrages perpetrated by the sikhs. "To-day," writes Mr. Russell, "as we were riding towards the Moosabagh, we observed a very old man, who, apparently in the last extremity of feebleness, was lying on his resai by the road side. As we came back we saw his body with a cleft in the skull, dead by the wall over which it had been thrown by his murderers. I almost fear the same fate will befall a white-bearded Said, or holy man, who was dragged out of his hiding place by some sikhs the other day, and would have been slain but for my companion. The old fellow said he had lain in mortal terror for three days after the capture of the Imaumbarra in a cellar, till he was forced to move by hunger." To repress these atrocities as far as possible, the following general order was issued by the commander-in-chief on the 18th of March:—

"It is reported to the commander-in-chief that the sikhs and other native soldiers, are plundering in a most outrageous manner, and refuse to give up their plunder to the guards told off for the express purpose of checking such proceedings.

"His excellency desires that strong parties under the command of European officers be immediately sent out from each native regiment to put a stop to these excesses.

"Commanding officers of native regiments are called upon to use their best endeavours to restore order, and are responsible that all their men who are not on duty remain in camp, and that those who are on duty do not quit their posts."

These orders being found ineffectual to repress the mischief that prevailed, regulations far more stringent were announced for the restoration of order among the troops. An hourly roll call was ordered by the commander-in-chief, and no soldier upon any

pretence, was allowed to enter the city. All camp followers found in the streets or houses, with arms, were seized and hung up, no soldier was permitted to wear his side arms except when on duty, and triangles were set up at proper places for the summary punishment of minor offenders.

The following despatches announced officially the recapture of Lucknow, and were promulgated in the governor-general's gazette of April 5th, 1858:—

"The right honourable the governor-general, having now received the despatches from his excellency the commander-in-chief, giving an account of the retaking of Lucknow by the force under his excellency's personal command, is pleased to publish them for general information:—

"In December last, it became the grateful duty of the governor-general in council to promulgate in general orders the announcement of the relief of the garrison of Lucknow, so admirably achieved by General Sir Colin Campbell, G.C.B., and the rescue of the women and children, sick and wounded, long beleaguered there. It is now the governor-general's privilege to convey to his excellency the tribute of his highest admiration, and of his most cordial congratulation on the capture of the strong city of the rebels. From the 2nd till the 16th of March, a series of masterly operations took place, by which the commander-in-chief, nobly supported in his well-laid plans of attack by the ability and skill of the general officers, and by the indomitable bravery and resolution of the officers and men of all arms, drove the rebels successively from all their strongly-fortified posts, till the whole fell into the possession of our troops. That this great success should have been accomplished at so little cost of valuable lives, enhances the honour due to the leader who has achieved it. It is a pleasure to the governor-general to acknowledge publicly the services of the general and other officers who took part in the capture of Lucknow.

"During the last days of the operations, the Nepaulese force, under Maharajah Jung Bahadoor, was associated with the army under General Sir Colin Campbell's command. To the distinguished leader of that force, the Maharajah Jung Bahadoor, the governor-general desires to express his thanks for the hearty co-operation which the commander-in-chief received from his highness, and for the gallant bearing of his highness's troops. To Major-general Sir James Outram, G. C. B., the government of India is under a new debt of gratitude. After having held the exposed post of the Alumbagh for more than three months, in the face of powerful bodies of rebels, whose attacks he never failed to repel, Sir James Outram has further greatly distinguished himself at the head of the first division, by the brilliant and thoroughly complete manner in which he executed these duties entrusted to him. The governor-general requests that Sir James Outram will accept his most sincere thanks.

"His lordship offers his hearty acknowledgments to the other general officers whose services are prominently noticed in these despatches:—

"To Major-general Mansfield, chief of the staff, of whose eminent services the commander-in-chief speaks with well-merited commendation. To Major-general Sir Archdale Wilson, K. C. B., in chief command of the artillery, who, after winning lasting renown in the capture of Delhi, has borne a conspicuous part in the reduction of Lucknow. To Major-general Sir J. Hope Grant, K. C. B., commanding the cavalry of the force; to Brigadier-general Franks, C. B., Brigadier-general Walpole, and Brigadier-general Sir Edward Lugard, K. C. B., commanding the second, third, and fourth divisions of infantry.

"The governor-general has to record his acknowledgments to Captain Sir William Peel, K. C. B., commanding the naval brigade of her majesty's ship *Shannon*, and to offer his especial thanks to him for his remarkable services. The governor-general entirely concurs with his excellency the commander-in-chief in prominently recognising the great skill and ability of Brigadier Napier, who commanded the engineers of her majesty's and the East India Company's services forming part of the force. Brigadier Napier is especially entitled to the thanks of the governor-general; and to him, to Colonel Harness, commanding the royal engineers, and to the several officers under them, of both the services, his lordship's grateful acknowledgments are offered. The governor-general has much satisfaction in expressing his high sense of the merits of the several officers commanding brigades and regiments.

"To the commanding officers of the royal artillery, the naval artillery, and of the Bengal and Madras artillery, the governor-general tenders his cordial thanks. To Major Norman, deputy-adjutant-general of the army, to whose superior merits and distinguished services the commander-in-chief bears willing testimony, a tribute in which the governor-general concurs; to Colonel the Hon. W. L. Pakenham, C.B., officiating-adjutant-general of her majesty's forces in India; to Lieutenant-colonel Macpherson, officiating-quartermaster-general of the army; to Captain Seymour, officiating-quartermaster-general her majesty's forces; to Captain Bruce, deputy-quartermaster-general, and Captain Algood, assistant-quartermaster-general; to Lieutenant-colonel Keith Young, judge-advocate-general; to Captain Fitzgerald, assistant-commissary-general, who is specially mentioned by the commander-in-chief; to Lieutenant P. Stewart, of engineers, superintendent of electric telegraphs; to Dr. M'Andrew, inspector-general of hospitals her majesty's forces, and to Dr. Brown, superintending-surgeon of the force, the governor-general has much satisfaction in expressing his sense of the good service they have rendered.

"To the officers of the personal staff of the commander-in-chief, of the chief of staff, and of general officers commanding divisions, the thanks of the governor-general are due; and his lordship records his acknowledgments to the officers of the staff of divisions and brigades, all of whom have zealously performed their duty. To the officers and men of every service—soldiers, seamen, and marines—composing the force by which Lucknow has been taken, the governor-general desires to express his admiration of their conduct, and to tender to each individual the thanks of the government of India. His lordship will take the earliest opportunity of bringing under the favourable notice of her majesty's government, and of the Hon. the Court of Directors the services rendered by the force.

"In testimony of these services, the governor-general is pleased to direct, that every officer and soldier, European and native, and the officers and

men of the navy, who took part in the capture of Lucknow, shall receive a donation of six months' batta.—By order of the right honourable the governor-general.

"R. J. H. BIRCH, Colonel, Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department, with the Governor-general."

From Sir Colin Campbell, General, Commander-in-Chief in India, to the Right Hon. the Viscount Canning, Governor-general of India, &c.

"Camp La Martinière, dated Lucknow, March 22.

"My Lord,—I have the honour to announce to your lordship, that I transferred my head-quarters to the camp of Brigadier-general Sir Edward Lugard, K.C.B., at Bunthura, on the 28th ultimo, the division which had been detached under Brigadier-general Sir J. Hope Grant, K. C. B., and that under Brigadier-general Walpole joining the next day.

"Having received tolerably correct information with respect to the lines of works which have been constructed by the enemy for the defence of Lucknow, it appeared evident to me that the necessity would arise for operating from both sides of the Goomtee when the capture of the city should be seriously entertained. Two very important reasons conduced to show the expediency of such a course, the one being that it would become possible to enfilade many of the enemy's new works; the other, that great avenues of supply would be closed against the town, although I could not hope to invest a city having a circumference of twenty miles. My first preparations, therefore, were made for the purpose of crossing the river. Bridges of casks had been previously constructed, and were ready in the engineer's park.

"On the 2nd of March, I advanced on Dilkoosha with the following troops:—Head-quarters of the division of artillery, and of the field artillery brigade, under Major-general Sir A. Wilson, K. C. B., and Colonel D. Wood, C. B., royal horse artillery; Lieutenant-colonel D. Aguilar's troops, royal horse artillery; Lieutenant-colonel Tombs, C. B., and Lieutenant Bishop's troops, Bengal horse artillery, under Lieutenant-colonel Turner. Two 24-pounders, and two 8-inch howitzers of the *Shannon's* naval brigade; two companies Punjab sappers and miners. The head-quarters of the cavalry division, and the 1st cavalry brigade, under Brigadier-general Sir J. H. Grant, K. C. B., and Brigadier Little. Her majesty's 9th lancers, 2nd Punjab irregular cavalry, detachment 5th Punjab irregular cavalry, 1st Sikh irregular cavalry, the second division infantry, under Brigadier-general Sir E. Lugard, K. C. B., consisting of 3rd brigade, Brigadier P. M. M. Guy, composed of her majesty's 34th, 38th, and 53rd regiments; 4th brigade, Brigadier Hon. A. Hope, composed of the 42nd and 93rd highlanders, with 4th Punjab rifles; and seized that position after a skirmish, in which a gun was taken from the enemy.

"When the brigades of infantry began to close on the advance guard the enemy opened several guns, which were in position in strong bastions along the line of the canal. This fire was heavy and well sustained. These guns commanded the plateau, and compelled me to retire the camp as far back as it was possible; but not so far as I could have wished, owing to ravines in rear. The palace of Dilkoosha was occupied as an advance picket on the right, and the Mahomedbagh on the left—heavy guns being placed in battery at both points, to keep down the hostile fire. During the whole of the 2nd, until these arrangements could be completed, the troops were much annoyed by the enemy's guns. After that day, until an advance took place, although the shot ranged up to, and sometimes into the camp, but slight loss ensued from this cause.

"On the 3rd and 4th, the remainder of the siege train, together with Brigadier-general Walpole's division, closed up on the Dilkoosha position—the right of our line resting on Bibiapore and the Goomtee, the left being towards the Alumbagh. There was an interval of about two miles between our left and Jellalabad, the right of the Alumbagh position. This interval was occupied by a regiment of irregular horse (Hodson's). Brigadier Campbell, with a strong brigade of cavalry and horse artillery, secured the extreme left, and swept the country towards the north-west. Three infantry regiments were withdrawn from the Alumbagh, and joined the head-quarters' camp.

"On the 5th, General Franks, of the fourth division of infantry, came into direct communication with me. This officer had marched right across the kingdom of Oude, having signally defeated many bodies of insurgents, and kept his time with punctuality according to the orders given to him, with which your lordship is already acquainted. On the same day, the Goomtee was bridged near Bibiapore. While the bridge was being formed, the enemy showed on the left bank, causing the necessity of a disposition of troops and heavy guns. He did not, however, make a real attack. These guns were very useful in another respect; as their practice on the Martinière silenced much fire which would otherwise have annoyed the pickets. They were accordingly kept on the same ground for some days, till the advance of the troops rendered them unnecessary.

"On the 6th, Sir James Outram, G. C. B., who had been withdrawn from the Alumbagh, crossed to the left bank of the Goomtee, with troops as below;* the fourth division, under Brigadier-general Franks, C. B., taking the place vacated by Brigadier-general Walpole in the line.

"The plan of attack which had been conceived, was now developed, and Sir James Outram was directed to push his advance up the left bank of the Goomtee, while the troops in the position of Dilkoosha remained at rest till it should have become apparent that the first line of the enemy's works, or the rampart running along the canal, and abutting on the Goomtee, had been turned.

"The works may be briefly described as fol-

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* Force sent across the Goomtee under Sir J. Outram:—Lieutenant-colonel D'Aguilar's troop, royal horse artillery; Major Remington's and Captain McKinnon's troops, royal artillery, under Lieutenant-colonel F. Turner; Captain Gibbon's and Middleton's light field batteries, royal artillery, and head-quarters field artillery brigade; H.M.'s 2nd dragoon guards (bays); H.M.'s 9th lancers; 2nd Punjab cavalry; detachments 1st and 5th Punjab cavalry, under Captains Watson and Sanford; 3rd infantry division, under Brigadier-general R. Walpole; 5th brigade, Brigadier Douglas, C.B.; H.M.'s 23rd fusiliers; H.M.'s 79th highlanders; 1st Bengal fusiliers; 6th brigade, Brigadier Horsford, C.C.; 2nd battalion rifles; 3rd brigade; battalion ditto, 2nd Punjab infantry.

lows:—The series of courts and buildings called the Kaiserbagh, considered as a citadel by the rebels, was shut in by three lines of defence towards the Goomtee, of which the line of the canal was the outer one. The second line circled round the large building called the Mess-house and the Motee Mahal; and the first or interior one was the principal rampart of the Kaiserbagh, the rear of the enclosures of the latter being closed in by the city, through which approach would have been dangerous to an assailant. These lines were flanked by numerous bastions, and rested at one end on the Goomtee, and the other on the great buildings of the street called the Huzrutgunge, all of which were strongly fortified, and flanked the street in every direction. Extraordinary care had been expended on the defences of the houses and bastions, to enfilade the streets. This duty was ably performed by Sir J. Outram, who pitched his camp on the 6th instant, after a skirmish of his advanced guard in front of the Chukkur Walla Kotee, or 'Yellow-house.' On the 7th, he was attacked by the enemy, who was speedily driven back.

"Having reconnoitred the ground on the 8th instant, I directed Sir James Outram to arrange his batteries during the succeeding night, and to attack the enemy's position—the key of which was the Chukkur Walla Kotee—the next day or the 9th. This was done in very good style by the troops under his command; the enemy being driven at all points, the Yellow-house being seized, and the whole force advanced for some distance through ground affording excellent cover for the enemy. He was then able to bring his right shoulders forward, occupying the Fyzabad-road, and to plant his batteries for the purpose of enfilading the works on the canal before alluded to. He lost no time in doing this, other batteries of heavy guns and howitzers being the following night to play on the works and the Kaiserbagh.

"While this attack was being made by Sir James Outram along the left bank of the Goomtee, on the 9th instant, a very heavy fire was kept up on the Martinière, both from mortars and heavy guns placed in position during the previous night on the Dilkoosha plateau. At 2 P.M., the 42nd highlanders, the 53rd, and 90th regiments, stormed the Martinière, under the direction of Brigadier-general Sir Edward Lugard, K.C.B., and Brigadier the Hon. Adrian Hope. It was quickly seen that the enfilading fire on the line of the canal from the opposite side of the river had produced the expected result. The 4th Punjab infantry, supported by the 42nd highlanders, climbed up the intrenchment abutting on the Goomtee, and proceeded to sweep down the whole line of the works, till they got to the neighbourhood of Banks' House, when it became necessary to close operations for the night. Major Wylde, 4th Punjab rifles, distinguished himself very much on this occasion. The line of works was strongly occupied by the troops which had first entered, and by the 53rd regiment.

"On the 10th instant, Sir James Outram was engaged in strengthening his position; Sir James Hope Grant, K.C.B., being employed in patrolling towards the cantonment with the cavalry placed under Sir James Outram's orders—a system of extensive patrolling or *reconnaissance* having been established by my order, in that direction, from the time that the first position had been taken up across the Goomtee. At sunrise on the same day, a disposition of troops and heavy guns was made by Sir Edward Lugard for the attack on Banks' House, which was carried at noon, and secured as a strong military post.

"The second part of the plan of attack against the Kaiserbagh now came into operation—viz., to use the great blocks of houses and palaces, extending from Banks' House to the Kaiserbagh, as our approach, instead of sapping up towards the front of the second line of works. By these means, I was enabled to turn towards our own left, at the same time that they were enfiladed on the right by Sir James Outram's advance. The latter had already received orders to plant his guns with a view to raking the enemy's position; to annoy the Kaiserbagh with a vertical and direct fire; also to attack the suburbs in the vicinity of the iron and stone bridges shortly after daybreak, and so commence the iron bridge from the left bank. All this was carried out by Sir James Outram with the most marked success. The enemy, however, still held pertinaciously to his own end of the iron bridge on the right bank, and there was heavy cannonading from both sides till the bridge was afterwards taken in reverse. Sir Edward Lugard's attack on the 11th was pressed forward in like manner.

"The operation had now become one of engineering character, and the most earnest endeavours were made to save the infantry from being hazarded before due preparation had been made. The chief engineer (Brigadier Napier) placed the batteries with a view to breaching and shelling a large block of the palaces called the Begum Kotee. The latter were stormed with great gallantry by the 93rd highlanders, supported by the 4th Punjab rifles and 1,000 Ghoorkas, led by Brigadier the Hon. Adrian Hope, under the direction of Brigadier-general Sir Edward Lugard, at 4 P.M. The troops secured the whole block of buildings, and inflicted a very heavy loss on the enemy, the attack having been one of very desperate character.

"This was the sternest struggle which occurred during the siege. From thenceforward, the chief engineer pushed his approach, with the greatest judgment, through the enclosures, by the aid of the sapper and of heavy guns, the troops immediately occupying the ground as he advanced, and the mortars being moved from one place to another, as the ground was won on which they could be placed. The buildings to the right, and the Secunderbagh were taken in the early morning of the same day without opposition.

"During the night of the 12th, Sir James Outram was reinforced with a number of heavy guns and mortars, and directed to increase his fire on the Kaiserbagh; while, at the same time, mortars placed in position at the begum's house never ceased to play on the Imaumbarra, the next large palace it was necessary to storm between the Begum Kotee and the Kaiserbagh. On Brigadier-general Franks, C.B., who had relieved Sir Edward Lugard, and the second division, with the fourth division, on the 12th instant, devolved the duty of attacking the Imaumbarra. A column of attack was formed for that purpose by Brigadier D. Russell on the morning of the 14th.

"In the meantime, the Maharajah Jung Bahadoor, with a force of about 9,000 men and twenty-four field guns, drawn by men, had arrived, and taken his position in our line on the 12th instant

and moved close to the canal on the 13th. At my request, his highness was begged by Brigadier-general Macgregor, C. B., the special commissioner attached to him, to pass the canal and attack the suburbs in his front, and considerably to the left of Banks' House. To this his highness acceded with much willingness; and his force was most advantageously employed in thus covering my left for several days, during which, from the nature of our operations, I was obliged to mass all the available strength of the British force towards the right, in the joint attack carried along both banks of the Goomtee. The Imaumbarra was carried early on the 14th; and the Sikhs of the Ferozepore regiment, under Major Brasyer, pressing forward in pursuit, entered the Kaiserbagh—the third line of the defences having been turned without a single gun being fired from them. Supports were quickly thrown in, and all the well-known ground of the former defence and attack, the Mess-house, the Tera Kotee, Motee Mahul, and the Chuttur Munzil, were rapidly occupied by the troops, while the engineers devoted their attention to securing the position towards the south and west. The day was one of continued exertion; and every one felt that, although much remained to be done before the final expulsion of the rebels, the most difficult part of the undertaking had been overcome.

"This is not the place for description of the various buildings successively sapped into or stormed; suffice it to say, that they formed a range of massive palaces and walled courts of vast extent, equalled, perhaps, but certainly not surpassed, in any capital in Europe. Every outlet had been covered by a work, and on every side were prepared barricades and loopholed parapets. The extraordinary industry evinced by the enemy in this respect has been really unexampled. Hence the absolute necessity for holding the troops in hand, till, at each successive move forward, the engineers reported to me that all which could be effected by artillery and the sappers had been done, before the assault.

"The 15th instant was employed in securing what had been taken, removing powder, destroying mines, and fixing mortars for the further bombardment of the position still held by the enemy on the line of our advance up the Goomtee, and in the heart of the city. Brigadier-general Sir J. Hope Grant, K. C. B., was sent out with cavalry on one side, towards Seetapore, to intercept fugitives, while another brigadier marched with like orders in the direction of Sundeela, on a similar duty. They returned on the 17th to their former positions.

"On the 16th instant, Sir James Outram, with the 5th brigade, under Brigadier Douglas, supported by two other regiments (her majesty's 20th and the regiment of Ferozepore), having crossed over the Goomtee by a bridge of casks, opposite the Secunderbagh, advanced, according to order, through the Chuttur Munzil, to take the residency. During the first movements of this operation, a movement of the enemy in retreat across the stone bridge, became apparent. Sir James was ordered to press forward; and he was able, almost without opposition, not only to take the iron bridge in reverse, which was my principal object, but also to advance far more than a mile, and occupy the Muchee Bowun and Great Imaumbarra. In short, the city was ours. Brigadier-general Walpole's picket, on the left bank, were attacked by the retreating enemy, who was, as usual, heavily repulsed.

"On the 19th, a combined movement was organised. Sir James Outram moved forward directly on the Moosabagh—the last position of the enemy on the line of the Goomtee. Sir. J. Hope Grant cannonaded the latter from the left bank, while Brigadier Campbell, moving right round the western side from the Alumbagh, prevented retreat in that direction. The rout was now complete; and great loss was inflicted on the enemy by all these columns.

"On the 16th, for the last time, the enemy had shown in some strength before the Alumbagh, which that day was held by only two of our regiments. Jung Bahadoor was requested to move to his left up the canal, and take the position in reverse from which our position at the Alumbagh had been so long annoyed. This was executed very well by his highness, and he seized the positions, one after another, with little loss to himself. The guns of the enemy, which the latter did not stop to take away, fell into his hands.

"On the 21st, Sir Edward Lugard was directed to attack a stronghold held by the moulvie in the heart of the city. This he occupied after a sharp contest, and it now became possible to invite the return of the inhabitants, and to rescue the city from the horrors of this prolonged contest. Brigadier Campbell, with his cavalry, attacked the enemy when retreating from the city, in consequence of Sir Edward Lugard's advance, inflicting heavy loss, and pursued him for six miles.

"I beg to inclose Sir James Outram's own account of his operations, which were removed from my immediate superintendence till he recrossed the Goomtee, prior to the attack of the 16th. It was matter of real gratification to me to be able to intrust the trans-Goomtee operation to this very distinguished officer; and after that had been conducted to my perfect satisfaction, to bring him forward again to put the finishing stroke on the enemy while the extended position in the town was, of necessity, held by the troops, who had won it. My thanks are eminently due to him, and I trust he will receive them as heartily as they are offered.

"I have now the pleasing task of communicating to your lordship the name of an officer to whom, not only as commanding general, but to whom, in truth, the service at large is under great obligation—Major-general Mansfield, the chief of the staff—whose labour has been unceasing, whose abilities are of the highest order, and have been of the greatest use to me during the campaign. It is impossible for me to praise this officer too highly, or to recommend him sufficiently to the protection of your lordship and of the government.

"I desire to draw the particular attention of your lordship to Brigadiers-general Franks. C.B; Walpole; Sir J. Hope Grant, K.C.B.; and Sir Edward Lugard, K.C.B. Their divisions have been most admirably commanded, and they have on every occasion amply justified all my expectations. Brigadiers-general Walpole and Sir J. H. Grant were employed more immediately under the direction of Sir James Outram, who speaks in the highest terms of the assistance he received from them. Sir J. H. Grant's management of his cavalry and horse artillery is always most admirable. As detailed above, the manner in which the attacks on the main line of operations were directed by Sir Edward Lugard and Brigadier-general Franks reflected the greatest credit on them.

"The officers in command of the cavalry brigades have proved themselves equal to their high position, and are worthy of your lordship's favourable consideration. Brigadier Campbell in command of the cavalry on the left, performed his detached duty with much vigilance and judgment. His march round the city on the 19th instant, which was a running fight for the greater part of the day, was a very difficult one. His pursuit on the 21st of the party which broke away, after being driven by Sir Edward Lugard from Saadutgunge was highly effective.

"Brigadier Hagart has received the marked commendation of Sir J. Hope Grant, and the brigadiers in command of infantry brigades have particularly distinguished themselves under the eyes of their divisional commanders:—Brigadier D. Russel, 1st brigade; Brigadier P. M. Gay, 3rd brigade; Brigadier the Hon. A. Hope, 4th brigade; Brigadier Douglas, C.B., 5th brigade; Brigadier Horsford, C.B., 6th brigade; Brigadier Evelegh, 7th brigade; and Lieutenant-colonel Longden (H.M's. 10th foot), attached to the Ghoorka brigade, by order of the commander-in-chief. The head-quarters of the 2nd brigade, with the 5th fusiliers, and 78th highlanders, under Brigadier Franklyn, remained at Alumbagh in position, and was well disposed by that officer to resist the enemy's demonstration on the 16th instant.

"To Major-general Sir Archdale Wilson, K.C.B., my warmest acknowledgments are due for the effective manner in which he commanded the artillery division. The four corps—the naval brigade, the royal artillery, the Bengal artillery, and the Madras artillery worked with the greatest harmony under his happy direction as one regiment. The merits of Sir Archdale Wilson are too widely known to gain anything by encomium from me, but I may be permitted to express my great satisfaction at having been able to avail myself of the assistance of this most distinguished officer. The effective fire of the artillery during the long operations, which depended so much on the management of that arm, elicited general admiration. The practice of the 68-pounder of the naval brigade was capital, while the Kaiserbagh and other great buildings which had been stormed, showed in a very convincing manner how truly the shells had been directed by the royal and Bengal artillery. Whenever the field artillery could be used the troop of horse artillery, and the field batteries of royal artillery, the Bengal artillery, and the Madras artillery did the most excellent service.

"Sir Archdale Wilson expresses his great obligations to Captain Sir William Peel, K.C.B., R.N., till that most gallant officer was severely wounded; and to Brigadier Wood, C.B., royal horse artillery, and Barker, C.B., royal artillery, respectively commanding the field and siege artillery brigades. It would be difficult for me to give an adequate idea of the zeal and activity displayed by the chief engineer, Brigadier Napier, Bengal engineers. Many of the operations depended on his proper appreciation of the obstructions to be overcome, and the means at his disposal for that purpose. His great professional skill and thorough acquaintance with the value of his enemy have been of the greatest service, and I recommend him most cordially to your lordship's protection. I am under very great obligations to him.

"The officers of the general departments of the army have accompanied me during the siege, and I beg to return them my thanks. They are as follows:—Major H. W. Norman, deputy-adjutant-general of the army; Lieutenant-colonel W. Macpherson, officiating quartermaster-general of the army; Colonel the Hon. W. L. Pakenham, C.B., officiating adjutant-general of H.M.'s forces; Captain C. F. Seymour, 84th regiment, officiating quartermaster-general of H.M.'s forces; Captain G. Algood, officiating assistant-quartermaster-general of the army; Lieutenant-colonel Keith Young, judge-advocate-general of the army; Lieutenant P. Stewart, Bengal engineers, superintendent of electric telegraphs; Dr. M'Andrew, inspector-general of hospitals of H.M.'s forces. Dr. Brown, the superintending surgeon of the force, has again won my sincere thanks for his admirable arrangements. Captain Fitzgerald, assistant-commissary-general, who has had the disposition of the commissariat in the field, has met every want of the army. He has distinguished himself much, and is a credit to his department. I must draw very particular attention to the services of Major Norman, deputy-adjutant-general, who, besides his ordinary departmental duties, has performed the very onerous one of adjutant-general of the army in the field, throughout the campaign.

"To Captain H. Bruce, deputy quartermaster-general, head of the intelligence department, and to Captain G. Algood, officiating assistant quartermaster-general, who performed the duties of quartermaster-general of the army in the field, until the arrival of Lieutenant-colonel Macpherson. These officers have all been most active in the performance of their duties. To my personal staff, and that of Major-general Mansfield, my acknowledgments are due, but more particularly to my military secretary, Colonel Sterling, C.B., and to Captain R. G. Hope Johnstone, Bombay army, deputy assistant adjutant-general to the chief of the staff. These two officers are most indefatigable. A list of the other members of these staffs is appended.

"Finally, I wish to draw your lordship's attention to the conduct of the regimental officers, commissioned and non-commissioned, and to the men of the regiments. Their conduct has been very brilliant throughout. The manner in which the 93rd regiment flung itself into the Begum Kotee, followed by the 4th Sikhs, and supported by the 42nd, was magnificent, and the subsequent attack on the Imaumbarra and the Kaiserbagh, reflected the greatest credit on the regimental leaders of the 4th division, and the soldiers who followed them.

"Corrected lists will be sent immediately of the officers and soldiers who are deemed most worthy of distinction in a force in which every one has a claim.—I have, &c.,—C. CAMPBELL, General,

"Commander-in-Chief in India."

List of the Personal Staff of his Excellency General Sir Colin Campbell, K.C.B., Commander-in-Chief in India; and of Major-general W. R. Mansfield, Chief of the Staff.

"Colonel Sterling, C.B., unattached, military secretary to the commander-in-chief; Captain Sir David Baird, her majesty's 98th regiment; Lieutenant F. M. Alison, 72nd highlanders; Captain W. F. Forster, 18th royal Irish, aides-de-camp to the commander-in-chief; Major J. Metcalf, 3rd regiment Bengal native infantry, interpreter and commandant at head-quarters; Lieutenant R. G. Hope Johnstone, Bombay army, deputy assistant adjutant-general to

the chief of the staff; Lieutenant D. M. Murray, her majesty's 64th regiment; Lieutenant F. R. S. Flood (severely wounded), her majesty's 53rd regiment, aides-de-camp to the chief of the staff; Surgeon J. Clifford, officiating surgeon to the commander-in-chief.

"A. C. STERLING, Colonel, Military Secretary.

"Head-quarters, Camp, Lucknow, March 22nd."

The thanks of the commander-in-chief to the army of Oude were communicated to the troops by order of his excellency in the following general order:—

"Camp La Martinière, Lucknow, March 22nd.

"The commander-in-chief congratulates the army on the reduction and fall of Lucknow. From the 2nd till the 21st of March, when the last body of rebels were expelled from the town, the exertions of all ranks have been without intermission, and every regiment employed has won much distinction. The attacks on both sides of the river Goomtee ably conducted by the generals and commanding officers of brigades and regiments, have been sustained by the men with vigour and perseverance; the consequence being that great results have been achieved with comparatively moderate loss. His excellency returns his warmest thanks to the troops. Every man who was engaged either in the old garrison of Lucknow, in the relieving forces, or at the siege, which has now been terminated, may rest satisfied that he has done his duty, and deserves well of his country."

With the conquest of Lucknow, the necessity for further aid from the force under Jung Bahadoor appears to have ceased; and it was determined by the respective chiefs, that the whole of the Ghoorkas should forthwith commence their homeward march, taking with them the plunder they had acquired during their short campaign. On the 23rd of the month, the maharajah, with one brigade of his army, took leave of the commander-in-chief at Lucknow, and proceeded towards Allahabad, for the purpose of making a complimentary visit to the governor-general, then at that city: the remainder of the Nepaulese force marched on the following day *en route* for Fyzabad. The wild and impetuous behaviour of these auxiliaries rendered their departure a relief to the European troops in more respects than one; but the fact of their return homewards was thus graciously announced by the British commander-in-chief, in the following despatch to the governor-general:—

"Camp, Lucknow, March 28th, 1858.

"My Lord,—I have the honour to report to your lordship the departure of his highness Jung Bahadoor from the camp before Lucknow. I desire to take this opportunity to express my thanks to his highness for the assistance rendered to me during the late operations by him and his gallant troops. I found the utmost willingness on his part to accede to any desire of mine during the progress of the siege, and from the first his highness was pleased to justify his words, that he was happy to be serving under my command. His troops have proved themselves worthy of their commanders, and it will doubtless be a happiness to them hereafter that they were associated with the British arms for the reduction of the great city of Lucknow.

"My best thanks are due to the special commissioner, Brigadier-general Macgregor, C.B., the medium of communication between his highness and myself. I beg to recommend him and the British officers serving under his orders to the favourable consideration of your lordship.

"I have the honour to be, my lord, with the greatest respect, your lordship's most obedient and humble servant,

"C. CAMPBELL, General, Commander-in-Chief."

The Ghoorkas who required a vast deal of assistance in the way of carriage and provisions before they were able to join the British force before Lucknow, experienced nearly as much difficulty in retiring on their own frontier as they had on advancing from it. From the 26th of March to the 12th of April, they continued at Nawabgunge, twenty miles to the north-east of Lucknow, where their services were not required, and they continued to draw heavily both on the commissariat and the treasury. They were, with their followers, about 15,000 strong, and had with them 4,000 carts laden with plunder. The country was swarming with insurgents, and the peasantry, as well as the men in arms, cast longing eyes towards the wealth that was about to be carried off, and were anxious to relieve the unwelcome intruders of incumbrances they were scarcely able to protect. This state of affairs occasioned repeated applications to the commander-in-chief for an English force to aid them in getting out of the country with their booty, and was productive of much annoyance, as interfering with the arrangements for the ensuing campaign. That Sir Colin was heartily tired of his unmanageable auxiliaries is evident from the tone of the following telegram, transmitted by his excellency to the governor-general during the halt of the force at Nawabgunge:—

"Lucknow, April 6th, 1858.

"The Ghoorka force went to Nawabgunge at no solicitation of mine. The maharajah offered to clear the country in its neighbourhood, and gave me to understand he should go home by way of Fyzabad. All this seeming advantageous, I acquiesced willingly in his move to Nawabgunge. Since the Ghoorkas have been there, the British officer in charge has expressed much alarm for the safety of the force, and I have always had troops in readiness

to support it. A retreat by way of Bairan ghât would not be nearly so good for our interests as a movement by Fyzabad, but it is possible the Ghoorkas may fear the latter. Sir James Outram had employed Maun Sing to make it safe for them, and maintain the bridge. I do not wish to be in any way responsible for their movements, which are quite beyond my powers of direction; perhaps it may be better that they should go home as suggested by your lordship. It is not in my power to spare British troops to act in concert with them, with respect to the most recent arrangements."

Renewed applications for aid to enable the Ghoorkas to proceed in safety, eventually induced the commander-in-chief to accede to the wish of the British officer at their head-quarters, and on the 11th of April, General Sir Hope Grant, with a column, consisting of her majesty's 7th hussars, a battalion of the rifle brigade, her majesty's 38th regiment, and the 1st Bengal fusiliers, with an ample train of artillery, was dispatched from Lucknow to clear the way for the Ghoorka army, which was so much embarrassed with camp followers and plunder as to be utterly unable to pursue its way home in safety. This column having cleared the route to Ramnugger about sixty miles from Lucknow, left the Ghoorkas to pursue the remainder of the homeward march by themselves, and returned to Lucknow on the 24th of the month, having had two or three sharp skirmishes with straggling parties of the enemy in the course of their progress across the country.

As soon as the operations of the commander-in-chief had rendered the ultimate conquest of Lucknow a matter of certainty, a proclamation was prepared by order of the governor-general, addressed to the chiefs and people of Oude, explanatory of the intentions of the government towards them, and in due time the document was forwarded for publication. As the Oude proclamations became at a subsequent period a topic of warm and frequent discussion in the British parliament, as well as in India, it is proper that the circumstances under which they originated, and by which they were afterwards accompanied, should be referred to in detail. It will be observed that a difficulty arose upon the very threshold of these proceedings. The proclamation of the governor-general was transmitted by order of his excellency to Sir James Outram, who by virtue of his office as chief commissioner of Oude, had superseded the military authority of Sir Colin Campbell—the supremacy of the latter having ceased with the conquest of the city.

Proclamation.—"The army of his excellency the commander-in-chief is in possession of Lucknow, and the city lies at the mercy of the British government, whose authority it has for nine months rebelliously defied and resisted. This resistance, begun by a mutinous soldiery, has found support from the inhabitants of the city and of the province of Oude at large. Many who owed their prosperity to the British government, as well as those who believed themselves aggrieved by it, have joined in this bad cause, and have ranged themselves with the enemies of the state. They have been guilty of a great crime, and have subjected themselves to a just retribution. The capital of their country is now once more in the hands of the British troops. From this day it will be held by a force which nothing can withstand, and the authority of the government will be carried into every corner of the province. The time, then, has come at which the right hon. the governor-general of India deems it right to make known the mode in which the British government will deal with the talookdars, chiefs, and landholders of Oude and their followers.

"The first care of the governor-general will be to reward those who have been steadfast in their allegiance at a time when the authority of the government was partially overborne, and who have proved this by the support and assistance which they have given to British officers. Therefore the right hon. the governor-general hereby declares that Drigbijie Sing, rajah of Bulrampore; Koolwunt Sing, rajah of Pudnaha; Rao Hurdeo Buksh Sing, of Kutiaree; Kasheepershaud, talookdar of Sissaindee; Zuhr Sing, zemindar of Gopaul Kheir; and Chundeeloll, zemindar of Moraon (Baiswarah), are henceforward the sole hereditary proprietors of the lands which they held when Oude came under British rule, subject only to such moderate assessment as may be imposed upon them, and that those loyal men will be further rewarded in such manner and to such extent as, upon consideration of their merits and their position, the governor-general shall determine. A proportionate measure of reward and honour according to their deserts will be conferred upon others, in whose favour like claims may be established to the satisfaction of the government.

"The governor-general further proclaims to the people of Oude that, with the above-mentioned exceptions, the proprietary right in the soil of the province is confiscated to the British government, which will dispose of that right in such manner as it may seem fitting. To those talookdars, chiefs, and landholders, with their followers, who shall make immediate submission to the chief commissioner of Oude, surrendering their arms and obeying his orders, the right hon. the governor-general promises that their lives and honour shall be safe, provided that their hands are unstained with English blood murderously shed.

"But, as regards any further indulgence which may be extended to them, and the condition in which they may hereafter be placed, they must throw themselves upon the justice and mercy of the British government. To those among them who shall promptly come forward and give support to the chief commissioner their support in the restoration of peace and order, this indulgence will be large, and the governor-general will be ready to view liberally the claims which they may thus acquire to a restitution of their former rights. As participation in the murder of Englishmen and Englishwomen will

exclude those who are guilty of it from all mercy, so will those who have protected English lives be specially entitled to consideration and leniency.

"By order of the right hon. the governor-general of India.

"G. F. EDMONSTONE,
"Secretary to the Government of India.

"Allahabad, March 14th."

The following explanatory letter, dictated by Viscount Canning, and signed by his secretary, accompanied the proclamation:—

"Allahabad, March 3rd, 1858.

"Sir,—I am directed by the right honourable the governor-general, to enclose to you a copy of a proclamation which is to be issued by the chief commissioner at Lucknow, as soon as the British troops under his excellency the commander-in-chief shall have possession or command of the city.

"2. This proclamation is addressed to the chiefs and inhabitants of Oude only, and not to the sepoys.

"3. The governor-general has not considered it desirable that this proclamation should appear until the capital is either actually in our hands or lying at our mercy. He believes that any proclamation put forth in Oude in a liberal and forgiving spirit would be open to misconstruction, and capable of perversion, if not preceded by a manifestation of our power; and that this would be especially the case at Lucknow—which, although it has recently been the scene of unparalleled heroism and daring, and of one of the most brilliant and successful feats of arms which British India has ever witnessed—is still sedulously represented by the rebels as being beyond our power to take or to hold.

"4. If an exemption, almost general, from the penalties of death, transportation, and imprisonment, such as is now about to be offered to men who have been in rebellion, had been publicly proclaimed before a heavy blow had been struck, it is at least as likely that resistance would have been encouraged by the seeming exhibition of weakness, as that it would have been disarmed by a generous forbearance.

"5. Translations of the proclamation into Hindee and Persian accompany this despatch.

"6. It will be for the chief commissioner in communication with his excellency the commander-in-chief, to determine the moment at which the proclamation shall be published, and the manner of disseminating it through the province; as also the mode in which those who may surrender themselves under it shall be immediately and for the present dealt with.

"7. This last question, considering that we shall not be in firm possession of any large portion of the province when the proclamation begins to take effect, and that the bulk of our troops, native as well as European, will be needed for other purposes than to keep guard through its districts—is one of some difficulty. It is clear, too, that the same treatment will not be applicable to all who may present themselves.

"8. Amongst these there may be some who have been continuously in arms against the government, and who have shown inveterate opposition to the last, but who are free from the suspicion of having put to death or injured Europeans who fell in their way.

"9. To these men their lives are guaranteed and their honour; that is, in native acceptation, they will neither be transported across the sea, nor placed in prison.

"10. Probably the most easy and effectual way of disposing of them, in the first instance, will be to require that they shall reside in Lucknow under surveillance and in charge of an officer appointed for that purpose.

"11. Their ultimate condition and place of residence may remain to be determined hereafter, when the chief commissioner shall be able to report fully to the governor-general upon the individual character and past conduct of each.

"12. There will be others who, although they have taken up arms against the government, have done so less heartily, and upon whom, for other causes, the chief commissioner may not see reason to put restraint. These, after surrendering their arms, might be allowed to go to their homes, with such security for their peaceable conduct as the chief commissioner may think proper to require.

"13. One obvious security will be that of making it clearly understood by them, that the amount of favour which they shall hereafter receive, and the condition on which they shall be re-established, will be in part dependent upon their conduct after dismissal.

"14. The permission to return to their homes must not be considered as a reinstatement of them in the possession of their lands, for the deliberate disposal of which the government will preserve itself unfettered.

"15. There will probably be a third class, less compromised by acts of past hostility to the government, in whom the chief commissioner may see reason to repose enough of confidence to justify their services being at once enlisted on the side of order, towards the maintenance of which in their respective districts they might be called upon to organise a temporary police.

"16. The foregoing remarks apply to the talookdars and chiefs of the province. As regards their followers who may make submission with them, these, from their numbers, must of necessity be dismissed to their homes. But before this is done, their names and places of residence should be registered, and they should receive a warning that any disturbance of the peace or resistance of authority which may occur in their neighbourhood, will be visited, not upon the individual offenders alone, but by heavy fines upon the villages.

"17. I am to observe that the governor-general wishes the chief commissioner to consider what has been above written as suggestions rather than instructions, and as indicating generally the spirit in which his lordship desires that the proclamation should be followed up, without tying down the action of the chief commissioner in matters which may have to be judged under circumstances which cannot be foreseen.

"18. There remains one more point for notice.

"19. The proclamation is addressed to the chiefs and inhabitants of Oude, not to mutineers.

"20. To the latter, the governor-general does not intend that any overture should be made at present.

"21. But it is possible that some may surrender themselves, or seek terms, and it is necessary that the chief commissioner should be prepared to meet any advances from them.

"22. The sole promise which can be given to any mutineer is, that his life shall be spared; and this

promise must not be made if the man belongs to a regiment which has murdered its officers, or if there be other *prima facie* reason to suppose that he has been implicated in any specially atrocious crime. Beyond the guarantee of life to those who, not coming within the above-stated exception, shall surrender themselves, the governor-general cannot sanction the giving of any specific pledge.

"23. Voluntary submission will be counted in mitigation of punishment; but nothing must be said to those who so submit themselves which shall bar the government from awarding to each such measure of secondary punishment as in its justice it may deem fitting.—I have, &c.,

(Signed) "G. F. EDMONSTONE."

The terms of the proclamation, and the arguments in support of it, conveyed by the above letter, did not appear to the chief commissioner to meet the requirements of the case; and he accordingly transmitted his view of the exigency for the consideration of government, before giving currency to the proclamation. His letter was as follows:—

"Camp, Chimlut, March 8th, 1858.

"Sir,—I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, No. 191, dated 3rd instant, enclosing a proclamation to be issued to the landholders, chiefs, and inhabitants of Oude, upon the fall of the capital.

"2. In this proclamation an hereditary title in their estates is promised to such landholders as have been steadfast in their allegiance, and, with these exceptions, the proprietary right in the soil of the province is confiscated.

"3. The chief-commissioner desires me to observe that, in his belief, there are not a dozen landowners in the province who have not themselves borne arms against us, or sent a representative to the durbar, or assisted the rebel government with men or money. The effect of the proclamation, therefore, will be to confiscate the entire proprietary right in the soil; and this being the case, it is, of course, hopeless to attempt to enlist the landowners on the side of order; on the contrary, it is the chief commissioner's firm conviction that as soon as the chiefs and talookdars become acquainted with the determination of the government to confiscate their rights, they will betake themselves at once to their domains, and prepare for a desperate and prolonged resistance.

"4. The chief commissioner deems this matter of such vital importance, that, at the risk of being deemed importunate, he ventures to submit his views once more, in the hope that the right hon. the governor-general may yet be induced to reconsider the subject.

"5. He is of opinion that the landholders were most unjustly treated under our settlement operations, and even had they not been so, that it would have required a degree of fidelity on their part quite foreign to the usual character of an Asiatic, to have remained faithful to our government under the shocks to which it was exposed in Oude. In fact, it was not until our rule was virtually at an end, the whole country overrun, and the capital in the hands of the rebel soldiery, that the talookdars, smarting as they were under the loss of their lands, sided against us. The chief commissioner thinks, therefore, that they ought hardly to be considered as rebels, but rather as honourable enemies, to whom terms, such as they could without loss of dignity accept, should be offered at the termination of the campaign.

"If these men be given back their lands, they will at once aid us in restoring order; and a police will soon be organised with their co-operation, which will render unnecessary the presence of our enormous army to re-establish tranquillity and confidence.

"But, if their life and freedom from imprisonment only be offered, they will resist; and the chief commissioner foresees that we are only at the commencement of a guerilla war for the extirpation, root and branch, of this class of men, which will involve the loss of thousands of Europeans by battle, disease, and exposure. It must be borne in mind that this species of warfare has always been peculiarly harassing to our Indian forces, and will be far more so at present, when we are without a native army.

"6. For the above reasons, the chief commissioner earnestly requests that such landholders and chiefs as have not been accomplices in the cold-blooded murder of Europeans may be enlisted on our side by the restoration of their ancient possessions, subject to such restrictions as will protect their dependents from oppression. If his lordship agree to this proposition, it will not yet be too late to communicate his assent by electric telegraph before the fall of the city, which will probably not take place for some days. Should no such communication be received, the chief commissioner will act upon his present instructions, satisfied that he has done all in his power to convince his lordship that they will be ineffectual to re-establish our rule on a firm basis in Oude.—I have, &c.,

(Signed) "G. COUPER,
"Secretary to Chief Commissioner."

The objections thus urged were replied to by the following letter from the secretary to the governor-general:—

"Allahabad, March 10th, 1858.

"Sir,—Your secretary's letter of the 8th instant was delivered to me at an early hour this morning, by Captain F. Birch, and it will receive a detailed reply in due course.

"Meanwhile, I am desired by the right hon. the governor-general to subjoin a clause which may be inserted in the proclamation (forwarded with my letter, No. 191, of the 3rd instant), after the paragraph which ends with the words 'justice and mercy of the British government.'

"'To those amongst them who shall promptly come forward, and give to the chief commissioner their support in the restoration of peace and order, this indulgence will be large, and the governor-general will be ready to view liberally the claims which they may thus acquire to a restitution of their former rights."

"2. This clause will add little or nothing to your discretionary power, but it may serve to indicate more clearly to the talookdars the liberal spirit in which the governor-general is prepared to review and reciprocate any advances on their part.

"3. It is expected that you will find means to translate this additional clause into the vernacular languages, and that you will be able to have copies

of the proclamation, so amended, prepared in sufficient numbers for immediate use. If more should be required, the magistrate of Cawnpore will lithograph them on your requisition.

"4. It is very important, as you will readily see, that every copy of the vernacular version of the proclamation sent to you, with my letter of the 3rd inst., should be carefully destroyed.—I have, &c.,

(Signed) "G. F. EDMONSTONE,
"Secretary, Government of India, with the Governor-general."

Some unexpected delay occurred in the transmission of the detailed reply, which did not reach the chief commissioner until the beginning of April; and during the interval between that time and the beginning of the previous month, the people of Oude remained wholly ignorant of the terms upon which their very existence depended. It, however, at length reached its destination, and was as follows:—

"Allahabad, March 31st, 1858.

"Sir,—In replying at once on the 10th instant to your secretary's letter of the 8th, in which you urged reasons against the issue of the proclamation to the talookdars and landholders of Oude, which had been transmitted to you by the right honourable the governor-general, my answer was confined to communicating to you the addition which his lordship was willing to make to that proclamation without entering into the general questions raised in your letter. The governor-general desires me to express his hope that you will not have supposed that the arguments adduced by you were not fully weighed by him, or that your opinion upon a subject on which you are so well entitled to offer one, has not been received with sincere respect, although he was unable to concur in it.

"2. I am now directed by his lordship to explain the grounds upon which the course advocated in your letter—namely, that such landholders and chiefs as have not been accomplices in the cold-blooded murder of Europeans should be enlisted on our side by the restoration of their ancient possessions, subject to such restrictions as will protect their dependents from oppression—is, in the opinion of the governor-general, inadmissible.

"3. The governor-general entirely agrees with you in viewing the talookdars and landholders of Oude in a very different light from that in which rebels in our old provinces are to be regarded. The people of Oude had been subjects of the British government for little more than one year when the mutinies broke out; they had become so by no act of their own. By the introduction of our rule many of the chiefs had suffered a loss of property, and all had experienced a diminution of the importance and arbitrary power which they had hitherto enjoyed; and it is no marvel that those amongst them who had thus been losers should, when they saw our authority dissolved, have hastened to shake off their new allegiance.

"4. The governor-general views these circumstances as a palliation of acts of rebellion, even where hostility has been most active and systematic. Accordingly, punishment by death or imprisonment is at once put aside by the proclamation in the case of all who shall submit themselves to the government, and who are not murderers; and whilst confiscation of proprietary rights in the land is declared to be the general penalty, the means of obtaining more or less of exemption from it, and of establishing a claim to restitution of rights, have been pointed out, and are within the reach of all without injury to their honour. Nothing more is required for this than that they should promptly tender their adhesion, and help to maintain peace and order.

"5. The governor-general considers that the course thus taken is one consistent with the dignity of the government, and abundantly lenient. To have followed that which is suggested in your secretary's letter would, in his lordship's opinion, have been to treat the rebels not only as honourable enemies, but as enemies who had won the day.

"In the course of the rebellion, most of the leaders in it, probably all, have retaken to themselves the lands and villages of which they were deprived, by the summary settlement which followed the establishment of our government in Oude. If, upon the capture of Lucknow by the commander-in-chief, before our strength had been seen or felt in the distant districts, and before any submission had been received or invited from them, the rights of the rebel chiefs to all their ancient possessions had been recognised by the government, it is not possible that the act would not have been viewed as dictated by fear or weakness. It would have led the people of Oude, and all who are watching the course of events in that province, to the conclusion that rebellion against the British government cannot be a losing game; and although it might have purchased an immediate return to order, it would not assuredly have placed the future peace of the province upon a secure foundation.

"6. You observe, indeed, that the landholders were most unjustly treated under our settlement. The governor-general desires me to observe, that if this were unreservedly the case, or if the proceedings of the commissioners by which many of the talookdars were deprived of portions of their possessions had been generally unjust, he would gladly have concurred in your recommendation, and would have been ready, at the risk of any misinterpretation of the motives of the government, to reinstate the talookdars at once in their old possessions. But it is not so. As a question of policy, indeed, the governor-general considers that it may well be doubted whether the attempt to introduce into Oude a system of village settlement in place of the old settlement under talookdars was a wise one; but this is a point which need not be discussed here. As a question of justice, it is certain that the land and villages taken from the talookdars had, for the most part, been usurped by them through fraud or violence.

"7. That unjust decisions were come to by some of our local officers in investigating and judging the titles of the landowners is, the governor-general fears, too true; but the proper way of rectifying such injustice is by a rehearing where complaint is made. This, you are aware, is the course which the governor-general is prepared to adopt, and to carry out in a liberal and conciliatory spirit. It is a very different one from proclaiming that indiscriminate restitution of all their ancient possessions is at once to be yielded to the landowners.

"8. That the hostility of the talookdars of Oude who have been most active against the British government has been provoked, or is excused, by the

injustice with which they have been treated, would seem to be your opinion.

"But I am to observe, that there are some facts which deserve to be weighed before pronouncing that this is the case.

"9. No chiefs have been more open in their rebellion than the rajahs of Churda, Bhinga, and Gonda. The governor-general believes that the first of these did not lose a single village by the summary settlement, and certainly his assessment was materially reduced. The second was dealt with in a like liberal manner. The rajah of Gonda lost about thirty villages out of 400; but his assessment was lowered by some 10,000 rupees.

"10. No one was more benefited by the change of government than the young rajah of Naupara. His estates had been the object of a civil war with a rival claimant for three years, and of these he was at once recognised as sole proprietor by the British government, losing only six villages out of more than a thousand. His mother was appointed guardian, but her troops have been fighting against us at Lucknow from the beginning.

"11. The rajah of Dhowrera, also a minor, was treated with equal liberality. Every village was settled with his family; yet these people turned upon Captain Hearsey and his party, refused them shelter, pursued them, captured the ladies, and sent them into Lucknow.

"12. Ushruf Bux Khan, a large talookdar in Gonda, who had long been an object of persecution by the late government, was established in the possession of all his property by us; yet he has been strongly hostile.

"13. It is clear that injustice at the hands of the British government has not been the cause of the hostility which, in these instances at least, has been displayed towards our rule.

"14. The moving spirit of these men and of others amongst the chiefs of Oude must be looked for elsewhere; and, in the opinion of the governor-general, it is to be found mainly in the repugnance which they feel to suffer any restraint of their hitherto arbitrary powers over those about them, to a diminution of their importance by being brought under equal laws, and to the obligation of disbanding their armed followers, and of living a peaceful and orderly life.

"The penalty of confiscation of property is no more than a just one in such cases as have been above recited; and although considerations of policy and mercy, and the newness of our rule, prescribe a relaxation of the sentence more or less large according to the features of each case, this relaxation must be preceded by submission; and the governor-general cannot consent to offer all, without distinction, an entire exemption from penalty, and the restoration of all former possessions, even though they should not have been guilty of the murder of Europeans.—I have, &c.,

(Signed) "G. F. EDMONSTONE,
"Secretary to the Government of India,
with the Governor-general."

By the middle of April, the proclamation, aided by the judicious but stringent regulations of the authorities, began to produce a beneficial effect upon the city, into which the fugitive inhabitants were daily returning; and such of them of importance as had remained concealed upon the entry of the English troops, now came from their hiding-places, to offer homage and seek for pardon. The civil power, efficiently represented, had resumed its authority, and proceeded to restore law and order, and police, and a system of rewards and punishments. Police were enrolled, and thannahs or stations were established; criminals were handed over to the judge or to the triangles: but it could not be expected that after so violent a convulsion, the elements of order could instantly subside into a perfect calm, or that confidence could be universally restored. The whole city had been a chaos—a place of terror and indescribable confusion; and the license inevitable after the storm of a large city, had been magnified even beyond its actual limits. Thousands of the citizens returned to their homes, or to the wrecks of them; but tens of thousands would never return to Lucknow, for the court, and the nawabs and rajahs who once maintained them, were gone for ever, and their palaces were desolate.

Simultaneously with the restoration of something like order in the government of the city, arrangements were made for its future occupancy; and the chief engineer, Brigadier Napier, B.E., submitted to the chief commissioner and commander-in-chief a report on the most practical method of clearing away the obstructions to military operations, so that the troops might act efficiently in case of a future sudden outbreak of the inhabitants. By his plan, the Muchee Bowun, between the old residency compound and the Great Imaumbarra, which was situated upon an elevated portion of the plain in which the city stands, was selected as the key of the British position, diverging from which, wide streets were to be cleared through the winding lanes and masses of houses that intervened between it and the various strategic points, such streets forming military roads connecting the several points with each other and with the Muchee Bowun. On the north side, the Badshabagh (or King's Garden) was to be held as an outpost, and the suburbs on the same side, between it and the bridges over the Goomtee, were to be entirely swept away, and the area cleared—the desolation thus rendered necessary being looked upon as a just and natural consequence of rebellion.

No sooner was the city of Lucknow

clearly and unequivocally again in the hands of the English civil authorities, than Sir Colin Campbell completely broke up the army of Oude. The troops had nothing more to do at that spot, while their services were urgently needed elsewhere. The regiments were reorganised into brigades and divisions; new officers were appointed in lieu of all absent on sick leave; and the dispersion of the army commenced.

Of the troops which remained at Lucknow after the departure of many of the brigades, few escaped the inconveniences attending the heat of an Indian equinox, so severely felt by Europeans. The reaction upon the system produced by a forced calm after a lengthened period of almost maddening excitement, also contributed to furnish its quota to the military hospitals; and many brave soldiers who had passed scatheless through the perils of unnumbered fights, were prostrated by the less glorious, but not less deadly alternative of sickness. The regimental hospitals were most efficient and creditable to the medical department of the service—stores, medicine, attendance, were all in abundance; and for every wounded or sick man there was an attendant to brush away the flies* with a hand punkah, and to fan his face. The food and stores of all kinds, supplied to the army, were acknowledged to be of excellent quality, and furnished most satisfactory tests of the ability and energy of the Indian commissariat.

The escape of the rebel forces from Lucknow, at the close of the siege, was numerically far more extensive and serious than had been expected or wished for by those who looked forward to a speedy pacification of India. How far the result disappointed those immediately responsible for the fact, themselves only knew; but whether it had been foreseen or not, the immediate dispersion of large bodies of armed troops over the adjacent districts could not but be productive of renewed anxiety and trouble. From information which reached the commander-in-chief towards the end of March, it appeared that Nana Sahib was then at Bareilly with Khan Bahadoor Khan, and 2,000 men; that the Begum of Oude was at Khyrabad with 10,000 more; that other 2,000 were intrenched at Shahjehanpore; and that Khan Bahadoor and the Nana were arranging a scheme of operations that should have for its theatre the vast province of Rohilcund, the greater part of which still continued, as it had been for the previous nine months, in the hands of the rebels, whose numbers were now augmented by some of the mutinous regiments that managed to escape from Lucknow.

On the 20th of March, the commander-in-chief issued a general order, prescribing to the several columns or divisions of the army that had been engaged in the operations at Lucknow, the duties to which they were to be thenceforth devoted. The 5th and 78th regiments were removed from the Alumbagh to Cawnpore; the artillery in park at the former place was to be divided—some to join the camp at Lucknow, the remainder to move with the head-quarters of the 5th regiment. The troops left at Lucknow, consisting of the 20th, 28th, 33rd, 53rd, 90th, and part of the 93rd, British regiments, with the 2nd dragoon guards, three Punjab regiments of horse, and various detachments of artillery and engineers, were formed into a division under Sir Hope Grant, who had with him Brigadiers W. Campbell and Barker, as subordinate commanders. Sir Edward Lugard was directed to form and command a division, to be called the "Azimgurh field force," to consist of her majesty's 10th

* An assistant-surgeon in the division under Brigadier Franks, thus described the torments to which every one in camp was exposed from these annoying insects:—"I write this in my tent in camp (the thermometer is at 100°), not a breath of wind, and the flies—I can pity the Egyptians now—the tent is filled with them, and everything edible covered with them. We drink and eat flies; and, in our turn, are eaten by them. They nestle in your hair, and commit the most decided suicides in your tea or soup. Old-fashioned looking crickets come out of holes and stare at you; lizards run wildly across the tent; and ants, by the thousands, ply their wonted avocations, utterly unmindful of your presence. When night arrives, it becomes a little cooler, the candles are lit, all the flies except the suicides have gone to roost upon the tent poles, and you fancy that your troubles are over. Vain hope! The tent doors are open, in flies a locust, hops into some dish, kicks himself out again, hitting you in the face, and finally bolts out at the opposite door. Then comes a flock of moths, all sizes and shapes, which dart madly at the lights. At last you put out your candle, and get into bed, when a new sound commences—hum-hum, something soft and light settles on your face and hands, a sensation of red-hot needles intimates that the mosquitoes are upon you. The domestic flea and bug also abound, their appetites quite unimpaired by the climate. Jackals and pariah dogs yell and howl all night. Day dawns and you have your flies down upon you as lively as ever. One needs be tired, to sleep with such tent comforts, and such pertinacious visitors."

regiment, with detachments of cavalry, artillery, and engineers, and whatever other troops might at the time be in the Azimgurh district. Another division, for service in Rohilcund, comprising the 42nd, 79th, and part of the 93rd infantry, two battalions of the rifle brigade, the 1st Bengal Europeans, two regiments of native infantry, the 7th hussars and 9th lancers, three regiments of Punjab cavalry, with the naval brigade belonging to her majesty's steam-frigate *Shannon*, and detachments of artillery and engineers, were placed under the command of General Walpole. For each of these grand divisions of the army of Oude, a campaign of extraordinary difficulty presented itself, whether as regarded the harassing and desultory nature of the operations which the peculiar tactics of the rebel commanders rendered compulsory, or the heat of the weather, which had now become intense, and materially impaired the energetic action of European troops.

But whatever were the difficulties to be yet encountered, the gratifying fact remained, that the important city of Lucknow, with its palaces and fortifications, and garrisoned by a force at least four times exceeding the number of its assailants, had bowed to the valour of British arms, and was now at the mercy of its captors. Twice had the vast and exulting host of insurgents that had converted it into a sanguinary battle-ground, seen the English columns retire but half victorious from the walls; and it may have been, that, in spite of the loss by which the temporary respite from final defeat was obtained, the rebels yet hoped that mere numbers, aided by the courage of despair, would obtain for them a similar result when the next struggle should occur, and that the survivors of their forces would see the English flag a third time borne backward from their city. They knew, indeed, that the besieging army had been swelled by thousands of men fresh from Europe; but they had also seen their own ranks for many weeks continually augmented by fugitive bands from all parts of India. If, therefore, numbers could avail, they had reason for hope. But whatever their ground of confidence, it must have been dissipated in a moment, when the tremendous power of such an artillery as Sir Colin Campbell had collected were directed against their walls. Before that fire, no native force of India could stand; and thus the myriads who garrisoned Lucknow were driven from stronghold to stronghold, and from palace to palace, until nothing remained for them but lives preserved to them by precipitate and inglorious flight.

On the part of the English, the victory was assuredly great; and its importance was not confined to the mere fact of the recovery of Lucknow—but it was not without its alloy. Amongst the noble blood poured out amidst the streets and palaces of the city, was some which flowed through the veins of men whose names belong to history, and whose loss to their country was poorly compensated by the capture of a rebellious city, and the dispersion of its ignoble garrison.

Public opinion in India, as represented by the press of the three presidencies, was decidedly adverse to the idea that all had been done which might have been accomplished by the magnificent army under the orders of Sir Colin Campbell. While that imposing array of veteran soldiers, with its Ghoorka and other allies, was surrounding Lucknow, India stood at gaze, and expected, as the consummation of the grand struggle, a carnage in which the revolted army of Bengal would be utterly extinguished; but a road of escape—whether through inability to close it, or at the bidding of a dangerous compassion—was left open, and through it the greater portion of the vast garrison of Lucknow was permitted to retire unscathed into the more difficult region of Rohilcund. According to the estimate of the Calcutta papers, 3,000 rebels perished in the last struggle at Lucknow; a loss which was immediately replaced by the junction of the remainder with the forces of Khan Bahadoor, and other chiefs in arms. The capital had indeed fallen; but Oude still remained unsubdued, and anarchy reigned in all its provinces. The feelings of the people were bitterly hostile to the English rule, and all efforts to conciliate them were for a long time unavailing. The country people around Lucknow, upon whom much depended for the sustenance of the English garrison, would neither bring provisions into the city, nor supply the troops with them; and to such an extent was their vindictiveness carried, that the men in search of food dared not wander from the main body. The proclamation of the governor-general, to which reference has been already made,* was, for a time, supposed

* See *ante*, p. 276.

have strengthened this ill-feeling. "It makes," said a writer in the *Friend of India*, "every man in Oude a declared enemy, and does not exhibit any means by which such enmity can be coerced. As an amnesty, the boon conferred is ridiculous; for what power have we to put to death five millions of human beings? The British government will be held up as both weak and rapacious. As weak, in offering the life it has not the power to take; as rapacious, in seizing estates to which it has no right."

At the end of April, there had been little change in the aspect of rebel affairs throughout Oude. The begum had strengthened herself in a fortress on the Gogra; the moulvie was at Sundeela, thirty miles north-west of Lucknow; and the principal zemindars still held aloof. On the British side, General Outram had given over charge of the chief commissionership of Oude to Mr. Montgomery, who had already distinguished himself by his able administration in the Punjab; and a new staff of commissioners and their subordinates was appointed, to conduct the civil government of the country as it should progressively fall into their hands through the exertions of the military force, or by the as yet uncertain, unconditional submission of the zemindars.

CHAPTER X.

PROPOSED OPERATIONS OF THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF; KOER SING; MOVEMENTS OF SIR E. LUGARD; ATROWLIA; AZIMGURH SEIZED BY THE REBELS; ADVANCE OF BRITISH TROOPS FOR ITS RECAPTURE; REPULSE OF COLONEL MILMAN; ARRIVAL OF REINFORCEMENTS; EVACUATION OF THE CITY BY THE REBELS; PURSUIT OF KOER SING, AND REWARD FOR HIS CAPTURE; JUGDESPORE; ARRAH; DEATH OF CAPTAIN LE GRAND; CORRESPONDENCE OF SIR HUGH ROSE; ADVANCE ON JHANSIE; OVERTURES FROM THE RANEE REJECTED; BOMBARDMENT OF THE CITY; ARRIVAL OF REBEL FORCE UNDER TANTIA TOPEE; BATTLE BEFORE JHANSIE; DEFEAT OF THE REBELS; ASSAULT AND CAPTURE OF THE TOWN AND FORT; FLIGHT OF THE RANEE TO CALPEE; CORRESPONDENCE; THE MASSACRE OF JUNE, 1857; PURSUIT BY SIR HUGH ROSE; REBELS DEFEATED AT POONCH; BATTLE OF KONCH; ADVANCE TO CALPEE; FIGHT AND FLIGHT OF THE REBELS; ESCAPE OF THE RANEE TOWARDS GWALIOR; KOTAH; ADVANCE OF GENERAL ROBERTS; BOMBARDMENT OF THE TOWN; ASSAULT AND CAPTURE; FLIGHT OF THE GARRISON; DISTRIBUTION OF THE RAJPOOTANA FIELD FORCE.

In the first glow of satisfaction induced by the triumph achieved at Lucknow, the anticipations of its results were much too sanguine. The enemy had certainly been driven from their great stronghold; but they were only scattered abroad to wage a fresh and harassing war against European troops, the greater part of whom were scarcely yet acclimated, in numerous detached bodies, and under circumstances in which all the advantage was on their side. Under any conditions, a guerilla war was undesirable; but with the circumstances that then existed, its necessity was inevitable; and, unfortunately, its duration appeared likely to be interminable. The hot weather was just setting in; and during the five succeeding months, in a climate where exposure to the sun is ordinarily deemed fatal, the English troops had the combined adverse influences of the season, and of a desultory and harassing campaign, to contend with. The province of Rohilcund, which was now regarded as the battle-field of the insurrection, was so situated with regard to the British possessions in India, that from thence strong attacks might be continually organised, and simultaneously made, upon our most important posts, by which on all sides it was surrounded. The policy of the commander-in-chief, which admitted of the possibility of the enemy's escape from Lucknow into Rohilcund, still continued to be largely and widely discussed. By many, it was deemed to be a mistake on the part of Sir Colin; some, more generous, attributed the fact to circumstances beyond his control; while others averred that the evacuation of Oude by the rebels, and their temporary establishment in Rohilcund, was in accordance with the concerted plans of the chief,

and was precisely the movement he desired. Whatever may have been his intentions, it is for us, in these pages, to deal only with his acts.

In order to trace his operations, it may be necessary to recall to memory the general position of affairs at the time of Sir Colin Campbell's victorious advance upon the capital of Oude. There were then four places, and four only, where any considerable body of rebels maintained themselves in attitudes of resolute defiance, and with marked ascendancy over the adjacent districts. Lucknow, of course, was the centre and stronghold of the insurrection, its garrison representing nothing less than the mass of mutineers escaped from Delhi. But besides Lucknow, the fort and town of Kotah, in Rajpootana, and of Jhansie, in Bundlecund, had remained, from an early period of the revolt, in the possession of strong bodies of the insurgents, nor could those provinces be effectually pacified until the garrisons in question had been subdued. Lastly, the nucleus of the old Gwalior contingent, strengthened, no doubt, by large accessions of malcontents and marauders, had taken post at Calpee, from which position it advanced at intervals against the European troops in its vicinity. The places thus indicated were all, on the Indian scale of reckoning, within short distances of each other; and the chief part of the British forces had been for some time distributed over the same parts of the country. It was the policy, however, of the commanders to concentrate their efforts on the one particular operation which was recommended by the greatest urgency, or promised the most important results; and Delhi and Lucknow consequently monopolised, in succession, all the anxieties of the commander-in-chief for the time being. Thus Calpee was disregarded, though Sir Colin Campbell, with an overpowering force, lay for some time within fifty miles of it, and its mutinous garrison was simply held in check by a small corps of observation stationed at Cawnpore; Kotah and Jhansie were left to the operations respectively of Generals Roberts and Rose, who were advancing with columns of succour from the Bombay presidency; and it was reasonably anticipated, that if the main force of the rebels could be crushed at Lucknow, the smaller bodies of insurgents might be dealt with at discretion. Such were the anticipations entertained prior to the reoccupation of Lucknow. The escape of the greater portion of the rebel troops from that place into Rohilcund, opened a new field for exertion, and materially interfered with the realisation of the original design.

We shall now resume the narrative of active operations in the field during the hot weather campaign of 1858.

On the 10th of April, General Walpole's division, destined for action in Rohilcund, broke up from Lucknow, and commenced the march, of about 150 miles, towards Bareilly, then the principal rendezvous of the insurgent chiefs of the north-west—namely, the Nana Sahib, Khan Bahadoor, the Nawab of Futteghur, and others. At the same time Coke's brigade, leaving its position at Roorkee, crossed the Ganges, and entered the rebellious province from above. The commander-in-chief also ordered his staff down to Cawnpore, intending, with the portion of the army under General Walpole's command, to proceed up the right, or Doab side of the Ganges, to Futteghur; and thence begin the Rohilcund campaign.

But it was not only in a north-westerly direction from his head-quarters at Lucknow that Sir Colin Campbell had to look for rebels to chastise. Fyzabad, on the eastern border of Oude, was occupied by an insurgent force, against which a column, under Sir Hope Grant, was put in motion on the 11th of March; while further away, in a south-easterly direction, the important town of Azimgurh, only fifty-six miles N. by E. of Benares, was closely beleaguered by the rebels, under Koer Sing, who had rendered himself conspicuous among the leaders of the insurrectionary movement, by his conduct at Arrah in the previous July.* Against this chief a brigade under the command of Sir Edward Lugard, was dispatched from Lucknow on the 20th March, and the district consigned to its protection, embraced a wide field for operations in the territory between Goruckpore and Benares, which had been reduced to order by the advance of the Nepaulese force and the energetic movements of a column under Brigadier Franks. Subsequently, however, as the district became drained of troops by the concentration of the army round Lucknow, the insurgents and mutineers again appeared in arms, and having received an accession of strength from the

* See *ante*, p. 104.

rebel fugitives of Lucknow, they had reoccupied Goruckpore, and marched down to attack Azimgurh. Colonel Milman, commanding a wing of the 37th regiment, quartered in the station, upon receiving intelligence of their intention, on the 20th of the month, marched out to oppose their advance, taking with him, besides his own men, a detachment of the 4th Madras cavalry and two guns. In his anxiety to encounter the rebels, he continued to march forward until, at the village of Atrowlia, about twenty miles from the town, he came upon the advanced guard of their force, which he immediately attacked and routed, but the main body coming up in overwhelming numbers, the colonel was forced to make a precipitate retreat, leaving behind him his guns and baggage. He, however, succeeded in reaching the intrenchments near Azimgurh without any more serious loss. The rebels, numbering 4,000 men, with four guns, then advanced and took possession of the town without opposition on the 26th of March; but on the following day, a force, consisting of 200 men of her majesty's 37th regiment, two guns, and the head-quarters division of the 4th Madras cavalry, under Colonel Dames of the 37th, made a sortie from the intrenchment, driving the enemy before them with ease, in the open country, but, unfortunately, venturing to attack the town, they were repulsed, with the loss of Captain Bedford of the 37th regiment, who was killed in the action, and of eleven of the men, who were also killed or disabled. Colonel Dames then retired to the intrenchment, covered by his guns and cavalry, and there awaited the arrival of reinforcements.

The following extract from a letter, dated Ghazeepore, April 4th, affords an interior view of the doings of the rebel chief:—

"Koer Sing has taken possession of Azimgurh. He got hold of the gomasta of the opium agency, and wanted him to pay down 5,000 rupees. Of course, he could not give this large sum, so he tied him to a gun to blow the poor fellow off. Just at that moment our soldiers that were in the fort came out, at the time his men were cooking their dinner, and killed about forty, and in the hurry and confusion, a sepoy that knew him cut the rope with which the gomasta was bound, and he made his escape to Ghazeepore. Before this man was tied to the gun, Koer Sing asked him how many soldiers were in the Ghazeepore fort, and about the arrival of the treasure. The man said he did not know. He was then asked, whether there were any steamers lying at the ghât, on which point he could give no information. The chief laughed, and said, 'Oh! you want to hide everything from me; I know very well, there are only thirty-six soldiers in the fort, and six lacs of treasure kept in the cutcherry near the western gate —what you call Suddur gate.' So you see, the fellow gets all the news of every place. The Madras cavalry that were at Azimghur would not fight. Those sent here were all Mussulmen — suspicious - looking fellows. One day a washerman was washing our clothes, when one of them asked, 'Whose clothes are you washing?' The answer being, 'Sahib loges,' the fellow said, 'Wash on for a few days more, and then we will see how you will again wash Sahib loges' clothes.' Thank God they have gone back to Azimgurh. Four of them wanted to come inside the factory to see the place, but I would not allow them in. I am living in the factory. Do not be alarmed for me. All will be well, by the interposition of Almighty God in behalf of his people."

Sir Edward Lugard marched from Lucknow, as before stated, in the last week of March, for the purpose of relieving Azimgurh; but found his passage obstructed by the destruction of a bridge over the Goomtee at Sultanpore, a town thirty-four miles south of Oude, on the road to Azimgurh. The consequence was of necessity a change of route, which was notified to the secretary of the governor-general at Allahabad, in the following telegram from Sir Edward Lugard:—

"Sultanpore Cantonments, April 5th, 1858.

"Be so good as to tell his excellency that I arrived here this morning all right, but owing to the bridge having been destroyed by fire, and there being no boats, I could not effect a crossing under a week; I therefore proceeded down the right bank towards Jaunpore."

Pursuing this route, Sir Edward reached the last named place on the 9th of the month; from whence, on the evening of the following day, he marched to encounter a rebel chuckledar named Gholaum Hussein; but the enemy had no stomach for the fight, and prudently retired with all possible celerity; but not without serious loss of men and guns: the fact was announced by Brigadier-general Lugard, in the following telegram:—

"Camp Pigree, April, 1858.

"I marched to this place yesterday, expecting to find the force under Gholaum Hussein, which had plundered and burnt the village of Selmedapore, the previous day, and had actually threatened Jaunpore. On arriving, found that the rebels to the number of 3,000 with two guns were about five or six miles distant. My troops were too exhausted from the excessive heat, and a sixteen miles march to proceed; but in the evening on hearing that there was a movement amongst the enemy, I pursued with three horse artillery guns and cavalry, came up with him, killed about eighty, dispersed the remainder, and captured their two guns, which are now in my camp. One officer, Lieutenant Charles Havelock* killed, and six sowars wounded."

The detour rendered necessary by the destruction of the bridge at Sultanpore, materially retarded the advance of Lugard's corps upon Azimgurh, which he did not reach until the 15th of April; but in the meantime, events of importance were in progress in the immediate neighbourhood of that town, consequent upon the repulse of the troops under Colonel Milman, and the rapid advance of a rebel force under Koer Sing.

As soon as intelligence of the unsuccessfull effort of Colonel Milman had reached Benares, coupled with a rumour that the enemy had actually taken possession of Azimgurh, a force consisting of 450 men of her majesty's 13th regiment, and forty-six of the Madras rifles, were at once dispatched under Lord Mark Kerr, to the aid of the English commanders. The reinforcement also took under its charge a train of 300 bullock carts, conveying ammunition and stores for the troops in the intrenchment. Notwithstanding the heavy impediment to rapid movement presented by this large convoy, the troops marched with such celerity, as to arrive within ten miles of the station on the third day after quitting Benares. On the following morning (April 6th) the force reached Azimgurh, where it was confronted by the enemy, who occupied a position of great strength on both sides of the main road; their right resting on a strong walled village, and their left being protected by a ditch and embankment; they had also partly destroyed a bridge in their rear, to assist them in their retreat into the town, if necessary. The attack was commenced with great spirit by the rebels, whose fire was very severe; but the Europeans maintained their claim to victory, by driving the enemy back into the town with considerable loss. On the British side, one officer (Captain Jones) was killed, and another wounded, and twenty-five men were numbered among the casualties of the day. The position of the convoy was, at one period of the struggle, extremely critical; as, while Lord Mark Kerr was arduously engaged with the enemy immediately in front of him, a large body of the rebel horse moved round to the rear, and made a furious onslaught upon the handful of troops left for the protection of the convoy. The attempt to cut off the latter, was, however, frustrated by the gallantry of the escort, the officer in charge of which (Captain Jones) was killed in the encounter. After this narrow escape from numbers that should have been overpowering and resistless, Lord Mark Kerr succeeded in reaching the intrenchment with his charge, where he remained watching the enemy until the arrival of the larger force under Sir Edward Lugard, enabled him to quit the position for active service. The rebel chief did not, however, wait for an encounter with that general, but after a few days of indecision, the 13th of April was reported as auspicious for the movement of the force; and on that day, Koer Sing and part of his followers quietly evacuated the town; the remainder of his men and guns marching on the 14th, General Lugard being then within seven miles of Azimgurh, which was still occupied by a strong body of insurgents belonging to the place, and several hundred sepoys of the mutinied regiments.

The retirement of the force under Koer Sing was reported to the government by a telegram from the officer commanding at Benares, as follows:—

"April 16th, 1858.

"By express dated this morning the magistrate of Azimgurh reported that a large body of the rebels had marched from that place with two horse artillery guns had marched off, it was supposed towards Ghazeepore. It being

* This officer was a nephew of the general whose name is intimately connected with the series of brilliant triumphs, crowned by the timely relief of Lucknow (see p. 41). The lieutenant, at the commencement of the mutiny, was adjutant of the 12th Bengal native irregular cavalry, and was thrown out of the regular service by the revolt of that regiment. He afterwards joined his uncle as a volunteer, and for nine months was more or less actively employed in and around Lucknow. When General Lugard left the army in Oude, with the column he now commanded, Lieutenant Havelock accompanied him. In holding a command in a Ghoorka battalion. In a skirmish near Jaunpore, a lurking scoundrel fired at him from a hut window as he passed, and the shot took effect in his face. He survived the injury but a few hours, and his loss was a cause of deep regret to all that knew him.

uncertain whether any troops can be spared from Azimgurh for the protection of Ghazeepore, and as the safety of that place is too important to be left to chance, the two companies of her majesty's 54th have been ordered to reach Ghazeepore in two marches, and that the soldiers may not be over-fatigued, I have arranged that one-half of them shall ride on elephants or ekahs."

On the 15th of April, as before mentioned, the division under Sir Edward Lugard, came within sight of Azimgurh; and upon his arrival at the bridge of boats which crossed the river Tonse at that place, he encountered a portion of the rebel force, which had been left to cover the retreat of Koer Sing. The men fought well, and with more determination than usual; and it was not without a severe struggle, that they were defeated and expelled the city. They retired in good order, and were pursued for about a dozen miles. In the action and pursuit, three of their guns were captured, and a few men killed and wounded. On the side of the British, twenty-five were wounded, among whom were Lieutenant Hamilton, of the 3rd Sikhs, and a civilian named Venables, who had rendered important service in the early days of the revolt; but one only was killed. As the retreat of the enemy was in the direction of Goruckpore, and likely to cause serious embarrassment in that quarter, Sir Edward Lugard dispatched Brigadier Douglas, with the 37th and 84th regiments, and some cavalry and guns in pursuit of them; himself, with the greater part of his force, remaining at Azimgurh, where, by the authority of government, a proclamation was issued, offering 25,000 rupees and a free pardon to any rebel, or other person, who should apprehend and deliver to the British authorities the person of Koer Sing, who, it was supposed, would endeavour to get into the Behar districts with his followers, most of whom were Bhojepore sepoys.

The troops under Brigadier Douglas started in pursuit of the rebel chief, and moved with such celerity as to accomplish a distance of a hundred miles in five days, ultimately overtaking the fugitive and his host on the 21st of April, at a place named Bausdeh, a town on the north bank of the Ganges, equidistant from Ghazeepore on the west, and Chuprah on the east. After a sharp encounter, in which Koer Sing himself was wounded, the enemy was routed, with the loss of a gun and four elephants. A marked instance of native hostility to the English rule was exhibited in this district by the inhabitants of the villages, who rendered prompt assistance to the rebel chief in crossing the Ganges to his hereditary state of Jugdespore, and furnished him with information that enabled him to escape from a body of Madras cavalry under Colonel Cumberlege, which had been dispatched to intercept his flight. Upon his arrival at Jugdespore, Koer Sing, who it was reported had lost an arm, and been wounded in the thigh in the recent encounter, was joined by several thousand armed villagers collected by his brother, Umer Sing. These men were posted in the jungles which, on a former occasion, had witnessed the disaster of the troops near Arrah.

This latter place was at the time occupied by a British force, consisting of 150 men of her majesty's 35th regiment, 50 seamen of the naval brigade, and 150 of Rattray's Sikhs, the whole under the command of Captain Le Grand. This officer, hearing of the arrival of Koer Sing and his followers at Jugdespore, determined to attack the rebels, and marched for that purpose with his whole force of 350 men, and two 12-pounder howitzers, to encounter not only fearful odds in point of numbers, but also a difficulty he ought prudently to have been cognisant of. In approaching the stronghold of the rebel chief the path for the troops lay through a jungle which swarmed with the concealed enemy. The troops were there taken by surprise and shot down almost without a possibility of resistance. After some ineffectual firing of the howitzers a bugler sounded the retreat, and a panic seemed instantaneously to have seized the whole force, which was thrown into confusion and took to flight, abandoning guns and elephants, on their way to Arrah, whither, to within two miles, they were pursued by the exultant enemy, who shot and cut down the English soldiers without mercy. The men of the 35th regiment suffered most severely in this disastrous affair, more than two-thirds of their whole number being killed or wounded. Among the former were the unfortunate commander of the little force, Captain Le Grand, Lieutenant Massey, and Dr. Clarke. This mortifying calamity, in which the unfortunate commander appeared in the heat of military ardour to have disobeyed the instructions given to him by the superior authority in the district, occasioned much angry comment; and the result was by no means favourable to the professional reputation of the officer in command of the ill-fated men who were sent into the

jungle—as cattle are sent into the slaughter-house—to die.

The following letter supplies a full report of this disastrous affair. It is dated from Fort Arrah, April 26th:—"On the evening of the 22nd instant, a detachment, under the command of Captain Le Grand, marched out with a view of looking up the mutineers at Judgespore. We marched till half-past twelve o'clock, when the detachment was halted for refreshment and rest; and, at five the following morning, we again started, but had not proceeded far, when the enemy were observed in a village two miles from Judgespore, busily employed in throwing up a breastwork, which pursuit we quickly compelled them to abandon. A couple of howitzers were moved up, and some shells were thrown into the village; and the 7th company of the 35th deployed into line, while the Sikhs and sailors advanced in quarter distance column, with the 5th company thrown out, under Lieutenants Ross and Parsons as skirmishers. Upon arriving at the village we found it deserted, so we pushed on where the road led through a grove of mangoes. The skirmishers on the right, observing the enemy in great numbers flocking into a formidable position, opened fire on them, which was taken up by the whole line. The column was then halted, and ordered to form in line; but the men were so impatient, so eager to take revenge, that they paid no attention to the order! A few seconds after a cheer was given by the skirmishers, who perceiving the enemy pushing on in dense masses, were preparing to give them a taste of the bayonet, when the bugle sounded for them to fall back: this was a fatal error, it quite disheartened the men; and the enemy, who had wavered at the cheer and bold front of our men, now grew valiant as they advanced unmolested, and took a position behind trees, brushwood, &c.; and opened a galling fire from two guns, which was soon responded to by our artillery and infantry, and the action then became general. After an hour's fighting they outflanked us on the right and left, and their cavalry made an attempt to get in our rear and cut off our retreat. The order was now given to retire—that order which no English soldier likes to hear, but it was obeyed; our two guns being necessarily left behind, as the horses that dragged them to the place were not now to be found. They were first spiked in the face of the enemy by Sergeant Howleben and gunners Heytroy and Watson of the artillery, who nobly fell in the act of duty.

"I have proceeded thus far, but I am really ashamed to write further: however, as I have begun I will end it. We began our retreat in a most orderly manner out of the jungle, driving the enemy back whenever they approached too near, till we reached a tank in the open plain, where soldiers, sailors, Sikhs and followers began swallowing stagnant water, as they could get no better, and were fainting with thirst, when a cry was raised that the cavalry was thundering down on us; but no one would rise till Dr. Clarke, running forward, drew his sword, and called on the men to form a square round him. A sort of one was formed, and a volley discharged into the approaching horsemen, which soon made the blood-thirsty villains turn about and be off. After this the retreat was disgraceful; every man had his own way; no commands were listened to; the men were raving wild; and when we gained the main road, a more dreadful scene never before was beheld. The European portion of the force were falling from apoplexy by sections, and no aid could be administered, as the medical stores were captured by the enemy; the dhooly-bearers having fled, notwithstanding the utmost exertions of the medical officers to keep them to their post. What was to be done? What aid could be given them? Nothing. There were sixteen elephants, but they carried the wounded; so the poor unfortunate beings were left behind, to be cut to pieces. The buglers would sound the halt, the greatest portion of the Europeans, with about twenty or thirty brave Sikhs, stood; but where was the main body?—advancing on, regardless of their comrades.

"About two miles from the village, on the retreat, Captain Le Grand was shot through the breast, and died; Lieutenant Massey and poor Dr. Clarke, both of the 35th, fell from apoplexy on the road, and were left to the mercy of the enemy. When we had got five or six miles on the road, the soldiers and sailors were unable to load and fire their pieces through exhaustion, while the main body of the Sikhs, who were accustomed to marching under a burning sun, kept a-head with the elephants instead of covering our retreat, and the only time they did so was about three miles from the (Arrah), when there were only about eight Europeans left from 199. They got off the

road near a large house, and when the enemy approached near enough they brought them down very thickly. The Dinapore folks have it that the 35th ran away from their officers, and left them to be cut up. This is a disgraceful calumny, and I am happy to have it in my power to contradict it. Had the men been handled at the outset as Neille handled his fistful of men, they would have gone through fire and beaten the rebels, though they were twenty times their number. Our loss is immense.

In consequence of this unfortunate mishap near Jugdespore, a new series of operations became necessary; and Brigadier Douglas, crossed the Ganges at Seena ghât on the 25th of the month, with a strong detachment of the 84th foot and two guns, for the purpose of clearing the jungle, that had been so fatal to our troops. This, however, was a work of time; and it was not until the middle of May that the rebel haunt was effectually broken up.

While the commander-in-chief was arranging, and his lieutenants, diverging from Oude in various directions, were carrying his well-concerted plans into operation, the progress of the war continued active in all parts of the revolted provinces; and although success, as usual, crowned the efforts of British prowess, triumph in one quarter was but a prelude to renewed struggles in another. The whole country was in a blaze of insurrection; and the fires were no sooner trampled out in the east, than they broke out with renewed intensity in the west, and spread north and south in their devastating flight. The region south-west of the Jumna, comprising Bundlecund, Central India, and Rajpootana, was thus specially afflicted.

Among the commanders who eminently distinguished themselves at this period, were General Sir Hugh Rose, commanding the Central India field force, and Major Roberts, who had under him the division of the army known as the Rajpootana field force, both of whom were now to add to the triumphs of the British army in India. The former commander, after a succession of brilliant operations, in various parts of the vast region through which he led his troops from January to March, at length, by press of circumstances, found it necessary to direct his attention to the town and fort of Jhansie, then held by a strong force of the insurgents, under the ranee in person. This extraordinary woman was the wife or mother of the last rajah, and who appears to have united the martial spirit of her race with extraordinary ability and aptitude for command, had determined upon a formidable resistance to the English troops; and, having a force of near 12,000 men, and a strongly fortified position in which to meet an attack, the attempt to subjugate her was one of no small difficulty. It, however, had to be done; and it was accomplished.

On the 20th of March, Sir Hugh Rose, after disposing of a number of captured forts in his way, arrived before Jhansie with the first division of his force, consisting of horse artillery and cavalry, and at once proceeded to invest the place. The two following days brought with them successively the two remaining divisions of his army; and, as far as was practicable, a cordon was drawn around the city. For want of a plan of the town, repeated *reconnaissances* were necessary, and consequent delay; but on the 23rd, a fire, both vertical and horizontal, was opened from a flanking battery in an excellent position, which told well upon the fortifications of the town, then defended by some 1,500 sepoys, 10,000 Bundelars, and about 500 sowars. The position was strong, the town having a good wall, mounted by many guns;—above the town, and constituting a separate and very formidable point of defence, frowned the huge castellated palace of the former rajahs; and thither, from her palace in the town, the ranee repaired upon the investment of the latter by the British troops. The qualifications of this lady for command at this crisis, were exhibited in two directions—first, by extreme cunning, and secondly, by an indomitable spirit. At first, with a view of feeling her way, the ranee assumed a condescending and even friendly tone to the British commander, and attempted to open a correspondence with him, in which she expressed a desire to visit his camp, for the purpose of an amicable arrangement of the existing difficulty. Sir Hugh Rose, however, knew the cruel and treacherous character of the artful woman, and was probably aware of her real design in this proposition, and he at once put an end to further overtures of the kind by informing the messenger, that if his mistress should presume to enter the British lines, upon any pretext, she would, although a woman and a princess, most assuredly be hanged, in just retribution for

the murders committed by her orders. This, of course, stopped further negotiation of any kind, and the ranee bravely determined to defend herself to the last; nor was there at any time during the continuance of the siege any symptoms of weakness or vacillation on her part, or that of her personal adherents.

A letter from the camp before Jhansie, dated March 26th, says—"The enemy are returning shot for shot, and their guns are admirably managed by a Bengal artilleryman, who has been distinctly seen, through a telescope, laying them so as to make them bear on our positions. We have four batteries round the fort and town, and keep peppering away day and night. A party of the 3rd Europeans is posted under cover of a mound near the fort, and they, with their Enfields, topple over any of the enemy who show their heads about the walls. There were nine mutineers hung on the 24th, and yesterday evening twenty-eight were shot to death by musketry. A tehseeldar, who formerly belonged to our service, but who had been seen with the enemy at Chunderie, leading or encouraging them on, came in a few days ago, with the face of brass, to pay his respects to Sir Robert Hamilton. Sir Robert desired him to be seated, went over to the general's tent, and in less than five minutes the said tehseeldar was seen hanging in silks in a prominent position in front of the enemy, who fired on our people while the execution was being performed. We have a fakir prisoner, who was present in Jhansie when the massacre of our countrywomen and men took place: his life was spared on condition that he would point out where the magazine of the rebels was situated—and I am glad to say his information has proved of some service already; for yesterday, our batteries were pouring red-hot balls and live carcases into the fort and town, and set the latter on fire in several places. The magazine, has, however, as yet escaped. The 1st brigade joined us yesterday morning; and when their siege train begins to play, we may soon expect the fort to be breached. We moved ground this morning to the right of the fort, and the other brigade took up a position to the left."

By the 28th of the month, two 24-pounders, two 18-pounders, two 10-inch and six 8-inch mortars with some light field pieces, were pouring their iron messengers of death and devastation upon the town. The fire of the enemy in return was vigorously sustained, and so well directed, that the officers were confirmed in their opinion that some European or well trained native golandauze, commanded their artillery. While this interchange of mischief was carried on with untiring spirit by both parties, intelligence reached Sir Hugh Rose that a large rebel force commanded by Tantia Topee, a relative of Nana Sahib, and his principal agent in seducing the Gwalior contingent from its fealty, was on the way to relieve the city. This necessitated the division of Sir Hugh's army into two parts, one to continue the siege, the other to meet the advancing enemy in the field, who numbered from twenty to twenty-five thousand men. On the morning of the 1st of April, the two forces joined battle; but as General Rose was determined not to cease or slacken the fire of his batteries upon the town, or discontinue the investment of it, he had but a small portion of his troops to oppose to the immensely numerical superiority of the enemy; this portion he, however, manœuvred with the eye of one familiar with the battle-field, and it accomplished gloriously the task assigned to it. Dividing his small force into three divisions, one of which remained to carry on the bombardment of the town, he, with the other two, proceeded to attack the advancing enemy in front and flank. After a cannonade, which the rebels contrary to their custom bore for some time without falling into confusion, the cavalry were ordered to charge. For the first time in the sepoy war, the rebels formed squares, received the charge with the bayonet and twice repulsed the horsemen. The third time the latter came on in front and flank at the same time, the square was broken and the enemy, thrown into confusion, began to retreat. They were, however, rallied and again attempted to hold their ground, but a fourth charge utterly routed them, and they fled precipitately towards the river Betwa, in which hundreds who had escaped the sword met with a miserable death. The rear brigade of the enemy, in which were two regiments of the Gwalior contingent, was at the same time cut up and dispersed by the second division of the British force, after a short but desperate resistance, in which they exhibited extraordinary resolution, and many instances of individual bravery, that would have been honourable had their arms

been otherwise directed. The routed sepoys in vain sought by flight to reach a ford of the river Betwa, up to which point the cavalry and horse artillery followed in pursuit, through the blazing jungle, which had been fired by the enemy to cover their retreat. The whole line of flight was strewed with dead bodies, chiefly those of sepoys, and it was estimated that the sanguinary result of that day showed a loss to the enemy of at least 1,500 men, besides the whole of their guns, eighteen in number, and a large quantity of ammunition.

The following telegram from Sir Hugh Rose, announced to the government the victory of the 1st of April:—

"This morning at daybreak, the force, under my orders, fought a general action with the so-called Peishwa's army, and by the blessing of God gained a complete victory. The rebels are stated to have numbered from 20,000 to 25,000 men; they were under Tantia Topee, Nana Sahib's relative, and their object was to relieve Jhansie. I did not discontinue the siege nor investment of Jhansie, consequently the force with which I fought was extremely weak. The rebels, amongst whom were the grenadier regiment, and another regiment of the Gwalior contingent fought, except the cavalry, desperately; but I turned their left flank with artillery and cavalry, and after making two stands they broke and fled, defending themselves individually to the last. I pursued them to the river Betwa, taking all their guns, eighteen in number, and an English 18-pounder of the Gwalior contingent, drawn by two elephants, an 8-inch mortar, and quantities of ammunition, including shells, 18-pounder shot, ordnance park, and two more elephants. Two standards were also taken: the enemy tried to stop our pursuit by setting the jungle on fire, but nothing could check the ardour of the artillery and cavalry, who gallopped in pursuit across the country in flames. I cannot calculate at present the enemy's loss in killed, but it must have been very great, as the country is strewed with dead bodies, chiefly those of sepoys. As I now shall be free from the attacks of a numerous attacking army, I hope to conclude speedily the siege of Jhansie."

Relieved by this brilliant action, which did not cost the life of a single officer, nor apparently of many men, from any danger of further interruption to his operations before Jhansie, Sir Hugh steadily continued to keep up the fire of his batteries upon the city walls, and prepared for the assault which was to give the place into his hands. The defeat of Tantia Topee, was productive of results more favourable to the designs of the English general then he had ventured to anticipate. The ranee, shut up within the place, well knew that the rebel chief was hastening to her assistance, and from his overwhelming superiority of force, she calculated that he would be able to defeat and drive away the besiegers; but the, to her, disastrous termination of the struggle on the 1st of April, entirely thwarted all her arrangements, and utterly dismayed the tiger-hearted woman who was thus left to her own resources.

The 2nd of April was passed over without any active operations, that the troops might recover from the fatigue of the preceding days; but, at daybreak, on the 3rd, an order was issued for the assault. Three guns, fired in succession from the 18-pounders, in the breaching battery, gave the signal, and the columns rushed forward. A tremendous fire was immediately opened upon them from the walls, and the resistance at each of the four points of attack was most desperate. On the right, the first attempt to escalade was unsuccessful. The ladders broke behind the three men who first mounted (two officers and a private of the Bombay engineers), and they were cut to pieces upon the wall. At another point a young officer, Lieutenant Dartnell, of the 86th regiment, had mounted the ladder before him, which also broke, and feeling that it was giving way the young hero sprang at the battlement, and having clutched it, obtained a footing on the wall. There, attacked by a dozen sepoys, he stood at bay, cutting down every man who approached, till some men, furious at the sight of his peril, scrambled up the remains of the ladder, and cleared away his assailants by the bayonet. On the left of the attack the 86th and 25th native infantry had made their way good through a breach, and had escaladed the neighbouring curtain; and the ladders on the right having been again placed, the wall was rapidly surmounted by the 3rd Europeans and the Hyderabad infantry; and the four columns, driving before them the stoutly-resisting enemy, converged upon the ranee's palace, which had been appointed as the rendezvous, and was defended by 3,000 men. Here the last stand was made, and when the huge building was at length carried, all resistance ceased, and the city lay at the mercy of its captors; but the ranee, who had removed previously, from the palace to the fortress without the city, had fled during the previous night, with 2,000 of her adherents, towards Jaloun. A lamentable catastrophe marred the satisfaction that would have ensued from this success. As the enemy retired, pursued by the British,

a frightful explosion sent conquerors and conquered, masonry, dead bodies, and living men all into the air together. The sepoys had blown up the magazine, and, by this desperate act, nine officers and 200 men were killed and wounded. Not an officer of the 86th regiment escaped without injury. It was now discovered that the ranee had fled, with such of her troops as could break through the cordon which Sir Hugh had endeavoured to draw round the place. In the endeavour of the rest of the garrison to escape, the slaughter was terrible, insomuch that, during the storming of the fort, and pursuit of the garrison, more than 3,000 of the rebels were laid low, besides the 1,500 slain during the battle. Much of this slaughter was within the city itself, for it was believed by the soldiers that the towns-people had favoured the rebels, and countenanced the atrocities perpetrated by them upon the unfortunate Europeans who were murdered in the previous June;* and the men took severe vengeance before their officers could check the waste of life. Of course, all this desperate work could not be carried on without some loss on the part of the British troops also, and many brave but impetuous men fell in the murderous conflict that for some hours raged throughout the streets of the city. Fortunately the sudden evacuation of the fort lessened the chance of serious loss in that quarter, for it was capable of holding out against attack for a long period, had the nerve of the rebels been equal to the trial. In a telegram from Sir Hugh Rose to the governor-general, the former observes—"Jhansie is not a fort, but its strength makes it a fortress; it could not have been breached; and could only have been taken by mining and blowing up one bastion after another." The following details of this spirited achievement are collected from various sources, and as they are evidently the results of personal acquaintance with the subject, may not be deemed uninteresting. The first communication is from a correspondent of the *Bombay Telegraph*, who writes thus:—

"The town of Jhansie was stormed on the 3rd instant, by the first brigade on the left, and by the second brigade on the right. The signal was three guns, just as day dawned. The arrangements appeared to be exceedingly good. The first brigade were told-off in two storming parties of the 86th regiment and 25th native infantry, each with their supports and reserves of the same corps; one to enter the breach on the mound, under Colonel Lowth of the 86th regiment, the other to escalade the wall between that and the fort, under the command of Major Stuart of the 86th. When the signal was given, Major Stuart moved off from behind the battery, where all had been lying down; Lieutenant Edwards, R.E., with his ladders, with a firing and covering party of the 86th regiment in front. The ladders were put to the wall beautifully, and Lieutenant Dartnell of the 86th, with some men, got on the top at once, where the resistance for a short while was desperate—stones, stink-pots, grenades, rockets, and every conceivable missile being hurled at the assailants. Unfortunately, two or three of the cross-bars of the ladders broke, which prevented Lieutenant Dartnell from being supported for a few seconds, and during that time he was nearly cut to pieces; but the men poured over the wall, the enemy gave way, and were closely followed through the streets below. The resistance at the breach was not so great; and one-half the party moved to the right to clear the inside of the walls in the direction of the right attack; the remainder moved to their front, clearing the houses as they went along, until they came to an open space below the fort-gate. Here they killed numbers of men who were making their way to the fort, and in their ardour made a rush at the gate, from which a murderous fire was poured on them, and the men were dropping fast. One of the men fell at the very gateway. As there were no supports up, it was deemed expedient to sound the 'retire;' and, taking their dead and wounded with them, they fell back a couple of hundred yards under cover. That was a fatal rush for the 86th, as two officers and upwards of twenty men were wounded, besides three killed. The fighting was desperate, and the fire from the fort came from upwards of 2,000 men. At the same time a cross-fire from the palace and the adjacent buildings was kept up. Dr. Cruikshank was wounded in the back while dressing a wounded man, by someone from a window behind him; and Dr. Stack of the 86th was shot dead from the fort while performing the same office. The royal sappers were indefatigable, and pulled down walls and made loopholes for the rifles in all directions. During the whole of this time General Rose was walking about among the men as cool and unconcerned as

* See vol. i., p. 273.

nothing was taking place. While the left attack had made such progress, the right had altogether failed; their ladders were too short, except one, and up that one Lieutenant Micklejohn and a man of the 3rd regiment had got, when it broke, and these two were literally cut to pieces. The walls swarmed with the enemy, and they kept up a heavy fire on those below. Lieutenant Fox, Madras sappers, had got to the top of a ladder, but was cut down; and six sappers were killed at the same time. There was some mismanagement about these ladders which has not yet been explained. The party of the 86th regiment, who had moved to their right from the breach, now came up inside, and made short work of the rebels. Thence they moved on the palace; the fighting there was hand-to-hand, inch by inch being disputed by dismounted sowars, who cut with their tulwars in the most determined manner. It was here poor Colonel Turnbull, of the artillery, received his mortal wound, while giving some directions as to the breaking open of some of the doors—a shot from a window above entered his left hip. He was taken to his tent, and died at three o'clock the following morning. The palace was at last broken into, and in the inner court another struggle took place, the rebels fighting to the last. A few of the 86th followed into a low room on the left, and in an instant the whole were blown up. Another party went to the stable-yard, and there never was more desperate fighting seen. This place was filled with sowars, who fought to the death. Many men of the 86th were cut down in attempting to go into the stable after them, and seeing their companions fall drove the others desperate. The general coming up, ordered the place to be set on fire, when the rebels charged out, but were shot down at once; one or two, however, preferred dying in the flames. About thirty horses were taken out of the adjoining stables and stowed away. A chain of pickets was now thrown across the town from the palace to the wall on the north side, thus securing to us one-half of it; but in this half there were many fighting-men concealed; and fighting continued throughout the whole night. While all this was going on in the town, they were not idle in the camp. The whole of the cavalry were in their saddles, and the artillery also were ready to move at a moment's notice; and the left attack kept up a heavy shelling on the fort. Some 500 or 600 of the rebels got over the walls, and made for a rocky eminence about two miles distant, our cavalry pickets keeping them in on every side. While the Bombay artillery were being sent for, up comes Woolcombe with his battery, and the execution he did was frightful. Here were some 500 men on a small hillock, and six guns blazing shrapnel into them. They fell not by twos and threes, but by dozens, and at last implored for mercy; but Woolcombe was as deaf to them as they were to the cries of the Europeans at the 'Jakenbagh' less than a year ago; and when darkness compelled him to desist, nearly 500 human beings lay dead, and the few that did leave were cut up by the pickets. When the 4th dawned on the city, one-half of it was in ashes; but still the report of musketry was heard from different quarters. From the position held by the 3rd regiment (the extreme right of the line of pickets), could be seen the sentries of the enemy on the town wall, about a mile distant; but they did not stay long. The general, with the 24th native infantry, two guns, and some of the 3rd regiment, moved on them along the walls outside; and Brigadier Stuart, with a small party of the 86th, crossed that part of the town of which we had not taken possession; but the rebels did not stand—numbers of them were cut up by the 3rd regiment and the 24th native infantry, the remainder ran, and were cut up by the pickets. In this manner fell the town of Jhansie. That night there was a good deal of firing at the cavalry pickets outside; but altogether the place was quieter than on the night before. At dawn on the morning of the 5th, it was reported that the fort was evacuated. Brigadier Stuart, his staff, and Colonel Lowth, with some thirty men of the 86th regiment, the adjutant of that corps carrying the union-jack, left the palace and marched through the gates of the fort. They then planted the colours in the queen's name, with three times three, on the square tower. So much for the last stronghold of the mutineers. The ranee made her escape at nine o'clock the night before on horseback, with a very small escort. It happened to be the first really dark night since our arrival; but still it is a marvel how she got past the pickets. She has gone to Calpee, and there we hope to come in contact with her. From the time this little army arrived at Jhansie, the 25th

of March, not less than 5,000 men have fallen; but we also have suffered a great deal. There are five officers killed and twenty-five wounded; 200 European soldiers killed and wounded; and a hundred natives. The 86th and 14th dragoons have been the principal sufferers; the former corps alone having had one officer killed and five wounded. Search has been made for the bodies of the Europeans who were murdered, and they have been found exactly in the place pointed out. A mutineer who was present gives a description of how they met their death. It is much the same as we at first heard, except that Captain Skene did not shoot his wife and himself. The quantity of loot in the fort and town is immense; already upwards of fifty lacs have been found."

The following extract vividly describes the assault and capture of the town:—"At two o'clock A.M., on the 3rd, one was awoke with the words 'assault immediately.' We were to storm in three places. At the right attack by the 3rd Europeans with scaling-ladders; at the left attack a party was to storm the breach, and 350 men of the 88th and 25th native infantry, under Major Stuart, of the former, to escalade at another part of the town. The light company of the 88th went first, then a hundred of the 25th native infantry, under Lieutenant Fenwick, and then two reserves of seventy-five men from each regiment. This party got quietly within 350 yards of the wall, which is about twenty-three feet high, just before daylight; and on the signal being given, away they went. We advanced steadily until about 150 yards of the town, when Major Stuart roared out, 'Now, lads, for an Irish yell;' and a yell was given that might frighten Beelzebub himself. A terrible fire was instantly opened upon us, and when we got close to the wall, stinkpots, rockets, and red-hot balls came down upon us in showers, and a good many casualties took place. We, however, managed to place the ladders, and up them rushed Dartnell, 86th; Fowler, 86th; Sewell, 86th; Webber, R.E.; and Stuart, 86th; followed by the men. Dartnell was the first man up, and received four severe sword-cuts. Fowler shot one or two of his opponents, and saved his life; but he will lose the use of his left hand. After some hard fighting, we gained the wall; the party attacking at the breach having got in there without much resistance, came to help us. We then all went on together clearing the town, when we suddenly got under fire from the fort, from which we quickly retired, but not before losing three men killed, and Darby, Sewell, and Holroyd, all of the 86th, with many of their men severely wounded. Sewell was badly hit; but young Jerome, and a man names Burnes, of the 88th, carried him off at the risk of their lives. We then managed to take up a position in a street, and here poor dear Stack was killed, tending a wounded man. Meantime old Lowth, as brave a man as ever lived, had attacked and gained the palace. Here Turnbull, of the artillery, was killed, and a number of our men blown up by a magazine. I went with a hundred men to clear out a part of the town. This house-fighting was no joke; but we killed more than 200 of the enemy. All are full of the praise of the 86th, and richly they deserve it; for no men could have behaved better. They have lost one officer, and twelve men killed, and six officers and eighty men wounded, all but seven most severely. To our great delight, on the morning of the 5th, we found the enemy had left the fort; for had they not done so, we would not have got in for ten years. Dartnell deserves the Victoria Cross, and we all hope he will get it."

Another sharer in the struggle says—"On the 3rd of April, about two in the morning, we were all roused from our beds without a bugle sounding, and were told that Jhansie was going to be taken, which is very large, and lies to the left of the fort. The cavalry and artillery in both camps were to surround the camp side of the fort, and it was, of course, necessarily all infantry work. There were to be four separate attacks, and the cavalry on the opposite side were to make a false attack, to withdraw the enemy. At daybreak in went the infantry on all sides, and the most furious fire of musketry commenced: we could see nothing, of course, with the exception of fires breaking out here and there, then an explosion, then you heard a distant yell and hurrah, and I declare the excitement was so great, we could not remain in our saddles. Soon, however, our excitement was changed, for the dhoolies came pouring in, and we soon saw that much had happened which was not expected—first, the ladders had almost all broken on being mounted; four out of five with the 3rd Europeans, and one with the 86th, connected with which there is a fine story. The young officer, only

nineteen, who was leading, feeling the ladder break, gave a spring into the centre of the enemy, and there stood his ground most splendidly; but not, however, without getting tremendously cut and shot in the body, for it was almost a minute before the brave 86th could get to his rescue: but to hear the fellows speak of him, hardly one could mention him without turning away. His life was saved by his wearing a leather helmet, which was cut all over. The other ladders were not so fortunate, for the sappers who led got in before they broke, and it was long before the 3rd Europeans could get them up, as the brutes were throwing stones and firing heavily upon them. In the meantime, three engineer officers were killed—no, two killed, and one almost dying now. So fearfully hacked, not a vestige hardly left of them—both young fellows, Dick and Micklejohn. Well, when our fellows did at last gain an entrance, they were met on all sides by overwhelming numbers—but what cannot British pluck do? Nothing, from all accounts, could exceed the gallantry shown by every officer and man, and with fearful odds—only one officer escaped being wounded out of all the 86th. Well, our object was the palace; and at last, after tremendous fighting, they reached it, and found 3,000 men defending it. A tremendous rush was made, and it was carried; but in the middle the villains blew up the magazine, killing themselves and many of the 86th. I can give you but a very poor idea of the affair, but you can guess what it was when there was hand-to-hand fighting for four hours, and then killing the rest of the day; they say there could not have been less than 2,000 to 3,000 killed; they are lying in heaps of from 50 to 60. We have suffered severely; but the loot is immense. Six elephants, a great number of horses, the whole of the ranee's jewels (300 pieces), and loads of every description of merchandise, they say, already amounting to some twenty lacs, and the fort is not yet taken. Well, in the meantime the fellows began to escape, and we heard the outposts were cutting up a great number, and of course were anxious to be off ourselves. At last a report came that some hundreds were escaping not far from us. We immediately went off at a canter, with three guns and some infantry, and found the irregulars had killed about fifty, and driven the rest up into a hill which they had surrounded. You never saw fellows in such a trap in your life; and there was no possibility of escape: there they were, waving flags and so on. We wanted them to come down, and some did, but the others hoped it would be dark before we could finish them off, and that then some of them might escape. We shelled them, sent round shot, canister, and every conceivable thing into the midst of them, killing numbers; the infantry then went up (only native), and we could not get them up without much persuasion; but at last they reached the top and swept steadily along; as fast as they sent them to our end, we killed them. At the end there was a sort of cave place, which the infantry could not at first get at; and there only seven were afterwards found, all the rest having been killed. We did not know what to do, as the infantry did not like facing it; and the sun was just setting, when up galloped some messengers, calling out that the 2nd brigade camp was attacked, and that the artillery and cavalry were to move up as fast as possible. Imagine the feeling after having been in our saddles since three in the morning! Away we galloped as fast as we could go; and on reaching the camp found that 4,000 men, with two guns, had really approached it, but that they were the force of the Jeri rajah, who was favourable to us, and was coming to our aid. We were not sorry to find such was the case; and so leaving the fellows in the cave to the 24th native infantry, we returned to our own camp, where I can tell you I slept last night as soundly as any man could sleep in any place whatever. We shall have very hard fighting yet, but a man must be blind indeed not to see that there is an overruling Providence over us. You see men having such wonderful escapes, and indeed the whole force brought out of difficulties almost insuperable. May we be truly thankful for these mercies, and may these fearful scenes work in us that for which they are intended. I speak from sad experience, that they tend much to harden the heart. I cannot describe to you the scenes of bloodshed around me. I have seen death in every form. Yesterday, the poor fellows who were blown up were a most frightful sight, hardly a bit of skin left; and suffering such agonies! A soldier's life on service, though exciting, is a painful one; but we have here the satisfaction of knowing that what is now inflicted by us is no more than well deserved punishment."

In addition to the above the following

account of the conduct of the European soldiers, when once within the place, deserves preservation in a history of the sepoy war. It is given upon the authority of a correspondent of the *Bombay Standard.* "When the town was captured, and the actual fight was over, a great many of the inhabitants were found to be in a state of complete destitution. Both those reputed wealthy, and the very poor were all suffering alike, and it was strange to see our men serving out food for mothers and their children by the light of their blazing houses, and frequently beside the bodies of their slaughtered husbands or parents. Yet such assuredly was the case."

We shall close these interesting extracts, with the following passages from a report of Captain Pinkney, superintendent of the Jhansie district, relative to the barbarities practised near the town in June, 1857:—"I am now at Jhansie, and I have made searching inquiries to ascertain what really took place at the massacre in question, and I find that the circumstances attending it were as follows:—On the officers and others who were in the fort with their families, being unable to hold out longer on account of want of food, they surrendered to the mutineers and rebels, the latter swearing that they would spare the lives of all women and children. No sooner, however, were the fort gates opened, than the mutineers entered, and proceeded to bind the men, whom, with the women and children, they immediately took to a place outside the town wall, called the Jokunbagh. There they separated the men from the others—the women and children being yet unbound. The mutineer cavalry and infantry with the police and some armed servants of the ranee then surrounded their male prisoners, and a scoundrel, named Buckshish Ali, the gaol darogah, commenced the work of slaughter by cutting down Captain Skene, as he stood bound and defenceless before him. This was the signal for the rest, and the whole of the gentlemen were immediately slaughtered. The women and children were next turned upon, and the swords and spears of the cowardly ruffians quickly put an end to their existence. When the atrocity had been thus far perpetrated, the dying and the dead were indiscriminately stripped, and the bodies were then left in the Jokunbagh, until the third day after the massacre, when they were thrown into two pits near a nullah which ran by the place. The females were not taken before the ranee, nor were their faces blackened, nor were they dishonoured as it has been erroneously reported." This statement is valuable, as corroborating in all material points the original statement in these pages.* The total number of Europeans murdered upon this occasion was sixty-seven, of whom one half were women and children. Shortly after the reoccupation of Jhansie by the British troops, Sir Robert Hamilton caused the ground around the place of interment to be cleared, and a wall was built to inclose it, after which, himself and the whole staff of officials at the station on an appointed day attended an impressive funeral service over the remains of the victims of treachery and cowardice.

Continuing the record of the movements and operations of the rebels, it was found that on the 9th of April, the fugitive ranee of Jhansie had arrived at Calpee with about 2,000 men; and at the same time, it was reported that the fort at that place was occupied by an entire regiment of the Gwalior contingent, and that between the fort and town, half another regiment of the contingent, and a new levy of the same strength, with six guns, were in a strong position. Further down the banks of the Jumna, the bridge over which had been destroyed, there were in position 350 men, of a regiment called Godfrey's regiment, the remainder of which was stationed at a point called Indur Chowrassie. Outside the city were 500 Willayatees, and 1,000 newly-raised horse, and inside were 350 Mewatties, and two parties of the same, numbering 150 each, under the command of the rajah of Kurrukpore and another. Twelve elephants were with the force which was under the supreme command of Rao Sahib, nephew of the Nana, during the absence of Tantia Topee. The chief authority in the city was held by a pundit, named Dada Sahib. The force of the ranee of Jhansie was stationed with its two guns at Mur-gaon, a short distance from Calpee, on the Jhansie road, where it threw up entrenchments, and awaited the expected approach and movements of Sir Hugh Rose, whose movements are explained in the following telegrams from that officer:—

"Poonah, 6th May.

"As soon as Jhansie, and my sick and wounded whom I leave there, and the road from Jhansie to Goonah were secured from the advance of the

* See vol. i., pp. 272, 273.

Kotah rebels, and the late garrison of Chundeeree which made incursions on the road after the capture of Jhansie, I marched with the first brigade from Jhansie to Poonch on Calpee. I had previously, on the 21st ultimo, sent Major Gall with two squadrons of the 14th dragoons, and three nine-pounders, on the road to Calpee to watch the movements of the enemy, and to support Major Orr, whom I had sent from Jhansie across the Betwa to Mhow, to clear that part of the country of rebels, and with orders to rejoin me on the road to Calpee. Major Orr found no rebels. My second brigade, with the exception of the portion left for the protection of Jhansie, having joined me to-day, I march to-morrow against Konch, where Tantia Topee and the ranee of Jhansie, have concentrated a considerable force of sepoys, for the purpose of opposing my advance to Calpee. Sir Robert Hamilton, at my request, has written to General Whitlock to move on."

The advance upon Konch took place as intended, on the following day. The rebels had thrown up strong entrenchments for protecting the town from the Aile and Jhansie roads by which Sir Hugh was marching on it. These, however, were carried by a flank movement, and the attack upon the town, and its results are described in the following telegram, dated:—

"Konch, May 8th.

"After having driven the enemy's infantry and cavalry out of the woods into the town, with artillery fire, I stormed the town with my first brigade in skirmishing order, covered on each flank by cavalry and artillery; my second brigade, and Major Orr supporting. The Calpee sepoys, seeing they were on the point of being cut off from Calpee, returned in a mass in that direction, and the town was in our hands in less than an hour.

"I pursued the enemy with horse artillery and cavalry for more than eight miles, the former firing into them, the latter charging them. The artillery and cavalry were so completely exhausted by the long day's march, the intense heat and the day's operations, that they could go no further. We took eight guns and quantities of ammunition and tents. I had few killed or wounded, but some Europeans were among the former, and others as well as officers were struck down by the sun, which was 115 degrees in the shade. I march on Calpee to-morrow."

A subsequent telegram, dated Oraia, May the 10th, states:—

"Four more guns abandoned by the enemy have been taken. The inhabitants of this place report that the sepoys, after their defeat at Konch, passed through there with numerous wounded in a state of despair, declaring that an entire battalion, the 32nd Bengal native infantry, had been destroyed, and now they had no refuge but the Jumna. The enemy's at Konch, according to to-day's account, was 700 killed besides their wounded. We would have destroyed nearly the whole of them, only that the intense heat, and the great fatigue, paralysed the strength of both men and horses."

An officer in the brigade describes the affair at this place, as follows:—

"Konch, May 7th.

"On the evening of the 5th, at camp Poonch, on the Calpee-road, the 2nd brigade, with the addition of 400 men of the 71st regiment, joined us. In the evening orders were issued for the 1st brigade (accompanied by the division head-quarters) to march for the village of Lahorrie, the road to which strikes off to the left, and at nearly right angles with the Calpee-road. At Lahorrie we passed the 6th; and on that evening orders were issued to march on Konch, about nine miles; and it was only then we guessed why we had left the direct road to Calpee; it was a flank movement, caused by information having been received that there were at Konch 2,000 infantry and cavalry (mutineers) with the ranee, Tantia Topee, and several others of note, eleven guns, and some of heavy calibre. As it turned out, the plans seem to have been that the 1st brigade turned the flank of the enemy's position to the left; the 2nd marched on the direct road to it, and Major Orr, who was already on his right flank, closed in, and the position was attacked at the three points at once. This morning our advance guard was stronger than usual, and was composed of one troop of the 14th dragoons, a hundred Hyderabad cavalry, two companies of the 86th, and one company of the 25th regiment, besides a company of sappers, and two guns horse artillery. At dawn on the 7th we arrived at a tope about a mile and a-half from Konch; and halting there, had grog, biscuit, and two hours' rest. The country about was beautiful; a dead level, and every yard turned up for cultivation. The town of Konch stretching for about a mile, and nearly hidden by trees, lay on our right, and from the centre rose the ruins of a fort with a flag flying from a height. At a ruined village close to where we rested were seen, in front of the trees, bodies of the enemy's cavalry, with their sabres glistening in the morning sun, and our advanced guard, as it were, covered the whole of the front between us and the town, both parties intently looking out for a movement from the other. The morning was pleasantly cool, and every one in excellent spirits. About eight o'clock a stir was seen in our advance guard, and sundry horsemen galloping to and fro. Presently the order came for the main body to move to the front. Two troops of the 14th led; the 86th, battery of royal artillery, Woolcombe's battery, and

25th regiment with siege train followed, under the immediate command of Brigadier Stuart. We did not move directly on the town, but parallel to it, and the advance guard stretched out in the same way, the guns leading, and with them the general in front. As we then moved, there was a village with a tope of trees to its left. In the former was a body of the enemy's cavalry, and in the latter some infantry; and had we formed line facing the town, they would have been on our left flank. Instead of that, the line was formed facing them, our right flank covered by the advanced guard. We thus formed two lines at right angles with each other. We advanced towards the village, but did not get a chance of a shot, as both parties scampered off as we advanced. Our infantry now wheeled by sections to the right, and advanced on the town. We had advanced so far in line that we put a small village between us and the town, and up to the right of the village the battery of royal artillery moved and opened with shrapnel on the enemy's advanced cavalry. The first shot knocked over a horse, and instantly they opened out and bolted at a gallop. The infantry formed in quarter distance, and took shade under some trees at the village. The whole of the artillery then moved to the front, and opened a brisk fire at 300 yards. Immediately afterwards, on Major Orr opening upon the right, he was answered smartly; but the delay in answering us, and the bad practice when they did answer, clearly showed that we had turned their guns. This went on for upwards of an hour; in the meantime, Major Gall (14th dragoons) galloped towards the town, and so close, that we at the guns thought he was at the trees. All eyes were intently watching him. Presently, out comes a cavalry man at a gallop, making a great splutter, as these native fellows do; but he pulled up sharp when he found the major did not run from him. Out came several others, but they were allowed to come close up before Gall wheeled round and came galloping back for a troop which was with him. At once he had taken a complete survey of the position of the enemy's cavalry, and well they knew it; for no sooner did they see him coming with his troop, than they took to their heels and have never been seen since—so much for native cavalry. These had all been regulars, and many of them had their uniform on, and nearly all had the regulation sabre. The fire of the enemy having now been drawn, and the position of their guns known, four companies of the 86th were ordered to advance on the town, of which they took possession without much opposition; the two guns that had been firing on us were withdrawn before there was a chance of charging them: the fire continued heavy on the right, the mutineers firing shot for shot. The general, with horse artillery battery, R.A., 14th dragoons, and part of the 86th, went across the town, and, on emerging from the other side, found how matters stood—the men who opposed us at the town were merely the rear-guard of the army, which had left in the direction of Calpee the moment we opened fire, and were by this time two miles off; the rear-guard moved off now, and a hot chase ensued. The whole of the infantry halted in a tope, and the cavalry, horse artillery, and battery, R.A., pursued; but this time they had an enemy of well-trained soldiers to fight against, and men who cared little for their lives. They fired and retired in perfect order; and at the first charge of the 14th, coolly knelt down and delivered their fire at ten yards. Of course the whole of that line was cut up. It was a succession of shrapnel from the artillery, and charges by the 14th, for eight miles, and that was only given up as night came on. The horses were quite done up, the whole of the ground they passed over being ploughed; the plain was strewn with the dead of the enemy, and all in uniform, the numbers of different corps showing how widely the mutineers have been scattered since they first broke out. Upwards of 400 bodies were counted on the plain. After dark, the pursuers came to the new camp, jaded and weary; and before that time the following day, some twelve horses had died of fatigue. The Hyderabad contingent had thirty casualties, killed and wounded of all arms; the 14th dragoons twenty-three killed and wounded; the 86th one wounded and three died of sun-stroke; the 71st seven of sun-stroke; besides these, numbers went to hospital from the heat, which was dreadful, the men had also been on foot since two in the morning, and had marched nine miles. I should have mentioned, that during the pursuit, a woman was killed; her horse had been killed by the artillery, and it is supposed she was shot by

some of her own people, perhaps to prevent her falling into our hands; at all events, her own people looted her, as she was naked when we came up to her. She was stout, fair-skinned, and apparently very handsome; the only wound she had was on the head. She is supposed to have been one of the attendants of the 'ranee.'"

The following extracts also furnish details of the affair at Konch, which will be read with interest:—

"Camp Konch, *en route* to Calpee, 8th May.

"Here we are up to our necks, or knees rather, in blood and warfare. Yesterday's battle was a more brilliant one for our arms than that of the 1st ultimo. This is a lovely spot, and so thickly clustered are the trees, that the enemy had a decided advantage over us. We reached the ground at eight in the morning, and the general not knowing exactly the position the enemy held, threw his cavalry and artillery out in skirmishing order. However, we met some villagers who informed us of the locality; this having been ascertained, he ordered grog and biscuit to be issued, and allowed the troops to rest under the shade of the trees, while he went off himself as usual with some cavalry to reconnoitre, and then formed his plan of attack; the movement was a magnificent one, and looked so in the distance. The infantry, of course, kept up a continual file firing, to hunt out the brutes concealed behind the trees, &c. The enemy consisted of six regiments of the line, many of the men still wearing their old uniforms, and the cavalry and artillery were also numerous. The fellows met us outside the town and fort, and resisted desperately, but after six hours' hard fighting, they had to retire into the town, and then made up their minds to bolt. The 86th and 71st then stormed the place, and shot or bayoneted all the males they found in it. The Calpee road is described as being covered with the bodies of such as attempted to escape. The baneful heat of the sun killed more of our men than the bullet or steel of the enemy. Eight cases of *coup de soleil* in the 86th, and more than twice that number in the 71st. We march at one to-morrow morning for Calpee, and expect to have to fight every inch of the ground; an attack from Maun Sing is also reported as probable. There is a great paucity of medical warrant officers with the force, and the consequence is, some of them are precious hard worked, and what's more, some of their superiors in the department may frequently be seen taking it easy in the dhoolies themselves, but if a poor sub should happen to be caught doing likewise, he is pitched into 'like old gooseberry.' I must not omit to mention a little affair that came off two or three days ago. Hearing that the enemy held a fort at Roharee near our last camping ground, the general sent out a force under Major Gall of the 14th dragoons, to dislodge them. The enemy had only one gun for the defence of the place, and that was soon taken, and the infantry prepared to storm while the cavalry formed a line round it, to prevent the escape of the garrison. The major wished to lead the men into the fort, but was pulled back by some of the 3rd regiment, having first received some ugly blows on the head with stones. Upon entering every male was put to death, one fellow who attempted to effect an escape with his wife, finding it impossible to do so, severed the woman's head at a blow, and then cut his own throat. This is desperate work, and something more than fighting."

After a necessary but short delay to recruit the exhausted energies of the troops, Sir Hugh Rose put his division again in motion for Calpee, and, on the 16th of the month, arrived before that place. Here he joined Brigadier Maxwell, whose column already occupied a position on the left bank of the Jumna, from whence a heavy fire was opened upon the town on the 22nd of May. The fire was to be kept up until 8 A.M. of the 23rd, after which the assault was to be made; but in the course of the 22nd, the rebels, at bay, desperately attacked the front and right wing of Sir Hugh's camp, and the latter arm being hard pressed, the camel corps was brought up, and the enemy being charged with the bayonet took to flight. The English line then moved forward, and the rout became general. Calpee being the last retreat of the rebels in that part of the country, they had sworn to destroy the European force, but after firing a few shots they fled, leaving the town and fort in the hands of Sir Hugh and his victorious troops. The cavalry and horse artillery were forthwith dispatched in pursuit, and coming up with the fugitives destroyed a great number of them, and took all their guns and ammunition. In the town and fort, foundries and manufactories of cannon and small arms were found undamaged, with several brass guns, and in the fort a subter-

raneous magazine was discovered, containing 4,000 barrels of gunpowder, and an immense quantity of ordnance stores.

The subjoined telegram from General Sir Hugh Rose reported the result of the attack on Calpee, and the dispersion of the rebel garrison :—

"Calpee, June 1st, 1858.

"The troops sent by me in pursuit of the Calpee sepoys and rebels took eight guns; of which two are English 9-pounders of the Gwalior contingent, and two others, horse-artillery guns of the rebels. Fifty guns were kept in the fort, of which one was an 18-pounder of the Gwalior contingent; and two are mortars made by the rebels. Twenty-four standards were taken; one of which is the colour of the Kotah contingent; and another a Velaitee standard, most of the rest are the colours of the different regiments of the Gwalior contingent. The subterranean magazine contains ten thousand pounds of English powder in barrels; nine thousand pounds of shot and empty shells. A quantity of eight-inch shot filled with shrapnel; a case of shot, siege and ball ammunition for small arms; entrenching tools of all kinds, tents, new and old, boxes of muskets quite new, flint and percussion, all sorts of ordnance stores in great quantities. The contents of this magazine we supposed to be worth two or three lacs. There are three or four foundries for cannon in the town; with all the requisites of a wheel and gun manufactory. A box has been found containing most important correspondence belonging to the ranee of Jhansie, which throws great light on the revolt and its principal authors. Everything proves that the rebels considered Calpee and arsenal a point of great importance, which they intended to keep to the last; and that they now only abandon it in consequence of the severe defeat which they sustained at Galowlee, on the 20th of May; and the panic caused by the unexpected appearance of my force before Calpee on the following morning. Five or six hundred sepoys were killed in the pursuit, which was checked as usual by the intense heat of the sun, which knocked up men and horses. The sepoys are quite disheartened and disorganised. They throw away their arms, have left their red jackets, and disguised themselves in order not to be known as sepoys."

After the severe punishment inflicted upon the insurgent forces by General Sir Hugh Rose at Calpee, the fugitive rebels, with the ranee of Jhansie, her general, Tantia Topee, and the nawab of Banda, at their head, fled to Indoorkee, on the road to Gwalior, where they were joined by Rahim Ali and Koogar Danlap Sing, who brought with them about 1,500 men, and a few light guns; and here measures were concerted for an attack upon Scindia in his capital, in revenge for the fidelity he had preserved towards the English government. This movement of the rebels will be hereafter described. Meanwhile, it is necessary here to trace the proceedings connected with the assault and capture of Kotah* by the Rajpootana field force, under General Roberts, which was effected almost simultaneously with the reduction of Jhansie by Sir H. Rose, and the details of which brilliant affair are as follow:—The force under General Roberts left Nusseerabad in two brigades, which were united at the city of Boondie, where a visit of ceremony was paid by the rajah, and returned by the general. Leaving this place, the force advanced towards Kotah, the neighbourhood of which was reached early on the morning of the 22nd of March, the encampment being formed on the north-western side of the river Chumbul, which lay between it and the city. A portion of the force detailed for this expedition, consisting of the 8th hussars, which had been dispatched from Bombay on their arrival from England in December, had not up to this time overtaken the column, and other portions of the cavalry arm, and of the artillery, were yet several marches behind the main body when it reached its camping ground. The general did not, however, delay operations on that account, and on the morning of the 24th, the bombardment of the city commenced. The enemy replied with a rapidity and precision that showed they had trained artillerymen amongst their ranks, and no sooner was one of their guns disabled than another was placed in its stead. For three days the fire continued unremittingly, and though the shells were obviously occasioning great havoc, the breaching guns produced no effect whatever, nor did the enemy at all slacken their fire. The fort, a strong building without the walls, on the north side of the town, was still in the possession of the rajah, who continued to hold allegiance to the English government, and was desirous of being released from the thraldom in which for several months he had been kept by his rebellious subjects. He had sent frequent messages explanatory of his situation, and of his desire for emancipation, but for various sufficient reasons, these had not hitherto been noticed. At length, on the arrival of the force, the maharajah came out of his palace fort to meet the general, again protesting fidelity to his engagements, inviting the former to occupy the fort, and beseeching him to bombard the city from that point, as likely to be most destructive. On the 27th of March, therefore, the whole of the British artillery crossed the Chumbul and were received into the fort surrounding

* See *ante*, p. 159.

the palace, which was included within the *enceinte* of the town, being divided from the other buildings merely by a rampart with towers. From this position the vertical fire of the besiegers became terrific. Many parts of the town were in flames at the same time, while explosion followed explosion in quick succession, and by the 30th it was considered practicable to storm the place. Three columns of attack were accordingly detailed; the right, commanded by Colonel Parke, consisted of 250 of the 72nd highlanders, and the like number of the 12th native infantry; the second column, led by Colonel Holmes, embraced corresponding numbers of her majesty's 83rd regiment and the 12th native infantry; and the third column of equal strength, selected from her majesty's 95th regiment and the 10th native infantry, was under the command of Colonel Baines. The reserve, under Brigadier Macan, consisted of 200 of the 83rd, 100 of the 95th, and 250 of the 13th native infantry—each of the three columns were provided with engineer officers. Sappers and European pioneers, and all were supplied with one day's provisions and 120 rounds of ammunition for each man. Thus prepared, shortly after midnight of the 30th of March, the first column began to cross the river in boats, and on rafts entering the fort from the rajah's palace. At daybreak the whole of the guns and mortars, and every piece of ordnance that could be made available, opened upon the town, and kept up an unceasing cannonade until nine o'clock. It had been designed that a breach of forty feet should be established in the wall dividing the palace from the town, through which the first and second columns were to pass; the third column and the reserve entering the town by a gate which was to be blown open. The strength of the wall was, however, so great that time could not be spared to effect the desired breach, and the entire force was ordered to force admission by the gate. The sappers executed the orders given to them with admirable precision, and at noon an explosion at the Canton gate announced that the object had been attained. The troops, with a deafening cheer, rushed through the smoking ruins, trampling down every obstacle in their way. The entrance being thus effected, the first and second columns pushed on to the right, and the third to the left, the reserve remaining near the gate. In consequence of timely information, the main street of the city, leading from the gate through its centre, was fortunately avoided, as formidable preparations had been made to receive the troops by mining it, and by placing at every convenient angle groups of loaded gun barrels, mounted in frames, and ready to be discharged when the troops were close to them. Nearly every street was doubly barricaded with cannon in position, to sweep the space before them with grape. Had not the warning been given, the destruction of the larger portion of the troops must have been inevitable. As the columns pressed on and occupied the bastions, the enemy found themselves taken in the rear, and seeing the tactics on which they had depended entirely frustrated, they ceased to offer resistance, and fled in all directions. A mass of them, who were not yet aware of their dangerous proximity to the third column, retreated by a route which brought them within a quarter of a mile of it, and suffered severely from the rifles. A great number of the fugitives managed to get out of the city by lowering themselves from the walls by ropes that had been evidently kept in readiness for the emergency. As soon as the whole of the bastions were occupied the troops had the complete command of the town, and proceeded to clear the houses of the armed men concealed in them. In one of these ten men had fortified themselves, and seemed determined to hold their position; and as there appeared to be no other way of dislodging them, the building was mined, and blown up with all it contained. When at length the carnage ceased, for want of men to be shot down, or blown into the air, it was computed that not more than 100 of the enemy had fallen, there having been a humane exception to the rules of war with the sepoys, as shown by the fact that 500 rebel prisoners were among the trophies of the day; fifty-seven pieces of cannon, most of them of brass and of large calibre, fell into the hands of the victors, whose loss consisted of one officer, (Lieutenant Hancock, of the engineers,) and six sappers, who were blown up by the explosion at the Canton-gate, and fourteen others killed, and about forty wounded in the assault. The cavalry brigade, which had joined the force on the night of the 29th, with some Goojerat irregular horse, altogether numbering about 1,200 sabres, and a troop of horse artillery, with sixteen guns, was ordered, on the 30th, to cross the river

at a ford about six miles down the river, and there await orders, the general having been induced to believe that the fugitive rebels would attempt to cross at the ford and nowhere else. The enemy, however, appeared to have no intention to cross at any given point, as they left the town by the side furthest from the river, and were enabled to pursue their course undisturbed over a vast unbroken plain, some fifteen or twenty miles in extent, where not a man could have escaped the swords and lances of the cavalry. The town was completely evacuated four hours before sunset, and the enemy, to the number of 6,000, who had with them their wives and children, with some millions-worth of property, and ten guns, might easily have been overtaken, had the cavalry been at once moved from its distant and useless position; but it was not until forty-eight hours had elapsed after their flight, that the cavalry received orders to follow; and they were then, as might have been expected, useless for the purpose of interception, although they recovered six of the ten guns carried off by the fugitives.

The victorious troops bivouacked, on the night of the 1st of April, in the streets of Kotah, throwing out the necessary pickets, and manning the bastions, and plundering was strictly repressed. Shortly after the capture of the town, Captain Bazalgette, of the 95th, was dispatched with a column to occupy an intrenched camp of the enemy to the south-eastward of the place; and, during the same afternoon, he was joined by Captain Bainbrigge, brigade-major, for the purpose of reporting the quantity of ammunition in camp. On examining one of the buildings a terrific explosion occurred, and the two officers, with several of their men, were blown up, their mangled bodies not being recovered till the following day. Immediately after this occurrence two natives were cut down by some officers of the 95th, as they were endeavouring to make their escape with lighted fusees in their hands, and there was little reason to doubt that the explosion had been the result of design. A brigade was now encamped on each side of the river, and the troops within the town were speedily established in quarters, and then a commission was appointed to investigate the conduct of the rajah, on the occasion of the murder of Major Burton, the political agent, and his sons, in the previous October.* The residency buildings, occupied by the ill-fated gentleman, almost adjoined the walls of the fort, within which the palace of the rajah was situated, and the shouts and firing of the tumultuous rabble, and the mutineers of the contingent, while engaged in their murderous exploit, must have been heard within the royal residence, but no succour was afforded or interference attempted. The rajah now declared that he was unable to protect the victims in consequence of the outrageous insubordination of his troops, and the violence of the townspeople who had conceived a deadly animosity to the resident and his family. He averred that he would gladly have given assistance personally to defend the unfortunate gentlemen, but was restrained from doing so. No proof to the contrary could be obtained, and one statement of his highness was clearly verified, namely, that after the murder he had given decent interment to the remains of the deceased within the burial-ground of the residency; for, upon the graves being opened for verification, this proved to have been the case. The rajah was, consequently, acquitted of the charge of complicity in the murders, for want of evidence.

The following account of the capture of Kotah, was furnished by an officer of rank in the attacking column:—

"On the afternoon of the 29th of April, orders were issued for the attack and assault on the next day; and the following arrangements were made for the different columns:—

"Right column, under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Park, H.M.'s 72nd; 250 of H.M.'s 72nd highlanders, and 250 of the 12th native infantry.

"Second column, commanded by Lieutenant-colonel Holmes, 12th native infantry; 250 of H.M.'s 83rd regiment, and 250 of the 12th native infantry.

"Third column, under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Raines, H.M.'s 95th; 250 of H.M.'s 95th regiment, and 250 of the 10th native infantry.

"Reserve, under the command of Brigadier Macan; 200 of H.M.'s 83rd regiment, 100 of H.M.'s 95th regiment, and 250 of the 13th native infantry.

"Each of the columns had two engineer officers, with a portion of sappers, a supply of tools, powder-bags, with the pioneers of the European regiment with it; and two mountain-train howitzers brought up the rear of each attacking column. The in-

* See *ante*, p. 159.

pression was, that the enemy would show hard fighting; consequently, each man had one day's provisions, and 120 rounds of ammunition with him. At one o'clock in the night of the 29th, or morning of the 30th, the first column commenced to cross over to the rajah's right bank, and take up positions in that part of the town, and by seven o'clock, the whole of the 3rd column and the 13th native infantry—which had to join the reserve, the 83rd and 95th forming part of it, having already been in the town some three or four days before—were safely landed without an accident of any kind. The troops crossed in boats belonging to the rajah, and on rafts, each holding about forty men, made by the engineers with arrack barrels, brought with us from Ajmere, the enemy only firing two shots soon after daylight at the 95th's parties as they crossed the river, but happily without effect. The plan of attack was, that the artillery should commence firing at daylight from every piece available, both of ours and the rajah's, and continue the bombardment as quick as possible till 9 o'clock A.M., or until the order for the assault was given. It was intended that the first column should pass out of the rajah's portion of the town to the attack. A breach of forty feet in the wall of the works was to be made by three mines by our engineers; the second column was also to make its exit by the same means; the third column by the Khetonepole-gate, which had also to be blown out, and the reserve to follow; but the engineers having discovered that the wall near the first column was so thick it would take a considerable time to excavate the mines sufficiently deep to crumble it, it was determined to abandon this design, and that all the columns should pass out of the Khetonepole. At about twelve o'clock the powder-bags were placed, the fuse lighted, and soon after rockets flew into the air as a signal, followed by an explosion—the gate was clear. Out our men poured in quick succession, though with the utmost steadiness, each brigadier at the head of his column, sword in hand, the first and second leading to the right, the third to the left, while the fourth remained in reserve. In one half hour afterwards, the whole of the town immediately in front of the attacking party was in our possession. The first column, having routed the enemy from their bastions, occupied the Soorujpole-gate, thus taking the rebels quite in rear, who, not being aware that the third column was to the left, crossed its front at 400 yards, when a great number were killed by the Enfield rifles of the 95th. Others seeing that they would have to run the gauntlet, made for the bastions, and effected their escape over the walls by ropes, which had apparently been in readiness for this purpose; and one man, who was mounted (I was told by an officer who saw him), in a paroxysm of frenzy, spurred his horse to the rampart, and jumped clear over, a fall of fifty feet. Both horse and rider I saw afterwards at the foot of it outside, killed. After occupying the bastions and commanding houses, we proceeded to clear the latter; and in one, some eight or ten men were found fully armed and prepared to fight, and as they could not be dislodged, Colonel Parke desired the sappers to mine the angles (it was here that the 72nd lost two men in the attempt), which being done, the party were blown up, as it was quite impossible to leave them in our rear. It was afterwards discovered that Lalla Sing (brother of Hera Sing, the commander of the rebels) was among the number in that house; it was his head-quarters. Nearly in every street was a gun in position to sweep it, with, in many instances, double barricades in front; and here and there, by the guns, infernal machines, with fifty barrels each, loaded half way up, and duly primed. The first division captured sixteen guns, the second eight, the third fourteen; in all, fifty-seven guns (two-thirds of which are brass of the heaviest metal) have been taken. Some of the iron ones, mounted in commanding positions at the angles of the walls on high bastions, are of the largest calibre and size, throwing heavier shot than our 68's. We took upwards of 500 prisoners, all of whom have been handed over to the political agent; some of them are recognised as condemned convicts, who have been freed by the rebels to work the guns. That night the columns bivouacked in the town, throwing out pickets and occupying the bastions, and a harder day's work we never had. The number of our killed and wounded has not, happily, been many, but I am unable to give the exact numbers. Poor Hancock, of the engineers, and some five or six European sappers, were blown up at one of the gates; four of the latter, belonging to Captain Cumberland's 11th company, royal engineers, were killed, and

Hancock, though much burnt, is, I am glad to say, doing well. All our soldiers, both European and native, were prevented looting, while the rajah's people were allowed to take what they pleased, even to drive off through the gates the finest oxen past our guards. On the morning of the 30th nearly all the cavalry of Captain Petrie's troop of horse artillery were sent to cross the ford some six miles lower down the river, and take up a position. They mustered nearly 1,000 strong, with six guns; and, I believe, received instructions to intercept the enemy when retreating; but strange to say, they were in the same place forty-eight hours after the enemy had fled from the town and evacuated his intrenched camp on the other side of it, still inactive; and it was not till fifty-two hours had elapsed that they commenced to pursue them. We have heard that their inactivity arose from the want of sufficiently distinct orders from the major-general, as I know that the 8th hussars, Scinde horse, and irregular beloochees were most anxious for the chase. The rebels are said to be still 4,000 infantry, with 1,000 cavalry, and ten guns strong. They are reported to be much hampered with loot, and are said to have six crores of rupees with them. It is believed the general has received intelligence that they are marching on Salumba, an impregnable hill-fort cut out of the solid rock; but whether we shall go after them or not is unknown. Major the honourable A. Massey, 95th regiment, has been appointed commandant in the town. and I believe that the rajah has been required to pay twenty-five lacs for its redemption; if he fails, it is said then we shall annex it. I have now to tell you of a most melancholy event which happened on the afternoon of the 1st. Captain Bazalgette, of the 95th regiment, had been sent with his company on the previous morning to occupy the enemy's camp on the south-east side of the town. On the afternoon of the 1st, Captain Bainbrigge, the brigade-major 1st brigade, visited Captain Bazalgette, for the purpose of reporting to Brigadier Macan the quantities of ammunition in the enemy's camp. Both officers left together to examine the houses, when, soon after entering one of them a cracking noise was heard, and a terrific explosion took place. There is too much reason to suppose that the house was fired on purpose, as two men were killed by one of the 95th as they were escaping with burning fuses in their hands. The remains of the two officers, whose bodies were so burnt that they could scarcely be recognised, were only found yesterday morning among the ruins. They were buried together in one coffin in the afternoon, followed by all the officers of the 1st brigade, with the band of the 10th, and a firing party of 130 rank and file from the 95th regiment, in the consecrated Christian burial-ground near the residency."

On the morning of the 10th of April the column began to break up; some of the siege guns were conducted to Nusseerabad under escort, and preparations were made for distributing the force, with the exception of the 92nd and 95th regiments, which were to be left to garrison Kotah.

CHAPTER XI.

MOVEMENTS OF SIR COLIN CAMPBELL; SIR JAMES OUTRAM AND THE CHIEF COMMISSIONERSHIP OF OUDE; THE BRITISH FORCE AT LUCKNOW; ITS ARRANGEMENT; GENERAL WALPOLE AND THE ROHILCUND FIELD FORCE; GENERAL SIR HOPE GRANT'S COLUMN; THE MOULVIE OF FYZABAD; PLAN OF THE ROHILCUND CAMPAIGN; THE ROORKEE FIELD FORCE; MOORADABAD; ARREST OF REBEL CHIEFS BY BRIGADIER JONES; MILITARY DESPATCHES; ADVANCE OF GENERAL WALPOLE; THE FORT OF ROODAMOW; DEATH OF BRIGADIER ADRIAN HOPE; GENERAL WALPOLE'S DESPATCH; CORRESPONDENCE; AFFAIR WITH REBEL FORCE AT SIRSA; PASSAGE OF THE RAMGUNGA AT ALLYGUNGE; THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF IN ROHILCUND; ADVANCE TO SHAHJEHANPORE AND BAREILLY; DEATH OF GENERAL PENNY AND SIR WILLIAM PEEL; MOHUMDEE; FUTTEGHUR; CLOSE OF THE CAMPAIGN; CONGRATULATORY ADDRESS TO THE ARMY.

In order satisfactorily to trace the operations which, after the reduction of Lucknow, came directly under the supervision of the commander-in-chief personally, it will be expedient to revert briefly to the circumstances which occurred at the head-

quarters of the army in Oude, immediately previous to his departure from Lucknow for the campaign in Rohilcund, &c.

On the 2nd of April, Sir Colin Campbell, whose individual personal comforts were less studied by him than were those of the meanest soldier under his command, removed from the inconvenient quarters he had till then occupied at the back of the Martinière, to the Tera Kotee (House of the Stars, or Observatory), within the enclosure round which, and the adjacent buildings, the tents of the head-quarters' camp were pitched. The change, though more convenient as a centre for the heads of divisions, was by no means for the better as regarded wholesomeness, as the air around was foully tainted by the effluvium from the numerous bodies that were lying half buried and decomposing near the surface of the ground; but the rooms of the houses —windowless, doorless, and shattered by shot and shell—still yielded shelter from the intense heat of the weather, and were gladly occupied as offices for the various departments of the army. The arrival at Lucknow of Mr. Montgomery (appointed chief commissioner of Oude, in the place of Sir James Outram), was announced by a salute of artillery on the 3rd; and, on the following day, a similar salute proclaimed the departure of Sir James Outram from the scene in which, from the 24th of the previous September, he had occupied a distinguished position. Assuming the best test of a general's merits to consist in the opinion entertained of him by the officers and men he commands, Sir James Outram would take a high position in the scale of military worth; for men of all ranks in the camp were unanimous in the expression of personal regard, and recognition of his military qualifications. In his administrative character he was not so justly appreciated; and the humane principle upon which his policy as chief commissioner of Oude was based, was the reverse of popular among men whose passions were inflamed by recent conquest, and by remembrance of the barbarities of a treacherous enemy, whose crimes, in their opinion, could only be atoned for by the inflictions and endurance of a merciless severity. Such, however, was not the view taken by Sir James Outram of the course necessary to be pursued, if the pacification and permanent occupation of Oude was to be effected. So far back as the month of September, he had recommended to government that tribunals should be established for the trial of sepoys who might surrender, and who had not been guilty of murder. In a letter from him at that time to Mr. J. P. Grant, who had been entrusted with a special mission in the North-West Provinces of Bengal, he wrote—"It is high time to show we do not propose to wage war to the knife, and to extermination, against all Hindoos because they are Hindoos, or against all sepoys because they are sepoys." Happily for the people of India, the policy for which Sir James Outram contended, was adopted by the government; and Mr. Montgomery, armed with large powers of amnesty and forgiveness to all who deserved either, was sent to replace the able soldier who desired to bind the olive round his sword, and who, while prepared to strike down rebellion, was also anxious to temper justice with mercy, when the latter attribute of heaven could be shown.

On the 5th of April, the final arrangements for some definite occupation of Lucknow were completed. The garrison was constituted so as to allow of a portion of it being always ready and available for small expeditions against parties of the enemy in the neighbourhood; while a large column was organised for a movement towards the west of Oude, which would serve to inaugurate the Rohilcund campaign.

The disposition of the force immediately under the command of Sir Colin Campbell was as follows:—

The Lucknow Garrison (under the command of Major-general Sir Hope Grant).

"*Artillery and Engineers.*—F troop, royal horse artillery (D'Aguilar's); 1st troop, 1st brigade, Bengal artillery (Olpherts'); 5th company, 12th battalion, royal artillery, No. 20 field battery (Gibbon); 2nd company, 3rd battalion, Bengal artillery field battery No. 12 (Carton); 3rd company, 8th battalion, royal artillery, and 6th company, 11th battalion, with heavy guns; 4th company, royal engineers; three companies, 4th Punjabees and Delhi pioneers.

"*Cavalry.*—2nd dragoon guards, Lahore light horse, 1st Sikh cavalry, Hodson's horse.

"*Infantry.*—H. M.'s 20th regiment, H. M.'s 23rd royal Welsh fusiliers, H. M.'s 38th regiment, H. M.'s 53rd regiment, H. M.'s 90th light infantry, H. M.'s 97th regiment, 1st Madras fusiliers, head-quarters of the 27th Madras native infantry, 5th Punjab infantry."

The Oude Field Force (under the command of Brigadier-general Walpole).

"*Artillery* (Colonel D. Wood commanding).—2nd troop, 1st brigade, Bengal artillery (Tombs); head-quarters, 3rd brigade, Bengal horse artillery (Brind); 2nd troop, 3rd brigade, Bengal horse

artillery (Mackinnon); 3rd troop, 3rd brigade, Bengal horse artillery (Remmington); 6th company, 13th battalion, royal artillery (Middleton); 5th company, 13th battalion, royal artillery (Talbot); 4th company, 1st battalion, Bengal artillery (Francis); 1st company, 5th battalion, Bengal artillery; 23rd company, royal engineers, Bengal sappers and miners, head-quarters, 24th Punjab infantry.

"*Cavalry* (Brigadier Hagart commanding).—H. M.'s 7th hussars, H. M.'s 9th lancers, 2nd Punjab horse, detachments of the 1st and 5th Punjab cavalry.

"*Infantry*.—1st Brigade (Hon. Adrian Hope).—H. M.'s 42nd, H. M.'s 79th, H. M.'s 93rd regiment, 4th regiment Punjab rifles.

"2nd Brigade (Horsford).—2nd battalion and 3rd battalion rifle brigade, 1st Bengal fusiliers, 2nd Punjab infantry."

Azimgurh Field Force (*Sir E. Lugard commanding*).

"*Artillery* (Colonel Riddell).—Half E troop royal horse artillery (Anderson), Cotter's battery Madras field artillery, 8th company, 2nd battalion royal artillery, 1st company royal engineers, sappers and miners.

"*Cavalry*.—2nd battalion military train (Robertson), 3rd Sikh cavalry, 12th irregular cavalry.

"*Infantry* (Brigadier Douglas).—H. M.'s 10th regiment, H. M.'s 34th regiment, H. M.'s 84th regiment, and regiments already serving in the district, most probably the 54th regiment; H. M.'s 37th, and H. M.'s 13th light infantry. There is also General Penny's force at Casgunge.

"The 75th regiment *en route* to Meerut, H. M.'s 32nd *en route* to Benares; H. M.'s 5th, Cawnpore; H. M.'s 64th at Allygurh and Bolundshuhur, and the 88th at Ukhberpore.

"Seaton's Force.—Four field batteries royal artillery, H. M.'s 84th regiment, Alexander's horse, and H. M.'s 78th moving up towards Furruckabad."

Besides these troops, there was the division under Brigadier Whitlock, *en route* for Banda; that of Rose, coming down from Calpee; and that of Coke; with some smaller bodies near the Ramgunga and western Ganges. With these troops, it was imagined, the commander-in-chief could march across India in any direction, regardless of every obstacle except that of climate. It was not remembered, that when planting his victorious flag upon the strongholds of insurrection, he could yet only deem himself master of the ground actually covered by his troops; for the hearts of the people were against him and the cause for which he fought.

It was known that the greater portion of the rebel army of Lucknow had, upon its retirement from that city, fled into Rohilcund (a province lying to the north-west of Oude), where they had congregated to the number of some 24,000 or 26,000, the principal portion of them being in and around Bareilly; and thither, accordingly, the attention of the commander-in-chief was now directed. At this period the river Ganges was in its periodic course of rising, and would have the effect, for a time, of circumscribing the movements of the enemy along its course. The ghauts would soon be no longer fordable; and as all boats and means of passage to or from the province would presently be wholly in the hands of the British commanders, the concentration of the enemy in Rohilcund was looked upon as most favourable towards the early subjugation of the whole country; inasmuch as, once there, defeat was certain, and escape next to an impossibility. The Ganges forming an impassable barrier on the east, the mountain-ranges on the north, and the converging columns of the British forces on the south and west, marked the limits of the territory within which the fires of rebellion were now to be trampled down.

The force to be led out from Lucknow for this purpose was placed under the command of General Walpole, until the arrangements of the commander-in-chief should enable him to join the division and take the command personally; and its object was to clear the whole of the left bank of the Ganges as far as the frontiers of Rohilcund, moving in concert with the forces under the Brigadiers Coke and Seaton. It was calculated that by the time General Walpole had reached the frontier, the commander-in-chief would be at Futteghur or Furruckabad, with such troops as could be spared from Cawnpore; and that the force under General Penny would also be available in the advance upon Bareilly, where it was believed Nana Sahib had sought refuge, and where also the main hopes of the enemy were understood to rest. Their position at this time was far from encouraging, Bareilly being an open straggling town without natural defences, and depending solely upon the fort or citadel in its centre, of the positive condition of which for the purposes of defence, no reliable information could be obtained, although it was known that the rebels were casting guns in the town at the rate of one per diem, and were also manufacturing a coarse gunpowder in great quantities. They were also represented as dispirited by the continuous reverses they had sustained, as well as by the conduct, individually, of their leaders. Khan Bahadoor Khan, to whom the insurgents now looked as their principal leader, was fast declining in health, and his age and habits precluded any hope of vigour in his operations. The ranee of Jhansie was a fugitive among the disheartened rebels of

Calpee. The begum was daily losing strength by the defection of her ill-paid adherents; and, with the moulvie, retreating as the British troops advanced; while Koer Sing was all but surrounded by the column under Sir Edward Lugard, and the chiefs yet faithful to British rule on his flanks and front.

Such, then, was the state of affairs as regards pending military operations at the commencement of April, 1858.

On the evening of the 6th of the month, instructions were issued to prepare the division commanded by General Walpole for the field, and also for the organisation of an expedition, under Sir Hope Grant, against the moulvie and his followers at Bitowlee. On the morning of the 7th, the column under Brigadier Seaton defeated a body of the enemy at Bandoan, driving them across the Ramgunga; and, at the same time, Walpole's force marched out of Lucknow, taking the direction of Shahjehanpore—the principal town of a district of the Upper Provinces, forty-three miles S.S.E. of Bareilly; having with them two months' provisions: and orders were given for the siege-train to move up from Cawnpore towards Futteghur.

The column placed under the command of Sir Hope Grant, consisted of H.M.'s 38th foot, a battalion of the rifle brigade, a regiment of Sikhs, H.M.'s 9th lancers, a small body of reliable native cavalry, two troops of horse artillery, and a small siege and mortar train. It was believed that the moulvie of Fyzabad had collected a force at Baree, about thirty miles north of Lucknow; and that the begum of Oude, with several cart-loads of treasure, had fled for concealment to Bitowlee, the territory of a rebel chief named Gorhueens Sing; and against these bodies the efforts of Grant were to be directed. On the 11th of April he marched out of Lucknow upon his expedition, having with him Brigadier Horsford as second in command. On the 13th the troops approached Baree; but had scarcely arrived within sight of the place, when the cavalry of the moulvie got into their rear, and boldly attempted to cut off the baggage-train, which consisted of no less than 6,000 hackeries, or vehicles of various kinds, and formed a continuous line of nearly twenty miles. The attempt was made with much determination, but it was unsuccessful, though the rear-guard was sorely pressed, and found some difficulty in repelling the attack, and protecting the baggage and followers. Ultimately the rebel force was beaten off, leaving in the hands of the British troops several guns, and on the field the bodies of some score or two of their men. The moulvie himself, it was reported, led the attack upon the rear guard; but finding the chances of the day adverse to him, took care to provide for his personal safety by a timely flight. The following description of this affair is given by an eye-witness of it:—"The advanced force fell in with a picket of sowars, and fired into them. We saw afterwards a man and a horse lying dead. The sowars were close, and we saw them going away as fast as they could. Ahead we soon saw large bodies of the rebel cavalry with horse guns. The enemy were scattered about in front and to the left. We found out that they were the 10th and 12th irregulars. At one time they came so close that our horse artillery guns and field guns, supported by our cavalry, came into action and dispersed them. They did not fire a shot. After coming on so bravely, a large body went away to our right flank, and tried to cut off our baggage. The moulvie, it is said, was with them, and made a charge on our cavalry, consisting of two squadrons of the 7th hussars, who were sent in chase of them. Some say the 7th dragoons did the work at once—others that they had to retire twice to form up; when formed up, they charged and drove away the sowars. I believe the 7th lost five killed and wounded. While this was going on the column was formed in battle order, and the advance ordered after great delay in bringing up the heavy guns. We could see the enemy's infantry occupying a village in great numbers, and the cavalry scattered over an immense plain: as the skirmishers advanced, the enemy opened a musketry fire on them, but did not stand when the fire commenced on our side. We saw none of them that day, except at long distances, scattered about."

After this skirmish the division encamped for a brief space of time at Baree; and it being then ascertained that the begum and moulvie had separated, the Seetapore line of march was abandoned, and a pursuit commenced in an eastward direction, with a hope of intercepting the flight of the begum and Mummoo Khan, with their train of rebels and reported treasure; but was unsuccessful, the former having fled northward, and the latter to the west. On the 19th

the troops reached Ramnuggur; and as no certain intelligence of the begum's movements could be obtained, General Grant returned by easy marches to Lucknow, *viâ* Nuwabgunge, where he found the Ghoorkas busily occupied in preparing for departure, with their baggage and plunder, to Nepaul. Grant's force re-entered Lucknow on the 24th of April, without effecting the object of the expedition, but with its numbers seriously diminished by the burning rays of an Indian sun.

The plan of the commander-in-chief for the Rohilcund campaign comprised a double line of action; namely, the advance of one column north-westward from Lucknow, and the advance of another south-eastward from Roorkee; the two columns to assist in clearing the border districts of Rohilcund, and then to meet at Bareilly, the chief city of the province. The force from Roorkee was under the command of Brigadier Jones, and numbered altogether 3,000 men, with eight heavy and six light guns, the infantry portion being under the orders of Major Coke. This column marched from Roorkee on the 15th, and made its arrangements for crossing to the left bank of the Ganges as speedily as possible. Learning that a considerable body of the enemy had intrenched themselves at Nagul, about sixteen miles below Hurdwar (on the left bank), the brigadier made his dispositions accordingly. Sending his heavy guns and baggage to the ghât opposite Nagul, he crossed with his main body at Hurdwar, and marched down the river to the other side, thus taking the enemy's position in flank. The plan was completely carried out by the evening of the 17th, when he attacked the rebel force, which evacuated the town and intrenchment, and fled, leaving a great number of killed and wounded behind them. By this successful manœuvre, Brigadier Jones was enabled to encamp his force on the Bareilly side of the river, which no longer interposed between him and his final destination. On the 18th he resumed his march, and on the 22nd encountered a strong force of the Duranuggur rebels in position on the banks of a canal near Nageena or Nugeenah, forty-seven miles N.N.W. of Moradabad. The insurgents, aware of the approach of the British column, suddenly opened fire upon it from nine guns they had in position, without, however, checking the advance of the troops. By a judicious flank movement the cavalry swept down upon the rebels, while the infantry charged their front; and the result was the immediate flight of the enemy, leaving all their guns and six elephants in possession of the victors. The loss of life sustained on the part of the rebels was serious; on that of the British it was inconsiderable. The brigadier then pursued his march towards Moradabad, a town in the direct route to Bareilly; and which, owing to the influence possessed by the rajah of Rampore, in its vicinity, had hitherto been preserved from insurrection. When about three marches from Moradabad, information was received in the camp, that on the 21st of the month, Feroze Shah, one of the shahzadahs or princes of Delhi then in league with the Bareilly rebels, had arrived before Moradabad, to demand supplies of money and stores for the rebel army; and being refused, had entered the city after some opposition, and commenced plundering it, but was arrested in his violence by reports of the advancing column of British troops. The object of the shahzadah was to avoid fighting with the British under existing circumstances, and he hastily retired from the place; which he had scarcely cleared, when Brigadier Jones's column came up, and, entering the town, put an end to the plundering, and drove out such of the pillagers as escaped the bullet or the sword. The main body was then encamped without the town, while a strong portion of the infantry, led by Lieutenant-colonel Coke, was dispatched into it, to make diligent search for a number of rebel chieftains known to be concealed there. The search was highly successful, owing to the officer in command placing cavalry at all the outlets of the city, to prevent escape, and then breaking into and searching such houses as had been indicated as the retreat of the rebel chiefs. One of these personages was secured under circumstances of peculiar daring on the part of his captor. The Nawab Hossein Mujjoo Khan, who had long been considered a leader of the disaffected in this quarter, had arrogantly caused himself to be proclaimed nawab of Moradabad; and during the visit of the shahzadah, as well as at an earlier period, had instigated the people to murder and plunder the Europeans in the place. To the house, or rather fortalice, of this chief, Colonel Coke therefore proceeded, having with him two guns, a party of sappers, and the 1st Punjab infantry. The soldiers of the rebel guard stood upon their

defence, and many of them, including the son and nephew of the chief, were shot down. Lieutenant Angelo, who was with the attacking party, then burst open the door of the apartment in which the nawab and another of his sons were concealed, and made them prisoners; but while thus occupied, he was fired upon from an upper chamber, whereupon he rushed upstairs, again forced a door, and entered the room alone, shooting down three men as he approached them; and some of his men then coming up, the whole of the guard were secured. In the course of this search, twenty-one rebel chieftains were captured, and brought into the brigadier's camp for final disposal.

The following despatches, to the deputy-adjutant-general, from Brigadier-general John Jones, commanding the Roorkee field force, detail the operations above referred to:—

"Camp, Moradabad, 28th April, 1858.

"Sir,—The day following the action of Nugeenah (on the 22nd) the column moved to Dhampoor, and on the 23rd I struck into the high road from Moozuffernuggur to Moradabad at Noorpoor, with the view of nearing the Ganges in case the enemy should halt in their flight, and attempt to pass my right flank, and get into the Bijnoor district. I found the people on the road much more friendly; some of the villagers had turned out against the enemy's cavalry, and cut up about thirty, taking a gun also which had broken down. Directions were forwarded to the officer commanding the troops watching the ford at Duranuggur, to cross and occupy Bijnoor. Mr. A. Shakspear, the collector of the district, left my camp at Noorpoor for Bijnoor. I must here record my thanks to Mr. Shakspear for the able assistance he has rendered me: his knowledge of the country is considerable, and the exertion he has made to obtain intelligence and supplies indefatigable. The column marched to Chujlite on the 24th: intelligence reached me on the road that Moradabad had been occupied by Feroze Shah, son of the late emperor of Delhi, with 2,500 followers. It appeared that he had defeated the troops of Rampore on the 22nd instant, under the nawab's nephew, taking his guns. Some of the nawab's troops had acted treacherously, and gone over to the enemy.

"On the morning of the 25th I marched for Moradabad; on nearing the town I was met by the brother of the nawab of Rampore. He had marched a body of troops from Rampore on Moradabad, and defeated Feroze Shah, who, hearing of our approach, evacuated Moradabad and retreated on Bareilly, taking his own and the guns captured with him. I encamped on the racecourse. Under the direction of Brigadier Coke, the town was occupied by infantry and cavalry, and a diligent search made for the rebel chiefs about whom he had obtained information. This search, under that most indefatigable officer, was attended with unlooked-for success, and I have much pleasure in enclosing his report, and a list of the persons taken.

"I would beg to draw the attention of his excellency to the gallant conduct, as related in this report, of Lieutenant Richard Fisher Angelo, 1st Punjab infantry, and the loyal and faithful service of Willayut Hoosein Khan, deputy-collector.

"From Mr. J. F. D. Inglis, civil service, I have received most valuable assistance, and I am happy in having an officer of this service in my camp, on whose knowledge and discretion I can so much rely.

"From all the information I can gather, I am led to believe that the rebels who have escaped are all making towards Bareilly, and I believe I have fully carried out his excellency's directions to clear the enemy from this portion of Rohilcund.—I have, &c.,

"JOHN JONES, Brigadier-general,
"Commanding Roorkee Field Force.

"P.S.—I must not omit to mention an excellent young officer of the civil service accompanying my camp—Mr. Lowe, from whom I have received much assistance."

Lieutenant-colonel John Coke, commanding Infantry of the Force, to the Assistant-adjutant-general of Field Force.

"Moradabad, 26th April, 1858.

"Sir,—On the arrival of the force at this place yesterday, I obtained information from Mr. Inglis, civil service, in charge of the civil department with this force, that it was probable that a number of the chief rebels were concealed in the city; this was confirmed by the information of Willayut Hoosein, deputy-collector of Moradabad.

"I accordingly made an inspection of the city with Mr. Inglis, and having settled the different points to be held during the search, I obtained the major-general's sanction to take a sufficient force into the city to carry out this object. I previously placed parties of the Mooltanee cavalry round the city to prevent the escape of the rebels; about twelve o'clock I proceeded, with two guns of Captain Austin's battery, a party of sappers, and the 1st Punjab infantry, to search the mohulla of Nawab Mujjoo Khan, the chief of the rebels in this district, who had caused himself to be proclaimed nawab of Moradabad, and had instigated the people to murder and plunder the Europeans at this place.

"After a long search, I succeeded in capturing Nawab Mujjoo Khan; one of his sons and his nephew were shot on the spot, as resistance was made by the soldiers of the nawab's guard.

"The capture of the nawab was effected by Lieutenant Angelo, doing duty with the 1st Punjab infantry, who deserves great credit for his spirited conduct on this occasion. This officer having burst open the door of the room in which the nawab and his sons were concealed, and having captured them, was fired on by the guard of the nawab, who were in a room on an upper storey, commanding the house in which the nawab was concealed. Lieutenant Angelo rushed up the narrow stairs leading to this room, burst open the door, and, single-handed, entered the room, shot three men with his revolver, and on being joined by some of his men, captured the rest of the guard. A quantity of property and some horses were, with my sanction, taken by the troops; and an elephant, belonging to the nawab, was made over to the commissariat.

"I enclose herewith a list of the chief rebels captured on this occasion, furnished by Mr. Inglis.

"I am much indebted to Willayut Hoosein Khan, deputy-collector, for the information afforded by him; he has proved the correctness of the opinion formed of him by Mr. Wilson, 'that he was a loyal

subject, and might be fully trusted.' I hope he may be rewarded for the excellent service he has rendered.

"Having effected the capture of the rebel leaders, and as Mr. Inglis considered his police able to effect the capture of the followers of the nawab and the other rebels in the city, I brought the force back to camp.

"The energy displayed by officers and men in carrying out my orders after a long march in the five hours' laborious work in the city, was very creditable to them.—I have, &c.,

"JOHN COKE, Lieut.-colonel,
"Commanding Infantry of the Force."

"Head-quarters, Camp, Bareilly, 7th May, 1858.

"List of rebels captured in the city of Moradabad, April 26th, 1858:—Mujjoo Khan; Shaik Eneautoolla Vakeel; Abid Ali Khan; Sayud Allie Khan; Niaz Allie Khan; Jhubbur Ali Khan; Abdul Kurreem Khan; Ala Ali Khan; Shaik Goolam Hussein; Nusuroodeen; Mirza Yakoob Beg; Mirza Jahangeer Beg; Hoosain Bux; Kureemoolah; Elahie Bux; Jafur Hoosein; Rugwedeen Sha; Muddut Khan; Shuffaoodeen; Ahmud Hussein; Looman.

"Killed in the city during the capture:—Nugeemoodeen, son of Mujjoo; Moobarick Allie Khan, grandson of Mujjoo; Emaun Sha, and Moona, servants of Mujjoo.

"Forwarded by order of the commander-in-chief, to the secretary to the government of India, military department, for the information of the right honourable the governor-general.

"H. W. NORMAN, Major,
"Deputy-adjutant-general of the Army."

Having so far successfully accomplished the object he had in view, the brigadier remained in camp before Moradabad during the remainder of the month of April, usefully occupied in re-establishing confidence amongst the inhabitants of the city and adjacent district, and awaiting instructions from the commander-in-chief for the advance of his column to join the Rohilcund field force on its march towards Bareilly.

On the 9th of April, as already mentioned, General Walpole, at the head of the Lucknow division of the army destined to operate in Rohilcund, consisting of about 5,000 troops of all arms, and having with him Brigadier Adrian Hope, in command of the infantry, marched from Lucknow, for the purpose of clearing the left bank of the Ganges, and securing the passage of the Ramgunga at Allygunge, from whence it would accompany the division under the commander-in-chief, in its progress to Bareilly.

From Lucknow to the last-named place the distance was about 156 miles, through a region so ill-provided with roads, that no dependence could be placed upon night-marches throughout the entire route, as daylight was indispensably necessary, to avoid the numerous dangers and difficulties that beset the line of march on every side. In consequence of this, the troops were unavoidably exposed to the heat of the sun as they advanced, and many sank under its scorching influences. Another difficulty also arose in moving forward the heavy guns of the force, for want of traversable roads, and the cavalry and infantry were much retarded in their progress on that account.

For the first two days of his march General Walpole met with no obstruction from the rebels; and, on the third day (April 12th), he reported to the chief of the staff the favourable state of the country through which he had passed, in the following communication:—

"Camp, Sundeela, April 12th, 1858.

"Sir,—I have the honour to acquaint you, for the information of his excellency the commander-in-chief, that I marched yesterday to Ruheemabad, and this morning to this place. At Ruheemabad I destroyed a fort which was being constructed, which belonged to Soobah Sing, a man of considerable influence, and said to be the head of 4,000 men; he commanded two regiments at Lucknow, where he fought against us. In the course of the afternoon this man came into camp, and gave himself up to Captain Thurburn.

"The man who was kotwal here under the English government before the mutiny, met us on the road, and though very humble now, gave a very poor account of himself; and an old man, who was chuckledar in the king's time, also met us on the road; he was, I understand, a man of influence; and the people upon being told that they would not be molested, remained in their villages, and opened their shops; but the thakoor, the most influential man here, has left the place, and is reported to be at Roeah. Hearing that a bridge was being made over the Goomtee, I sent a person to ascertain whether such was the case, and I find that the piers are made, and the boats for the bridge ready about ten or twelve miles from hence.

"The country through which we pass is reported to be free from insurgents, and I believe such to be the case, except a sowar or two to look out, and give information of our movements; and there are stated to be 150 men at a place called Pomayech, a dozen miles to our right. From what I hear, I believe the march of this column will have a very beneficial effect upon this part of the country; and since the fall of Lucknow, the influential people have become fully aware of the hopelessness of the struggle, and their chief object now is to make the best terms they can.

"The country is fine and well wooded, and the road, or rather track, good for marching and camels; but in parts near the streams, of which we have crossed two, it is intersected with ravines, and is, in those places, extremely bad, and difficult for hackeries.—I have, &c.,

"R. WALPOLE, Brigadier-general,
"Commanding Field Force."

Notwithstanding the impediments occasioned by a roadless march through an

enemy's country, and the glaring heat of the sun, it was earnestly hoped that the troops, by being enabled to rest at night on their way, might reach Bareilly about the 24th of the month, as, after that period, the state of the country in Rohilcund would become, from the numerous rivers by which it was bounded and intersected, almost totally impassable for troops; the rainy season, which commences in May, causing them to spread over the land in every direction. There was, consequently, no time to spare for unnecessary encounters with the enemy, and certainly none to be thrown away in insignificant siege operations, which could only have the effect of retarding the progress of the troops toward their proper destination, and might very possibly be attended with serious loss. This, unfortunately, happened to be the case with the division under General Walpole, who, on the 15th of April, reached a jungle fort near a village called Roodamow, about ten miles from the left bank of the Ganges, and fifty-one miles north-west from Lucknow. The place, which was in itself of mere secondary importance, was concealed from view by underwood and trees, and was crowded with matchlockmen, under the command of Nurput Sing, a rebel leader of some repute in the field. Unfortunately for the troops, Brigadier Walpole determined to attack this fort without first making a *reconnaissance;* and, as it happened, sent forward his infantry without artillery against the only strong side of the place. The troops selected for this hap-hazard experiment, were a portion of the 42nd highlanders and the 4th Punjab infantry; and they were no sooner descried by the garrison, than a murderous fire opened upon them from an enemy concealed from view. The troops were, for a moment, confused, for they had no means of effectually replying to the fire; and they fell, as it were, defenceless before the shot poured upon them from the jungle, and from the loopholed wall of the fort. Upon this unforeseen difficulty being reported to General Walpole, Brigadier Adrian Hope was dispatched to call back the troops engaged in so unequal a conflict, and had reached them for that purpose, when a bullet from the enemy deprived the army of a gallant officer. Everything now was thrown into confusion, and the troops, exasperated at being shot down without a chance of defending themselves, were forced to retire, amidst yells of triumph from the enemy. The heavy guns, which ought to have began the work, were then sent forward, and commenced battering the wall; but the enemy, too wise to risk the perils of an assault, quietly evacuated the fort during the night without sustaining any loss of men; while, on the side of the British, besides Brigadier Hope, several other officers were either killed or wounded; and nearly a hundred rank and file further swelled the list of casualties upon this unfortunate occasion.

The following despatches afford some explanation of the disastrous attack upon the fort of Rooya, or Roodamow:—

"The right honourable the governor-general of India is pleased to direct the publication of the following despatch, from the deputy-adjutant-general of the army (No. 257 A, dated 20th April 1858), forwarding copy of a report from Brigadier-general R. Walpole, commanding field force, detailing his operations against, and capture of the fort of Rooya, on the 15th inst.

"His lordship participates in the grief expressed by his excellency the commander-in-chief at the heavy loss which the British army has sustained in the death of that most admirable officer Brigadier the Hon. A. Hope, whose very brilliant services he had had the gratification of publicly recognising in all the operations for the relief and final capture of Lucknow. No more mournful duty has fallen upon the governor-general in the course of the present contest, than that of recording the premature death of this distinguished young commander.

"The governor-general shares also in the regret of the commander-in-chief, at the severe loss of valuable lives which has attended the operations against the fort of Rooya.

"R. J. H. BIRCH, Colonel,
"Secretary to the Government of India."

From the Deputy-adjutant-general of the Army to the Secretary to the Government of India.

"Head-quarters, Camp, Poorah, 20th April, 1858.

"Sir,—I have the honour, by order of the commander-in-chief, to enclose copy of a despatch from Brigadier-general R. Walpole, dated the 16th inst., which I am to beg you will submit to the right honourable the governor-general.

"In this despatch the capture of the fort of Rooya is described, an operation which, to the great regret of his excellency, has been attended with considerable loss.

"Among the names of those who have fallen, appears that of Brigadier the Hon. A. Hope. The death of this most distinguished and gallant officer causes the deepest grief to the commander-in-chief. Still young in years, he had risen to high command, and by his undaunted courage, combined as it was with extreme kindness and a charm of manner, had secured the confidence of his brigade to no ordinary degree.

"This brigade he had led in several assaults, of which the last was in the attack on the Begum Kotee at the late siege of Lucknow.

"The service of her majesty could, in Sir Colin

Campbell's opinion, hardly have sustained a greater loss.—I have the honour to be, Sir,

"Your most obedient servant,

"H. W. NORMAN, Major."

From Brigadier-general R. Walpole, commanding Field Force, to the Chief of the Staff.

"Camp Madhogunge, April 16th, 1858.

"Sir,—I have the honour to acquaint you, for the information of his excellency the commander-in-chief, that yesterday morning I marched to this place (which almost joins Roodamow) from Gosegunge.

"Nurput Sing, who I stated in my despatch of yesterday was at Rooya fort, which is about one mile to the north of this place, did not come in or send any satisfactory reply to the message of Captain Thurburn, the magistrate, who accompanies this force. I therefore thought it advisable to attack him, particularly as Captain Thurburn informed me that he understood this man had received only the day before yesterday a letter from the begum, and that his intentions were certainly hostile to the government; and, under these circumstances, it would have had the worst effect to pass this fort without taking it.

"I accordingly directed my baggage to be massed in the open plain, near Madhogunge, under a strong guard of cavalry, infantry, and two field guns, and proceeded with the remainder of the force towards Rooya, turning off from the road about two miles from Madhogunge, for the purpose of getting round to the north side of the fort, which was stated to be the weakest part of it, where there was a gate, and where there were very few guns.

"The fort on the east and north side is almost surrounded with jungle, and at these two sides the only two gates were stated to be, which information proved correct. It is a large oblong, with numerous circular bastions all round it, pierced for guns, and loopholed for musketry, and surrounded by a broad and deep ditch: there is an inner fort or citadel, surrounded in like manner by a deep ditch, and with a high wall considerably elevated above the rest of the work. On the west and part of the south side there was a large piece of water, which was partially dried up. On arriving before the north side, I sent forward some infantry in extended order, to enable the place to be reconnoitred, when a heavy fire of musketry was immediately opened upon them, and an occasional gun; the cavalry at the same time swept entirely round to the west side, to cut off all communication with the fort. A tolerable view of the fort having been obtained from the road which leads into it from the north, the heavy guns were brought up; the two 18-pounders were placed on it; the two 8-inch mortars behind a wood still further to the right.

"After a short time, a great many of the infantry were killed and wounded from having crept up too near the fort, from which the fire of rifles and matchlocks was very heavy: these men had gone much nearer to the fort than I wished or intended them to go; and some of the Punjab rifles, with great courage, but without orders, jumped into the ditch, and were killed in endeavouring to get up the scarp. I therefore gave directions that they should be withdrawn from their forward and exposed situation; and here it was, I regret to say, that the gallant and able soldier, Brigadier Hope, was killed by a rifle or musket-ball, fired by a man from a high tree within the walls of the place.

"By half-past two o'clock the fire of our heavy guns appeared to have made little or no impression upon the place; and as no gun could be brought to bear upon the gate, the passage to which was not straight, and it could not be approached without the men being exposed to a very heavy fire from the bastion and loopholed wall that commanded it, I considered it better not to attempt an assault until more impression had been made upon the walls of the place, and, as it was getting late, to withdraw from the north side and commence operations against the south-east angle on the following morning, which had been reconnoitred by the engineers, and where they thought it would be easier to effect a breach, as it could be better seen, and a more direct fire could be brought to bear. I therefore directed the camp to be pitched on the south side, about a mile from the fort, and withdrew from the north side, where it would have been dangerous to pass the night, as it was surrounded by thick jungle.

"This morning, at daylight, Major Brind, Bengal artillery, and Captain Lennox, royal engineers, proceeded to again reconnoitre the place thoroughly before recommencing operations, and found that the enemy had evacuated it, leaving their guns behind them (five in number), ammunition, a large quantity of attar, and some tents. As some of the carriages were found without their guns, and the track of a gun carriage could be traced to a well, where the water is very deep, I have no doubt other guns have been thrown down it; I had information that there were more in the place, and it is certain none were carried out.

"The reports as to the numbers of the enemy vary so much that it is impossible to arrive at any certainty upon that point; but I am inclined to think the number stated in my despatch yesterday, viz., about 1,500, to be nearly correct; but the strength of the garrison consisted in the nature and situation of the fort, not in their numbers. I regret to say that this operation has cost us above 100 officers and men killed and wounded, and I have deeply to deplore the loss of Brigadier the Hon. A. Hope, from whom I had received the greatest assistance.

"The loss of the enemy it is impossible to ascertain; it must have been heavy from the fire of our guns, and especially from our howitzers and mortars. A few bodies which seem to have been overlooked, and three large funeral fires, with the remains of the bodies smouldering, were all that remained of their dead on our entering the place this morning. The fort, which has overawed this part of the country for the last year, is being destroyed under the superintendence of Captain Lennox, royal engineers, and I am in hopes that its destruction will be of the greatest advantage.

"I have received the most willing support from all under my command during this operation; and I beg particularly to offer my best thanks to Brigadier Hagart, commanding the cavalry, and to Major Brind, commanding the artillery, for their most able and valuable assistance; also to Captain Lennox, the senior engineer officer; to Lieutenant-colonel Hay, commanding the 93rd regiment, who succeeded to the command of the infantry brigade on the death of Brigadier Hope; to Lieutenant-colonel Cameron, commanding the 42nd regiment; to Lieutenant-colonel Taylor, commanding the 79th regiment; to Captain Cafe, commanding the 4th Punjab infantry, who, I regret to say, was severely wounded; to Lieutenant-colonel Tombs and Major Remmington, com-

manding troops of horse artillery; to Captain Francis, commanding the heavy guns; to Captain Coles, commanding the 9th lancers; and Captain Brown, commanding the 2nd Punjab cavalry. I beg also to return my best thanks to the officers of my staff—Captain Barwell, deputy-assistant-adjutant-general; Captain Carey, deputy-assistant-quartermaster-general; Captain Warner, aide-de-camp; and Lieutenant Eccles, rifle brigade, my extra aide-de-camp.

"Enclosed I beg to forward a list of the casualties, and likewise a sketch of the fort, which has been made in a hurry, but will afford information of the nature of the work.—I have, &c.,

"R. WALPOLE, Brigadier-general,
"Commanding Field Force."

The following account of the progress of Walpole's force, and the attack at Roodamow, is from a letter of an officer in the highland brigade, engaged in the encounter.

"Camp Allygunge, near Futteghur, Oude side of the Ganges, April 23rd, 1858.

"On Thursday morning, the 8th instant, we started from the Dilkoosha, and, after a most annoying march, reached our campaigning ground, about three miles from the Moosabagh. From that day to the 15th everything went on smoothly and quietly. The events of each day were monotonous in the extreme. Up at 3 A.M., tents struck as soon as possible, slight breakfast, and march at five, getting to our next halting-place about 9 A.M., instead of before 8 A.M., which latter was the hour recommended by the commander-in-chief to Brigadier-general Walpole, as the most suitable for halting and encamping. A disregard to this simple direction has been the source of much sickness amongst both officers and men, as the number of officers on the sick-list and patients in hospital will clearly prove. Even at 8 A.M. the heat of the sun is most dazzling and oppressive. On one occasion (I think on Sunday, the 11th instant), it was 10 A.M. before the troops halted, and, as might have been expected from fatigue and exposure such as the men were subjected to, the number of men who reported themselves ill to the surgeons of the various regiments was very great.

"On the morning of the 15th we rose and marched at the usual hour, with a sort of indefinite expectation of meeting the enemy, based on the reports that had lately reached us. An advance guard of companies 1, 2, and 3 of the 42nd royal highlanders, with cavalry and guns, under the command of Major Wilkinson, preceded the main column, which was headed by the 42nd royal highlanders left in front. Firing was heard, I think, about half-past nine; the fort of Rooya could be seen in some parts embosomed amid trees. No. 10 company 42nd royal highlanders was ordered to go out skirmishing in front of horse artillery guns, with No. 9 in support. About 300 yards from the fort, Nos. 7 and 8 were sent up to Brigadier-general Walpole in front of the guns, and were ordered by him to skirmish without support, and to advance till they came within sight of the gate of the fort, and to open fire. It was supposed by those concerned that this movement was for the purpose of preventing the rebels in the fort from escaping by the gate referred to, and that Major Wilkinson would make an attack on the weak side, and that the rebels, driven before him, would naturally think of leaving the fort by the gate. Acting on this supposition, Captain Grove, of No. 8, ordered his men to fix bayonets, so as to be ready to receive the rebels should they attempt to bolt by the way specified. On receiving the brigadier-general's order above-mentioned, Captain Grove advanced without resistance or cover till he came to the counterscarp of the ditch of the fort, where there was a bank which afforded protection. There was now only the breadth of the ditch between his company and the mud intrenchments of the enemy. In the course of a short time that company had one officer, two sergeants, and nine rank and file disabled. So critically alarming did this position and state of affairs become that he sent for support, which soon made its appearance in the shape of part of a Punjab regiment—in all, one hundred strong. These having formed on his left, and finding sufficient cover, rushed boldly into the ditch, attempted ineffectually to get over the parapet, and finally were obliged to retire with the loss of two officers and forty-six men in killed and wounded. The officer commanding the Punjabees, shortly after this fruitless but brilliant dash, came to Captain Grove and asked him for volunteers to bring in the dead body of Lieutenant Willoughby, who had been killed in this impetuous assault. Two men of the 42nd royal highlanders, supported by other two of the 42nd and two of the Punjabees (native officers I believe), went out on this most dangerous mission. In bringing in the body, Captain Cafe, of the Punjabees, had his left arm broken; and private Edward Spence, of the 42nd royal highlanders, received his death wound. All honour to these brave and

devoted soldiers! The conduct of Captain Cafe (Punjab rifles), privates Spence and Thompson (42nd royal highlanders), is beyond all praise. After these events had transpired, Brigadier the Hon. Adrian Hope, of the highland brigade, went forward to where No. 8 company, 42nd royal highlanders, was stationed, for the purpose of seeing with his own eyes how matters stood. I dare say he thought that everything that morning had been dreadfully mismanaged. Before he had been a minute on the perilous ground, he was shot right above the left collar-bone, and, as he fell, he exclaimed, 'I am a dead man!' After a few words, he asked for water, which having drunk, he became insensible, and expired without pain. I cannot describe to you the gloom—the thick palpable gloom—which the sudden and untimely death of our amiable and gallant brigadier has cast over the minds of all of us. He was the foremost and most promising of the young brigadiers; he was the man in whom the commander-in-chief placed the most implicit confidence, and whom all trusted and delighted to honour; and would have followed with feelings of success wherever he chose to lead the way. This is our heaviest, sorest, most terrible loss. Half-an-hour after this sad blow had been dealt, the company (No. 8) retired. It is the solemn conviction—the decided opinion—of all who were present, that, had scaling-ladders and sufficient support been sent when first asked for, and the order given to storm, the fort would have been taken with little or no loss. The fort is hexagonal, with two redoubts, two sides of the hexagon having no fortifications; the bastions circular, the ditch deep and narrow, the escarp and rampart in many places inaccessible, except by scaling-ladders. Everybody asks—what did the brigadier intend to do? Why did he send men to occupy the position, which they did when nothing was to be gained by their being there? Why, if he really intended to take the place, was it not stormed at once at the point of the bayonet? Or rather—and this is the main query—why was it not shelled by the mortars, and smashed by the breaching-cannon, if the brigadier was, like the commander-in-chief, careful and jealous of the precious blood of the brave fellows who served under him?

"We retired, and left the fort uncaptured—retired and joined the force with a loss, I am told, in killed and wounded, of 120, including officers, non-commissioned officers and privates—retired to our camp downcast, disheartened at the proceedings of the day, and perfectly furious with wrath when the fact stared us in the face that, under a head possessed, not of high military qualities, but of common sense, the proceedings and the results would have been far different. The 42nd, who, along with the Punjabees, had borne the brunt of the hostile fire, had forty-two killed and wounded; two gallant young officers mortally wounded, Lieutenant C. Douglas and Alfred Jenkins Bramley; one officer severely, Lieutenant Cockburne; seven non-commissioned officers and men killed in action; thirty-two non-commissioned officers and men more or less wounded—two of these wounded soldiers since dead of their wounds. The 93rd highlanders had a few men wounded, and the 79th also a few. Lieutenant Harrington, of Major Remmington's troop of Bengal horse artillery, was severely wounded by a musket-ball. Only think of it: these brave fellows killed, all these brave fellows wounded, and for nothing—nothing achieved by it, nothing gained by it; the fort and the enemy abandoned as we found them.

"Next morning the fort was cleared out (not by us, for they did not give us another chance, but by themselves); they had bolted during the stillness and darkness of the night. It was perhaps as well that they did so. Perhaps if they had stood, and we had gone at it, it would have been in the manner of the preceding day, and with the same expenditure of British blood. I say it was doubtless as well that they didn't stick to their post, for we know that there are persons, even in the British army, who won't be advised, who won't even learn by experience. A sad, sad scene it was that burial ceremony on the evening of the following day. A short distance from the camp, in a tope (cluster) of mango-trees, the graves were dug, and the bodies of the dead consigned to them. The church of England service was read by a chaplain of that church, and afterwards I had a short service, consisting of the reading of a portion of Scripture—Psalm xc.; 1 Thess. iv. 13, 18; then a short address; lastly, prayer.

"We arrived here yesterday about noon, after having driven a party of the rebels before us, and killed a great number. I believe the chief is to join us with a large

force soon; and after we have sent our sick and wounded to Futteghur (seven miles distant), we move, it is said, in the direction of Bareilly. It is said that there were only about 400 men in the fort of Rooya, and that the most of them were unarmed villagers!"

From amongst the numerous and angry reports that came from the survivors of this unfortunate affair, the following may be selected as of a more moderate tone than the majority of those which obtained a wide currency at the time:—

"We left the road," says one eye-witness, "went a round of two or three miles to our right, through a jungle, and then came down on the strong side of the fort. Our small guns opened, and the 4th Punjabees went on, got into the ditch, and on to the walls; but, having no support, retired. The 42nd were kept all day in the jungle, in easy range. They could not even see the fort; but the enemy, of course, knew the paths, and fired away. In the evening a number of wounded were still out, and the troops, in a mass, were enraged at the wretched blunders made during the day. Brigadier Adrian Hope, in an effort to rescue the 42nd from its perilous position, was killed, with Lieutenant Edward C. P. Willoughby, of the 11th Punjabees; Bramley and Douglas of the 42nd; and Harrington of the artillery. General Walpole at last told Brigadier Hagart to bring in the wounded, which he did, whilst the general himself rode back two miles to camp. The total casualty list showed eight officers, fifty Europeans, fifty natives, and eleven camp-followers killed and wounded. The fort was not taken, and we returned. In the night it was abandoned by the enemy, and next day blown up."

Another individual gave the following version of the disaster at Roodamow, in a Bombay newspaper:—

"It appears that, at daybreak of the morning of the 15th of April, the force, under the command of General Walpole, broke ground, and, after a march of nine miles, the troops got into position to attack a fort at a place called Roodamow. General Walpole did not, it is stated, make the slightest *reconnaissance*, but immediately led a portion of his men right up to the fort, on approaching which, there was found to be a ditch all round, and high walls thickly loopholed, from which the enemy poured a most deadly fire of musketry, which, of course, could not be replied to with effect, as not a man of the enemy was visible. Our men could get little or no cover; and it was only then that the general began to think of getting up the guns; but even then they were ordered to be placed in such a position that they were of little use. In fact, all the leading principles of military tactics appear, on an instant, to have been forgotten; for two companies of the 42nd highlanders were sent straight up to the walls of the fort in skirmishing order without any support; and we are told, that when a captain of one of the companies remonstrated with General Walpole on the subject, he was told to obey orders, and he, the general, would see him supported; but this, it is asserted, was *not* done. We come now to the saddest part of our story. Brigadier Adrian Hope, in going to look after these two companies, was shot down! In his death the army and the public have sustained a heavy loss, one that cannot well be replaced. The 42nd also lost two officers killed and wounded (the names are not given), and about forty men placed *hors de combat*. The 4th Punjab infantry, who were only 120 strong, lost forty-six men, one officer killed, and two wounded: but to crown this unfortunate business, and to add to the vexation of the heavy losses, the troops were, about four o'clock in the afternoon, ordered to retire, the rebels yelling at our troops; and the next morning it was found they had evacuated the fort during the night."

The subjoined account was afterwards given by one of the individuals engaged in the murderous conflict:—

"The column under Brigadier Walpole, which marched towards Rohilcund to clear the left bank of the Ganges, and to secure the passage of the Ramgunga at Allygunge, has effected these objects, though not without encountering a check at the fort of Rooya (Roodamow), which has excited bitter feelings among the troops under his command. It turns out that there were not 300 of the enemy in the fort. The attack was mismanaged—officers and men were uselessly sacrificed, and their loss was not avenged. At the very moment that the Sikhs and the 42nd were desperately clambering up the walls of the fort, helping each other up by hand and leg and firelock, and just as they were getting at the enemy, they were recalled, and in their retreat they suffered as much as in the attack. It is stated that there was a passage where the cavalry could have got in, but that they were not permitted to make the attempt.

The men were furious at the repulse, and clamoured loudly to be led to the assault. The Sikhs had lost Willoughby, and Cope was wounded. The 93rd had lost Adrian Hope. The 42nd left the bodies of Bramley, Douglas, and many gallant comrades behind them. In the middle of the fight, Adrian Hope, ever regardless of his own life where the lives of his soldiers were concerned, rushed to the wall of the fort to withdraw the men. His aide-de-camp (Butter) said to him, 'The fire is very hot, general.' As he spoke the brigadier fell, shot from above through the neck, shoulder, and lungs. He said, 'They have done for me; remember me to my friends;' and died in a few seconds. At the funeral, which was most affecting, the 93rd wept like children for their beloved officer. There was not a dry eye in Bramley's company as his body was borne to the grave. His body and that of Douglas were recovered by the most daring gallantry, which will not, I trust, go unrewarded. When the men retired, Simpson, the quartermaster-sergeant of the regiment, hearing that two officers were left on the ground, rushed out to the ditch of the work, and, seizing the corpse of poor Bramley, brought it in on his shoulders. He next started out and recovered the body of Douglas in the same way; and then, undeterred by the incessant fusillade of the enemy, this gallant soldier again and again renewed his labours, and never ceased till he had carried in the bodies of five more of his comrades. Two men were killed in attempting to imitate this noble soldier. Does he not well deserve the Victoria Cross?"

General Walpole now pursued his march; and, on the 22nd of the month, had a successful encounter with a large body of the Rohilcund rebels at Sirsa, a small town about seven miles north-west of Shaharanpore, attacking them so vigorously as to capture their guns and camp, and drive them over the Ramgunga in such haste as to allow them no time for destroying the bridge of boats at that place. The achievement was highly important and fortunate, as it enabled him, on the following day, to transport his heavy guns safely over the river at Allygunge, where, a few days afterwards, he was joined by the commander-in-chief and the troops under his immediate command. The affair at Sirsa, or Sirsee, was thus reported by telegram to the governor-general:—

"Camp, Head-quarters, April, 1858.

"Brigadier-general Walpole attacked a large body of Rohilcund rebels yesterday at Sirsee: he killed five or six hundred, took five guns and all their camp, &c., at Allygunge, after a long pursuit. The objects of the commander-in-chief have thus been attained. The ghauts of the Ganges have been cleared by General Walpole's march, the Ramgunga river crossed, and the enemy's bridge at Allygunge secured for the passage of the siege-train across the Ramgunga; which, as part of the combination, is passing the Ganges to day at Futteghur."

The following version of the affair was afterwards given by an officer engaged at Sirsa:—

"On the 22nd General Walpole met the enemy again at Sirsa, near Allygunge, where they had long remained watching our force at Futteghur. Here again, though the rebels were worsted, 'the old Crimean lady,' as General Walpole is usually called, began by a blunder which was retrieved by the gallantry of the troops. He actually ordered the heavy guns to commence the action when 200 cavalry were in his front. However, the order was not carried out, and the action proceeded. On our coming to the ground, the Pandies were in possession of a village (intrenched), with guns, infantry, and a pretty good number of cavalry. When our advanced guard came upon them, they immediately sent back for the cavalry (9th lancers and 2nd Punjab cavalry) and light field guns; and we made a demonstration on their left flank, where the cavalry was seen, the guns of the advance guard having opened fire. They soon replied in quick style; but upon seeing us going towards their left flank, directed their fire upon us; and, luckily, they gave our artillery a fine chance to get closer with them, which they did to Pandy's sorrow, for they were soon seen to bolt from their guns. The cavalry was very bold in forming and showing a front; but as soon as they saw us advance threes about, they went and took shelter under a tope of trees. We halted for a few minutes, until our artillery came up, and soon dislodged them from there; and then we commenced the pursuit (but, whilst this was going on, the cavalry troop and 1st troop 2nd Punjab cavalry were sent to secure four guns, which they were trying to bolt with, and of course they were taken without loss on our side; but Pandy suffered a great loss), and skewering and shooting were again the order of the day, to the terror of Pandy. Our casualties were only two—Sergeant May, slightly wounded, and Corporal Spellett, rather severely, being

shot in the hand, arm, and hip; the artillery lost one killed and one wounded; and these are all the casualties in the force. The number estimated to have been killed was, I believe, about 500; and four guns taken. It was a cavalry and artillery fight; the infantry was not engaged."

Another account of the affair puts more clearly the alleged blundering of the general:—

"We have had another affair, on the 22nd. Had that been properly managed, we should have cut up a good number; as it was, we only killed from 200 to 300. The enemy waited for us in the open; we were halted, and looked on; then the heavy guns were sent for, though we had a troop of 9-pounders and one of 6-pounders at the head of the column. All this time the enemy's infantry were retiring; the cavalry with four light guns alone remained. Our delay allowed even them to take up a position; however, they were soon driven out—two guns abandoned, two taken in a charge. The cavalry, under Brigadier Hagart, followed them for six miles to Allygunge, and then pulled up, not being able to come up with their cavalry, who mustered some 400. At one time they threatened us; but their hearts failed them at the last moment."

We have already traced the movements of Brigadier Jones to Moradabad, and have now to follow his progress from that city towards Bareilly. On the 2nd of May the force under his command left Moradabad; and, on the 5th, arrived without accident opposite Meergunge, within fourteen miles of Bareilly. The town was strongly occupied by troops of the shahzadah, Feroze Shah, whose hasty flight from Moradabad did not encourage much hope that he would abide the result of a conflict here. This prince had made a vast parade of his intentions; and, according to the inflated phraseology of his race, had "wrapped himself in the cerements of the grave, and armed himself with the sword of Jahud, that he might ruthlessly exterminate the Feringhees whenever they should dare to throw their shadows across his path." But his resolution did not hold: he fled from Moradabad like a recreant trooper, before the comparative handful of men led by Brigadier Jones; and now that he was ensconced behind powerful batteries at Meergunge, at the first sight of the approaching column his courage gave way, and again he ingloriously fled, without waiting to strike a blow!—and thus, when the troops approached the town, it was empty. Three guns, and about sixty men of the retreating rebels, were, however, caught up by a party of Mooltanee horse, on the road to Bareilly. No impediment, it was now supposed, remained to a further advance; and accordingly, early on the morning of the 6th the camp was broken up, and the head of the column shortly after came in sight of a stone bridge, over a tributary of the Sunha, which flows past Bareilly. Major Coke, with some cavalry, reconnoitred, and found the bridge occupied by the enemy, and enfiladed by some heavy guns. Brigadier Jones, in consequence, disposed his men to the right and left, and by them a well-sustained fire of rifles was kept up for two hours, and then, with a rush, the bridge was carried, two guns belonging to the rebels captured, and an entrance into Bareilly effected.

Combined with the movements already described, of the several columns under their respective brigadiers (which, when united, were to form one large army, whose operations would be directed by the commander-in-chief in person), were the arrangements of a force under the command of General Penny, stationed at Bolundshuhur, in the Upper Provinces. In accordance with the plan of the commander-in-chief for the Rohilcund campaign, this officer was instructed to march through the Budaon district, upon a point between Bareilly and Shahjehanpore, and join the force under the commander-in-chief at Meeranpore Kutra, six marches from Futteghur. General Penny accordingly set forward, and crossing the Ganges at Nerowlee, had, on the 29th of April, arrived within seven miles of Oosait, where he was informed the rebels had gathered in great strength. As it was very desirable to disperse them if possible, the brigadier himself set out, about nine in the evening, with a division of his column, consisting of about 1,500 men, with artillery, for Oosait; which, from various causes of delay, he did not reach until midnight. It then appeared that the enemy had retired from the place to Datagunge, a town in the vicinity. The column at first advanced somewhat carelessly, under the impression that no enemy was near; but on arriving at a place on his route called Kukerowlee, it suddenly fell into an ambuscade. According to the report of the officer whose duty

it became to write the official details of the affair, it seems apparent that, after leaving Oosait, much irregularity prevailed in the disposition of the troops; and the usual precautions in advancing through an enemy's country were altogether disregarded. That disaster should result from such mismanagement was a contingency to be naturally expected: and it occurred as follows.

The troops were at the time marching in the darkness of the night, and had reached the vicinity of Kukerowlee, about ten miles from Budaon. The advanced guard was under the command of Captain Curtis; and Brigadier Penny, with Mr. Cracroft Wilson (a civil officer of government), were in advance of that officer—a position of danger it was not their duty to occupy. From some sudden indications in front, Captain Curtis rode up to the brigadier and his companion, and warned them that there was an enemy close at hand; that, occasionally, men were discerned, and that a light, like a portfire, was distinctly visible at no great distance. The warning so given was unheeded, and the brigadier continued to advance; but he had proceeded little more than a dozen yards on the road when he was hit by a discharge of grape suddenly opened on the advancing party. The general's horse, struck by the shot, carried his rider madly forward into the midst of the rebels; and his body was not recovered until a desperate charge had driven the enemy from their position, when it was found stripped and brutally mangled.* Not a moment was lost; and the surprise occasioned by the sudden and unexpected discharge of the gun, had scarcely time to subside, before a squadron of carabiniers, under Captains Foster, Davies, and Beattie, was formed up and charged. The gun was taken; but in rear of it was a deep ditch full of Ghazees. The carabiniers rode on, and dropping in amongst the fanatics in the ditch, a desperate hand-to-hand conflict ensued. Captain Foster, who was one of the foremost in the charge, was among the first at the bottom of the ditch, but managed to struggle out of it, when he was attacked by three Ghazees, and but for timely rescue by a troop-major who rode up to his assistance, must have been overpowered. As it was he received some severe wounds, as did also his brother officers Beattie and Davis. Colonel Jones, who had succeeded to the command of the division upon the death of General Penny, finding it impracticable to judge correctly the number and position of the rebels in front of or around him, deemed it prudent merely to hold his ground until daylight should enable him to adopt the most fitting course of procedure, and the infantry should have come up. The morning at length dawned, and, with its first light, the 64th regiment, under Lieutenant-colonel Bingham, with the cavalry and artillery, joined the advanced division; and with this accession of force, the troops led by Colonel Bingham at once charged the enemy in front of them, and drove them into the town: this accomplished, the artillery began to shell it; and, in a very short time, the rebels, who had probably not expected such an infliction, became dispirited, and sought to escape further punishment by retreating from the opposite side of the town. As soon as this was known cavalry were sent round in pursuit of the fugitives, many of whom were overtaken and cut down; but as the district was only imperfectly known, the chase was not continued for any great distance. In this affair at Kukerowlee, the only officer killed was General Penny: among the wounded were Captains Foster, Beattie, and Curtis, and Lieutenants Eckford, Davies, and Graham.

The following despatch from Colonel Jones, of the carabiniers, commanding the

* General Penny was colonel of the 2nd European Bengal fusiliers, and in command of the Meerut division. His war services are recorded as follows:—Major-general Penny, C.B., served during the Nepaul war in 1814-'15-'16; Mahratta war, 1816-'17; Gurra Kotah, 1818; Bhurtpore, 1825 (Brevet Major, and India medal). He also served in the campaign on the Sutlej, in 1846, including the battles of Aliwal and Sobraon, where he was wounded (medal, clasp, and C.B.); and afterwards at the battles of Chillianwallah and Goojerat, and subsequent pursuit of the Affghans under General Gilbert (medal and clasp). After the capture of Delhi, he succeeded Major-general Sir A. Wilson, Bart. (who was compelled to retire from ill-health), in the command of the Delhi field force, but took no active part in military operations. General Penny was afterwards nominated to command a column at Bolundshuhur, and had crossed the Ganges to join the commander-in-chief's force at Bareilly. His commissions in the East India Company's service bore date as follows:—Ensign, 5th February, 1807; Lieutenant, 1[illegible] December, 1812; Brevet Captain, 5th February, 1822; Captain, 13th May, 1825; Brevet Major, [illegible] January, 1826; Brevet Lieutenant-colonel, [illegible] November, 1841; Lieutenant-colonel, 29th J[illegible] 1848; Brevet Colonel, 7th June, 1849; Colonel, [illegible] 15th September, 1854; and Major-general, [illegible] November, 1857. A career of more than fifty years was thus unhappily terminated.

field force, *vice* General Penny, furnishes the official details of the battle:—

"Camp, Kukerowlee, 30th April, 1858.

"Sir,—I have the honour to report, for the information of his excellency the commander-in-chief, that, under the orders of Major-general Penny, C.B., commanding the force, a column, strength as at foot,* was held in readiness to move from the village of Nerowlee, upon the town of Oosait, at eight o'clock P.M. on the evening of the 29th of April. At the latter place it was supposed that the rebels were in considerable force, with one or more guns; and the object of the movement was to surprise and cut them up. The column moved off at about nine o'clock; but, owing to one delay or another, did not reach Oosait, a distance of about seven miles, till twelve o'clock that night. The column, up to this point, moved in military formation with an advanced guard, followed by artillery, duly supported by cavalry, with the infantry in rear, the heavy guns and baggage having been sent with a sufficient escort straight to Kukerowlee.

"When within a short distance of Oosait, Mr. Wilson, the commissioner, informed General Penny that the rebels had entirely evacuated the place, and, with their guns, had retired to Datagunge. The column, however, still moved forward; and, on reaching Oosait, the information given to Mr. Wilson by the townspeople appeared to satisfy him of the correctness of the above report. From this point military precautions were somewhat neglected; the mounted portion of the column being allowed very considerably to outmarch the infantry; and eventually, though an advanced guard was kept up, it was held back immediately in front of the artillery; and such was the confidence placed in native reports, that Major-general Penny and his staff, under the guidance of Mr. Wilson, the commissioner, were riding at the head of the advanced guard, at about four o'clock on the morning of the 30th of April, leading it to Kukerowlee, where it had been previously determined that our camp should be pitched, and the force halted for the day. When within one or two hundred yards of Kukcrowlee, some horsemen were indistinctly seen in front, and some inquiries were made as to what they could be: it was supposed they must be a portion of our own force that had marched by the direct route to Kukerowlee; and the advance was continued without any extra precaution being taken, till we found ourselves close to the town of Kukerowlee, in a regularly prepared ambuscade, with guns opening on us from the right, with grape and round shot at not more than forty yards' distance; while the horsemen charged down from the left, and infantry opened on us with musketry from the front. As far as can be ascertained, it was at this moment that the much-lamented Major-general Penny fell, disabled by a grapeshot; he was at any rate not seen alive afterwards.

"The four guns of Captain Hammond's light field battery were now ordered to the front; and nobly did this officer and his men respond to the call. The ground, however, where the enemy had taken up their position, was, to our left, nothing but a mass of sand-hills; while, to our right, they were protected by thick groves of trees; and, immediately in their rear, they had the town of Kukerowlee to fall back upon. Owing to these circumstances, and to the want of light, the execution done by the fire of our artillery was less severe than it would have been under more favourable circumstances; and the same causes operated against an effective advance of our cavalry. The enemy's numbers and real position could not be seen; and, under these circumstances, it was deemed best merely to hold our ground till daylight might enable us to determine the particular point of our attack, and the infantry could be brought up and made available. On the arrival of Lieutenant-colonel Bingham, with her majesty's 64th foot, he was ordered to advance upon and dislodge the enemy from his front and right: this was done in the most gallant style, and the enemy were speedily driven into the town. Not feeling myself strong enough to follow them there, the artillery was directed to fire the town by shelling; and this they speedily accomplished. Some time after this, information was brought that the rebels were evacuating Kukerowlee, at the opposite end of the town. The force was accordingly put in pursuit; but it soon became evident that nothing but a rapid advance of cavalry would enable us to come up with them. Major Bickerstaff, in command of the two squadrons of her majesty's carabiniers, and Lieutenant Lind, in command of the Mooltan horse, were

* Two hundred of H.M.'s carabiniers; four guns light field battery; 350 of H.M.'s 64th regiment; 250 Mooltan horse; 360 of wing of Beloooch battalion; 299 of 2nd Punjab infantry.

accordingly ordered forward at a gallop, to endeavour to overtake them; this duty was performed by both thoroughly and zealously. They drove the enemy in confusion before them, and succeeded in cutting up many, capturing one of his guns, and two carts containing powder. The enemy being no longer in sight, the force returned to Kukerowlee, and encamped there for the day, after having marched fully twenty-five miles. I have now to return my thanks to the officers of Major-general Penny's staff, who, on his death, volunteered their services to me, and rendered me much assistance during the day: viz., to Major Harriott, deputy-judge-advocate-general; Captain Simeon, assistant-adjutant-general; Captain Briggs, commissariat officer with the force; Lieutenant Eckford, assistant-quartermaster-general (this officer, I regret to say, was severely wounded): also, Captain Dudgeon, of her majesty's 61st regiment, and Lieutenant Warde, of the late 11th native infantry, both aides-de-camp to Major-general Penny. A return of casualties will be forwarded as soon as made out.—I have, &c.,

(Signed) "HENRY RICHMOND JONES,
"Colonel of Carabiniers, commanding Field Force.

"Major-general N. Penny, C.B., commanding Meerut division and movable column, killed. Lieutenant A. H. Eckford, deputy-assistant-quartermaster-general, severely wounded."

Among the singular incidents of this extraordinary and unexpected combat, the escape from death by Lieutenant Eckford is not the least remarkable. The very first fire opened by the rebels shot his horse, which fell under him. He then mounted an artillery horse; when a party of Ghazees attacked him, and, having stabbed the animal, succeeded in wounding him. Eckford fell from the plunging horse; and, as he reached the ground, a Ghazee gave him a tremendous cut on the right shoulder, and left him for dead. Surgeon Jones coming up, found him lying wounded, and assisted him to rise and walk; but the enemy again coming towards them, Eckford and the doctor threw themselves on their faces, as if dead, on the field; and the rebels passed on without heeding them, or fleshing their swords as usual in a wounded enemy. A few men of the column then came up, and, by their assistance, the lieutenant was conveyed to a place of safety.

The following detail of circumstances connected with the death of General Penny, slightly varies from the preceding account, and is given in a letter from Captain Simpson, who was with the force:—"They had marched at night twenty miles. In the early dawn, Penny and Cracroft Wilson were ahead of the advanced guard, which Captain Curtis was commanding. Curtis told them there were sowars to the right; they replied, they were the men they had seen over-night. Shortly after, Curtis said there was a portfire lighted ahead: they said, it is only a torch. Bang went the gun, and Penny was no more seen until after the fight, when his body was found a long way ahead of the gun; and the supposition was, that his horse had ran away in the midst of them. He was found stripped, shot, and sabred. Poor gentleman; a sad ending! His remains were buried at Meerut on the 10th of May. Cracroft Wilson, who was riding by his side, was not in the least wounded."

The Bolundshuhur column, now under the command of Colonel Jones, resumed its march, and, on the 3rd of May, succeeded in reaching its point of junction with the force led by the commander-in-chief, whose movements we have now to trace in connection with the campaign in Rohilcund; in anticipation of which, the following instructions were transmitted to the chief commissioner of the province (Mr. Alexander), to aid the steps about to be taken for its final pacification.

"28th April, 1858.

"Sir,—I am directed to communicate to you the general principles which the honourable the governor-general desires to see followed by all civil and other officers who will exercise judicial or magisterial powers in Rohilcund, on the re-entry of British troops into that province.

"The condition of Rohilcund has been, in some respects, peculiar. The progress of the revolt in the interior, has, until lately, suffered little check. The people, left to themselves, have in many quarters engaged actively in hostilities against each other; but direct opposition to British authority has been mainly confined to several Suddur towns, to the frontier on the Ganges, and to the expeditions against Nynee Tal.

"Under these circumstances his lordship considers it just to distinguish, by a widely different treatment, the simple bearing of arms, or even acts of social violence committed at a period when the check of lawful government was removed, from acts directly involving treason against the state, or deliberate defiance of its authority. Excepting instances of much aggravation, it is not the wish of government that public prosecutions should be set on foot on account of offences of the former class.

"Further, in respect of treason and defiance

British authority, his lordship desires that criminal proceedings shall be taken only against leaders, and against such persons, whether high or low, as have distinguished themselves by activity and rancour against the government, or by persistence in opposition to its authority after the advance of troops, and the reoccupation of stations. The governor-general will admit to amnesty all other classes, even though they have borne arms on the side of the rebels, provided that they tender an early and complete submission. But continuance in opposition will exclude from pardon.

"The governor-general has reason to believe that an impression exists in Rohilcund, that the Mohammedan population, as such, is to be proscribed and crushed. It is likely that the rumour has been raised and fostered by the rebel leaders to excite apprehension and mistrust of the government. His lordship desires that every appropriate occasion may be taken to disabuse the people of this gross error. Such suspected rebels as may be brought to trial, will be tried each by his own acts. Each will stand or fall by the line of conduct which he shall be proved to have followed. The government will maintain, as it has always maintained, a strict impartiality in its administration. Equal justice will be shared by all its subjects, whether Hindoos or Mohammedans. You will make public these views, and instruct the chief district officers to make them widely known, in such manner as may appear to be most effectual.

"It will be your care, in accordance with the injunctions of his lordship's orders, embodied in the circular order dated the 19th February, to bring forward for early notice by the governor-general, the several examples of conspicuously faithful conduct exhibited by many of the inhabitants of Rohilcund, under circumstances of peculiar difficulty.

"I have, &c.,

"W. Muir, Secretary to Government, N. W. P."

Before entering upon a series of details that must necessarily occupy many pages, and carry us far into the operations of the army for a lengthened period, it may be permitted to turn aside for a moment from the occurrences in Rohilcund, to advert to the early death of one of England's noblest sons—the much-lamented and honoured Captain Sir William Peel.

It will be remembered that, on the 9th of March, 1857, the gallant officer, then commanding his naval brigade in one of the batteries before Lucknow, received a wound in the upper part of his thigh,* which incapacitated him from active duty; but was not of a nature to excite any serious doubt of his ultimate recovery. Upon the breaking up of the army of Oude, after the capture of the city, a portion of the troops marched to Cawnpore, taking in charge many of their wounded comrades and officers, and among them Sir William Peel. Under the assiduous care of his surgical attendants the wound appeared to progress satisfactorily; but, on the 20th of April, an attack of small-pox prostrated his enfeebled system, and, on the 27th, numbered him among the dead! Thus fell one whose chivalrous life had become an example and a boast among the warriors of his country, and whose early loss was deplored by the highest and noblest of his species.

Captain Sir William Peel, third son of the celebrated Sir Robert Peel (one of the first of British statesmen), was born on the 2nd of November, 1824. He entered the navy as midshipman on board the *Princess Charlotte*, Captain A. Fanshawe (flag of Admiral Sir Robert Stopford), in April, 1838, and took part in the bombardment of St. Jean d'Acre: from the *Princess Charlotte* he was removed to the *Monarch*, and afterwards to the *Cambrian* (Captain Chads), in which ship he served in the China seas. In 1844, he passed his examination in a manner that called forth the warm eulogiums of Sir Thomas Hastings and Sir Charles Napier, and he was forthwith promoted to the rank of lieutenant. In May of that year he was appointed to the *Winchester*, 50 guns, on the Cape of Good Hope station, and shortly after removed to the *Cormorant* steam-sloop, in the Pacific; and subsequently to the *Thalia* (42), on the same station. Sir William was promoted to the rank of commander, June 27th, 1846, and was appointed to the command of the *Daring*, on the North American and West India stations. He held several minor commands until the outbreak of the late war with Russia. Being appointed captain of the *Diamond* (28), in the Black Sea fleet, he distinguished himself greatly with his naval brigade in the Crimea; but was compelled, from wounds and over-exertion, to return to England before the fall of Sebastopol. At the commencement of the differences with China, in 1856, he was appointed to the command of the *Shannon* (51), screw frigate, ordered on the China station. Captain Peel had scarcely reached the Chinese waters before he was ordered, by the Earl of Elgin, to proceed with troops to Calcutta, to afford assistance in the suppression of the sepoy mutiny. Upon his arrival with the *Shannon* in the Hooghly, he materially strengthened the hands of the government, by forming a portion of his crew into a naval brigade for service on shore, under his own command; and his exertions, as well as those of his brave followers, were most valuable in carry-

* See *ante*, p. 260.

ing out the views of the governor-general and the commander-in-chief. His progress from Calcutta to the seat of war in Oude, has been already noticed. For his eminent services in the Crimea, Captain Peel was made a commander of the order of the Bath; and, for his gallantry in India, was nominated a knight commander. He was also an officer of the Legion of Honour in France, and of the imperial Turkish order of the Medjidie; and had received the Sardinian war medal.

By the government of India, the lamentable event was made the subject of a special notification; and every one recognised the justice and propriety of the distinction thus accorded to the worth and memory of the deceased hero by Lord Canning, then at Allahabad; who, immediately on receiving intelligence of the loss the service had sustained, issued the following announcement in an *Extraordinary Gazette:*—

"Home Department, Allahabad, April 30th.

"It is the melancholy duty of the right honourable the governor-general to announce the death of that most distinguished officer Captain Sir William Peel, K.C.B., late in command of her majesty's ship *Shannon*, and of the naval brigade in the North-Western Provinces. Sir William Peel died at Cawnpore on the 27th instant, of small-pox. He had been wounded at the commencement of the last advance upon Lucknow, but had nearly recovered from the wound, and was on his way to Calcutta when struck by the disease which has brought his honourable career to an early close. Sir William Peel's services in the field during the last seven months, are well known in India and in England; but it is not so well known how great the value of his presence and example has been, wherever, during this eventful period, his duty has led him.

"The loss of his daring but thoughtful courage, joined with eminent abilities, is a very heavy one to the country; but it is not more to be deplored than the loss of that influence which his earnest character, admirable temper, and gentle, kindly bearing exercised over all within his reach—an influence which was exerted unceasingly for the public good, and of which the governor general believes that it may with truth be said, that there is not a man of any rank or profession who, having been associated with Sir William Peel in these times of anxiety and danger, has not felt and acknowledged it.—By order of the right honourable the governor-general of India.

"G. F. Edmonstone,

"Secretary to the Government of India, with the Governor-general."

Throughout India, as in England, there was but one feeling of regret for his loss, and admiration of his merits. The event of his death was thus announced in the *Mofussilite* of the 30th of April:—"News was received in Agra yesterday, of the death of Captain Sir William Peel, R.N., at Cawnpore, on Wednesday, the 27th instant. His disease was small-pox, which attacked him seven days previously. The loss of this intrepid officer will be deeply felt wherever his name was known. He was one of the finest specimens of our countrymen that ever came to these shores, and had all that real greatness of inspiration which belongs to the true hero. He was of the same grand old type to which Nelson belonged, and will live like him in the hearts of the English. It is the fate of most great men, and particularly those of Indian fame, to have their deeds doubted and denied by many, even when the voice of the world is ringing with their praises. Were we to believe many statements of great apparent respectability and impartiality, we should be compelled to come to the conclusion, that nearly all of our Indian heroes upon whom honours are being bestowed, are 'over-rated men,' if not much worse; that their great deeds are solemn delusions, and that some of them deserve punishment rather than reward. Envy, of course, has something to do with such assertions, and misapprehension something more. But as far as Captain Peel is concerned, his exploits have been so conspicuous and unmistakable, that envy has been for once silenced, and misapprehension has been impossible. There has been but one opinion of his actions, as there will be but one feeling for his death. It is here worthy of remark, that Captain Peel, when remonstrated with for exposing himself with the wonderful courage and impunity which he did, to the thickest fire, declared that he bore a charmed life, and that there was no bullet which could bring him down. His thousand escapes from the most imminent danger in the field, might almost justify this conclusion; and, as far as the fortunes of actual warfare were concerned, Captain Peel braved them all, and only recently

sustained any serious injury. He and his friends had not calculated upon the greater enemy that he would have to encounter, and before whom he fell."

An extract from the interesting letters of the special correspondent of the *Times*, then with the troops *en route* for Futteghur, will appropriately close this digression from the military incidents of the period. Dating from the camp, "Jellalabad (Rohilcund), April 27th," Mr. Russell thus wrote:—"The electric telegraph has carried its brief announcement of the sad news we heard this morning, to England, some days before the letter I am now writing can reach you. But I can add no details to that brief statement of the event, which must cause such grief to every English heart. The death of Sir William Peel at any time would be a national loss. Despite the theory that there is no such thing as a necessary man, I believe that at this particular juncture his death is a national calamity, and it is one for which I see no reparation. His gallant comrades in the noble profession which was the joy of his life, will be the readiest to admit, that the foremost naval officer of the day lies in the grave which contains his body. It is not of mere personal gallantry I speak, although in his career he astonished brave men by glorious recklessness of his own life whenever the smallest benefit to the service was to be gained by braving danger, or of the contempt of death he exhibited wherever and whenever, by example, he could encourage his men to greater emulation of his own calm courage; but I allude more to the largeness of conception, the mastery of detail, the great professional zeal, the consummate skill, the ingenuity and incessant activity of acquisition in all that related to naval questions and tactics, and the shrewd watchfulness with which he regarded every matter affecting the condition of our fleet and the efficiency of the service, which he justly regarded as the noblest development of the power and might of England. In the march from Lucknow to Cawnpore he was carried down in a dhooly (or litter), as he was unable to ride, owing to his wound; but he could limp about; and just before we entered Cawnpore, he was able to walk a little, when we halted, without the aid of his stick. Morning after morning, as our litters were laid down beside each other, he talked to me of the various news which came to us from home; and I well remember the light which was in his eye as he said, speaking of the division on the Conspiracy Bill—'I am delighted at it, not from any sympathy with those rascally assassins who flock to England, or from any feeling against France or the emperor, whose orders I wear, but because my instinct tells me, as its instinct told the house, that it was the right thing for an English parliament to do, reason or no reason. We must never take a step in that direction, even if one came from the dead to tell us to do so.' It was probably in that litter he contracted the fearful malady which cost him his life; for, if I am not misinformed, it was obtained by him from the hospital at Lucknow, where several cases of small-pox occurred before we left. On the day after his arrival at Cawnpore he was seized with sickness and feverishness, from which he recovered; but the symptoms of small-pox were soon exhibited; and when I mentioned the news that he had it to Dr. Clifford, who had been one of his attendants, the latter said he feared it would go hard with Sir William, owing to his irritability of constitution, and to the debility arising from his wound. It was one day's march from Futteghur that I heard of his illness, and on my arrival I telegraphed to the Rev. Mr. Moore, the chaplain at Cawnpore, to know how he was. Next day I received the reply, 'Sir William is doing as favourably as can be expected in a case of bad confluent small-pox.' This morning, on the line of march, we heard he was no more; it flew from mouth to mouth. Sir Colin Campbell showed the grief which was felt by every officer in the force, over and over again, all this morning. 'Peel dead! What a loss to us! It will be long ere the services see two such as Adrian Hope and Peel!' In short, expressions of regret were universal."

Previous to the departure of the commander-in-chief to join the force destined to act in Rohilcund, it was necessary that measures for the permanent administration of public affairs in Oude should be placed upon a secure and efficient basis; and, for this purpose, Mr. Montgomery, who had distinguished himself by his administrative abilities in the Punjab while associated with Sir John Lawrence, was appointed chief commissioner of the province, as already mentioned, and his government was composed of the following members, under the designation of "The Oude Commission:"—

Chief commissioner, Mr. Montgomery, late judicial commissioner, Punjab civil service; judicial and financial commissioner, Mr. G. Campbell, civil service; secretary to chief commissioner, Mr. Forsyth, civil service; military secretary, Captain Hutchinson, Bengal engineers, nephew to Mr. Montgomery; commissioners of divisions, Messrs. Wingfield, Davies, St. George Tucker, Couper; deputy commissioners of districts—1st class—W. A. Forbes, civil service; Balmain, civil service; S. N. Martin, civil service; Captain Barrow. 2nd class—Mr. Wake, civil service; Captains Carnegie, Evans, and Freeling. 3rd class—Mr. Capper, civil service; Mr. G. Lawrence, civil service; and Captain Reid.

Of the ability and judgment of Mr. Montgomery, the highest opinion was entertained by those who had served with him, and could best appreciate his merits. Stern and inflexible in his purpose, he yet contrived, during the early period of the mutinies, to conciliate the natives under his superintendence, and to become immensely popular among the European community of every grade. Mr. G. Campbell, the second official in point of rank, as judicial and financial commissioner, was also one of the ablest civilians in the Company's service; and from the united efforts of those persons, much was expected in effecting the pacific settlement of the province. The task was by no means easy; for they had to restore confidence, not only in the acts, but in the intentions also of the British government; against which the whole people had been embittered by the dethronement of their native princes, and the annexation of their territory.

For the purposes of civil government, the province of Oude was separated into four divisions, each of which was again subdivided into three districts, presided over by a deputy-commissioner, whose duties, powers, and responsibilities were equal—the class distinction being merely pecuniary; and each deputy had, again, two assistant-commissioners under him; the latter were divided into three grades. Among these officials, the names of Orr, Kavanagh, Wingfield, Tucker, and Wake, had already become celebrated for services rendered by their bearers to the state. Captain Orr had been first assistant at Fyzabad; and his losses, his sufferings, and his energy, eminently entitled him to advancement. By him and Sir James Outram, the relieving force under Sir Colin Campbell was guided into Lucknow; and his subsequent services in the "Intelligence Department" of the army, and in conducting negotiations with various native chiefs, had been invaluable. Mr. Kavanagh, formerly superintendent of the chief commissioner's office, had signalised his zeal for the public service, by successfully accomplishing the perilous mission by which Sir Colin was enabled to make his final arrangements for the relief of the city: and Mr. Wake had won for himself historical celebrity by his heroic defence of Arrah. To such hands, it was hoped, the future government of Oude, and its yet exasperated people, might be safely entrusted; but much was yet to be accomplished by the sword, before the pen could exercise its legitimate influence.

The time had at length arrived when the commander-in-chief felt himself at liberty once more to take the field; and, on the 8th of April, leaving Lucknow in the hands of the chief commissioner (who was sustained by an ample military force, under the command of Sir James Inglis), Sir Colin departed to join the Rohilcund field force; first travelling to Allahabad, that he might have an interview with the governor-general. From this visit he speedily returned; and the expeditionary force, under his personal command, immediately received the route for Cawnpore, on the way to the scene of operations in Rohilcund.

Of the *matériel* of the army thus put in motion, it is unnecessary to dilate; because, in all appliances for warlike purposes, its completeness had been watched over by the veteran chief by whom it was about to be led to new triumphs; but for its *ensemble* as an English military force, nothing less descriptive than the fertile pen of Mr. Russell could possibly render it justice. That gentleman, in a letter of the 22nd of April, writes thus of the army, which he accompanied on its march to Bareilly:—"I have often thought how astonished, and something more, the Horse-guards, or the authorities, or the clothing departments, or whatever or whoever it may be that is interested in the weighty matters of uniform, and decides on the breadth of cuffs, the size of lace, the nature of trowser-straps, and the cut of buttons, would be at the aspect of this British army in India! How good Sir George Brown, for instance, would stand aghast at the sight of these sunburnt "bashi-bazouks," who, from heel to

head and upwards, set at defiance the sacred injunctions of her majesty's regulations! Except the highlanders—and when they left Lucknow they were panting for their summer clothes, and had sent officers to Cawnpore to hurry them—not a corps that I have seen sport a morsel of pink, or show a fragment of English scarlet. The highlanders wear eccentric shades of gray linen over their bonnets; the kilt is discarded, or worn-out in some regiments; and flies, mosquitoes, and the sun are fast rendering it impossible in the others. Already many officers who can get trews, have discarded the ponderous folds of woollen stuff tucked into massive wads over the hips, and have provided some defence against the baking of their calves by day, and have sought to protect their persons against the assaults of innumerable entomological enemies by night. The artillery have been furnished with excellent head-covers, and good frocks of light stuff. Lord Cardigan, in his most sagacious moments, would never light on the fact that those dark-faced, bearded horsemen, clad in snowy white, with flagless lances glittering in the sun, are the war-hardened troopers of her majesty's 9th lancers; or that yonder gray tunicked cavaliers, with ill-defined head-dresses, belong to the Queen's bays. The 7th hussars, the military train, have vestiary idiosyncrasies of their own; but there is some sort of uniformity among the mén. Among the officers, individual taste and phantasy have full play. The infantry regiments, for the most part, are dressed in linen frocks, dyed carky or gray slate colour—slate-blue trowsers, and shakoes protected by puggeries, or linen covers, from the sun. The peculiarity of carky is, that the dyer seems to be unable to match it in any two pieces, and that it exhibits endless varieties of shade, varying with every washing; so that the effect is rather various than pleasing on the march or on the parade-ground. But the officers, as I have said, do not confine themselves to carky or anything else. It is really wonderful what fecundity of invention in dress there is, after all, in the British mind when its talents can be properly developed. To begin with the head-dress. The favourite wear is a helmet of varying shape, but of uniform ugliness. In a moment of inspiration some Calcutta hatter conceived, after a close study of the antique models, the great idea of reviving, for every-day use, the awe-inspiring head-piece of Pallas Athene; and that remarkably unbecoming affair—Minerva was above caring for appearances—became the prototype of the Indian tope in which the wisest and greatest of mankind looks simply ridiculous and ludicrous. Whatever it might be in polished steel or burnished metal, the helmet is a decided failure in felt or wicker-work, or pith, as far as external effect is concerned. It is variously fabricated, with many varieties of interior ducts and passages leading to escape-holes for imaginary hot air in the front or top, and around it are twisted infinite colours and forms of turbans with fringed ends and laced fringes. When a peacock's feather, with the iris end displayed, is inserted in the hole in the top of the helmet, or is stuck in the puggery around it, the effect of the covering is much enhanced, and this style is rather patronised by some of the staff. The coat may be of any cut or material; but shooting-jackets hold their own in the highest posts, and a carky-coloured jerkin, with a few inches of iron curb chain sewed on the shoulders to resist sabre-cuts, is a general favourite. The sword is of all descriptions, except the regulation, which is not much in vogue, and it is slung in many ways in many belts, of which the regulation again is rarely seen. There are native tulwars with English handles and guards, old cavalry sabres with new hilts, Damascus blades in leathern sheaths; and these are hung by broad shoulder-belts at the hip, or depend from iron hooks fixed in broad buff waist-belts. The revolver—scarcely a 'regulation' weapon for the army yet—is universally worn; and I have seen more than one pistol in one of the cummerbunds, or long sashes, which some of our officers wear round the stomach in the oriental fashion. As to the clothing of the nether man, nothing but a series of photographs could give the least notion of the numerous combinations which can be made out of a leg, leather, pantaloons, and smallclothes. Long stage boots of buff-coloured leather, for the manufacture of which Cawnpore is famous, pulled up over knee-breeches of leather or regimental trowsers, are common. There are officers who prefer wearing their Wellingtons outside their pantaloons, thus exhibiting tops of very bright colours; and the boot and baggy trowsers of the Zouave officer are not unknown."

The personal appearance of the gallant commander-in-chief of this motley array, was thus described, at the time, by the

same inimitable pen-painter:—"Sola helmet, shirt-sleeves, tartan waistcoat with cotton sleeves, and moleskin trowsers, with toped curly gray locks of hair—a forehead seamed with many a furrow, broad and vigorous; a sagacious shaggy eyebrow; a bright, piercing, yet friendly blue eye, with a keen quick pupil; a square determined jaw, in keeping with the well-cut mouth just screened by a short mustache, which is all the hair the morning razor has left on that ruddy face; and a well-built, spare, and compact figure, which gives proof in every line of vigour and strength beyond his years." Such was the portrait of Sir Colin Campbell, and such the habiliments of his gallant force, on the morning of the 22nd of April, 1858.

To resume the narrative. The commander-in-chief joined the army at Cawnpore on the 17th of April. The result of his conference with the governor-general had been, a determination to march up the Doab to Furruckabad, and attack the Rohilcund rebels on a side where neither Jones nor Walpole could well reach them; and he now proceeded to carry out the plan. On the 19th, the troops marched from their cantonments, and, by the 25th, had reached Futteghur, where General Penny was in waiting to confer with the commander-in-chief, in compliance with orders received from the chief of the staff. The place bore fearful traces of the havoc that followed the chastisement of the rebels under the rajah of Furruckabad, on the 2nd of January. As the troops advanced over the suspension-bridge which spans the Ganges, ruined houses, steeples, and towers, met the eye in every direction, and, with the lofty mud walls and embankments of the fort, were all objects of interest to the troops. At this place, it was remembered, one of the worst of the many great atrocities of the rebellion was perpetrated, and from it many of the early victims of sepoy atrocities had fled, only to fall into the merciless hands of the tyrant of Bithoor.*

The tents of the commander-in-chief were pitched within the enclosure of the fort; and soon after the arrival of the troops, his excellency rode over to the hospital to inspect the wounded and sick men sent in from Walpole's column. He minutely examined all the preparations and accommodation for their reception, and conversed with them freely; while the men themselves, confiding in his solicitude and well-proved regard for their welfare, talked to him without reserve. A report reached Futteghur at this time, that the mental faculties of Khan Bahadoor Khan were failing him, and that, under the influence of bhang and opium, the intellect which had hitherto been successfully exercised in his career of treason, was waning into imbecility. It was also ascertained that the Nana Sahib, whose activity and cruel energy had secured to him a preponderating control, was still at Bareilly, busied in devising plans by which to animate his Hindoo followers, and counteract the operations of the British general; but that, in doing so, he had shown a disregard to the prejudices of the Mohammedan population of the city, that might ultimately tend to the advantage of our troops. Thus, he had forbidden the killing of cows, and had buried four amulets at the corners of the city, with peculiar Hindoo rites, which were to render it impregnable to the Feringhees, and render the triumph of his adherents a matter of perfect certainty. How far the charm answered its professed purpose appears in the sequel.

Having halted a little more than a day at Futteghur, the commander-in-chief's force was ordered to make a rapid march to Tingree, about eight or nine miles in advance, instructions being sent to General Walpole, at Allygunge, to march with his troops to the same place, in order that the commander-in-chief might have the combined force in his own hands. On the 28th of the month, the force reached the banks of the Ramgunga, and crossed over into Rohilcund, near the scene of Walpole's victory of the 22nd of April. From this point, a few miles brought the troops within sight of the two camping grounds of Walpole and the enemy, and they soon came upon traces of the fight—hideous bodies, bloated and discoloured, lying all over the plain, with flocks of vultures pulling out their entrails, and dogs crunching their bones. Sometimes these foul creatures crept inside the hollow corpse, to pick at their leisure, and, by their movements, gave the dead a revolting imitation of life. These men, lying apart, had fallen under the sabres of Tombs' Hagart's cavalry, and the fire of Tombs' and Remmington's guns; and for two or three miles they marked the line of pursuit. The route of the troops lay by several

* See vol. i., p. 349.

villages. The houses were roofless and ruined, and not a soul was visible in the streets.

Shortly after the troops had arrived at Tingree, General Walpole's division arrived in camp; and, by general orders, the details of the future marching of the whole column were confided to Brigadier-general Walpole; Colonel Stisted, 78th regiment, and Colonel Leith Hay, 93rd, being named as brigadiers: a strict order was also issued to the troops against plundering the inhabitants.

On the following morning the force advanced to Jellalabad—a small country village in the centre of a rich district, protected by an old mud fort, which exhibited indications of very recent repair, as there were yet fresh spade-marks in the scarp of the ditch. It was reported that the moulvie had been there, intending to oppose the advance of the troops; but not being able to get his people to stand, had been forced to fly to Shahjehanpore. The English camp was here pitched in a magnificent grove outside the village; and here two deputations of Hindoos from neighbouring villages came in to offer homage and obtain protection from the commander-in-chief. Sir Colin received them kindly, and listened with patience to their self-congratulations on being delivered from Mohammedan rule; but he informed them, that he should mark all the houses of those who had relations in the rebel camp, and that if any attempt was made on any of his posts, he would cause those houses to be pulled down, and the owners to be hanged. The poor Hindoos assured his excellency that they only lived in once more seeing the *Sahib loges*, whose faces were always bright, and for whose sakes they were ready to kill all Mussulmans, if he would permit them to do so.

While remaining at this place, the tehseeldar, who had acted as deputy-collector of Jellalabad under the Company's rule, and continued to perform the functions of the office for the rajah, came voluntarily into the camp, and gave himself up to Mr. Money, the civil commissioner with the force. By that gentleman, it was deemed expedient that an example should be afforded of British power by hanging the man, who received intelligence of his doom, and met it with calmness and even dignity. He had been assured, before he came in, that his life would be spared; and, upon the fact coming to the knowledge of Sir Colin Campbell, he expressed his disapproval of the course taken by the civil officer, in severe but deserved remonstrance, that had the effect of preventing a repetition of such interference with the conciliatory policy he desired to inaugurate.

On the following day, or rather night, the camp was struck at fifteen minutes past 12 A.M., and at two o'clock the force moved forward to a town named Kanth, four marches from Bareilly. The march lay through a vast plain covered with corn-fields and cotton and sugar plantations, without any kind of divisional fence, but studded in all directions with magnificent trees. Upon reaching the place, it was found that the enemy had held possession of it until two days previous, when they decamped on learning the approach of the English troops. Here the latter encamped for the day; and spies came in hour after hour with letters from Shahjehanpore, stating that the moulvie was there, and that two regiments and four guns had been sent to him from Bareilly the previous day. He was also reported to have from eight to nine hundred cavalry, and to have placed guns upon all the roads, intending to make a stand. As the day wore on, however, the reports began to change as to the resolve, and the rumour of a *flight*, superseded that of a *fight*. At length, about 9 P.M. a letter was brought into the camp, that the moulvie had fled, and that the city had been evacuated by the whole of his troops. It was also stated that the moulvie had taken the road to Mohumdee in Oude, and that all the Mussulmans and most of the Hindoos at Shahjehanpore had abandoned their houses and concealed themselves. On the 30th of April, the column recommenced its march at 3.30 A.M., and reached Shahjehanpore at 6.30. The place was, as reported, nearly void of inhabitants. The moulvie had really gone off for Mohumdee, with a few hundred followers and some guns; and Nana Sahib, who had been in the place till within the last eight or ten days, when leaving, with 200 horsemen for Bareilly, had given orders for the total destruction of the church, the English cantonments, and the government stations, that no shelter might remain for the troops. His instructions were faithfully obeyed; and the place was little else but a heap of ruins.

On the 2nd of May, the Rohilcund field force, under Sir Colin Campbell, left

Shahjehanpore for Tilhur, detaching, for the protection of the post, a part of the 82nd regiment, with some artillery and sappers, and De Kantzow's irregular horse. With very few exceptions, the villages along the line of march had been abandoned by the people, only a very few of the oldest and most miserable being met with in the streets, and the houses were nearly all fastened up and abandoned. Not a beast was visible of any kind whatever; and in many parts of the vast plain traversed, no signs appeared of growing crops. The whole country, as far as the eye could reach, appeared desolate and abandoned. The force halted at Tilhur for the remainder of the day, and the next morning left for Futtehgunge, which they reached in about four hours. This place, the name of which signifies the "Field of Victory," is celebrated as the site of a defeat given to the Rohillas by a British force when engaged some years back in the defence of the then nawab of Oude. In the course of the forenoon, the field force, lately under the command of General Penny, effected its junction with the main column. At this place, intelligence reached the head-quarters that the enemy were in great confusion at Bareilly, and that the force collected at Fureedpore—the next march in advance—had evacuated the position, and fallen back upon the capital. Spies resorted here in abundance; and the intelligence imparted by them of the enemy's whereabouts and strength, was of the most opposite character. The following specimen is characteristic of the whole system pursued. On the evening after the troops had camped at Futtehgunge, a man came in from Bareilly with news respecting the enemy. He was asked if there was any force at Fureedpore. "There is not so much as a fly there," was the response.—"Are you sure?"—"Yes. If I tell a lie, and you find a man there, hang me." Just at this moment another spy arrived from Fureedpore itself, and reported the presence of 1,000 cavalry and four guns in the place. The two men were confronted. "Oh," said the first, "I was not at Fureedpore. Coming from Bareilly I passed round it; but I heard a man that I know say, that there was not a soul in the place." As it was necessary to put some limit to the habit of romancing upon such subjects, the fellow was at once seized. A barber was sent for, his mustachios and eyebrows were shaved off, and his head divested of every hair, even of the sacred lock which he wore as a high-caste Hindoo. He then received a dozen strokes of the bamboo upon his back, and was sent ignominiously out of the camp, having been thus taught a lesson he was not likely very soon to forget.

On the 4th of May the army continued its advance, and, by an early hour, reached Fureedpore without any obstruction, through a country equally desolate as that already traversed since entering Rohilcund. It was now but one march from Bareilly, and dispositions were made for the advance and attack of the batteries on the following morning. It was, however, impossible for the commander-in-chief to obtain any reliable information as to the numbers and disposition of the enemy. It was said they had a force varying from 6,000 to 18,000 men, and nearly 100 guns; and it was asserted that they would stand the brunt of an attack, in accordance with solemn oaths they had taken to exterminate the British force. The prince, Feroze Shah, had, as usual, left the town before the near approach of real danger; but Khan Bahadoor Khan, and some of the principal chiefs with him, had determined on resistance. No fortifications had been thrown up by the enemy; and, with the exception of a stream with rather steep banks, spanned by a bridge on the main road, a short distance outside the cantonmonts, the place offered no line of defence on the south side. It has been mentioned, that the commander-in-chief had directed Brigadier Jones to move down his column from Moradabad to Bareilly, so as to arrive before the place at the same time with the head-quarters' column; but still the combined forces would not have sufficed to cover any considerable portion of the town, and the east and north-east sides of it were, of necessity, left open. The place consisted of one great main street, upwards of two miles long, with tortuous lanes branching off to the right and left, and surrounded by large suburbs containing detached houses, walled gardens, enclosures, and plantations. Outside the town were large plains which, although somewhat intersected by nullahs, were yet favourable for the movements of cavalry, of which the enemy were reported to have a large force.

At half-past three o'clock on the morning of the 5th of May, the British troops moved off from their camp at Fureedpore

assured that on that day would be fought the battle of Bareilly. Shortly after day-break the men had their first halt, as usual; and Sir Colin Campbell rode among the various regiments, superintending the arrangements which nominally had been left in the hands of Brigadier Walpole. At this time the commander-in-chief was actually without a military staff—his aides-de-camp were disabled by fever and small-pox; and, of the officers attached to the chief of the staff, Captain Hope Johnstone was the only one fit for active duty.

Shortly after the halt, the cavalry videttes reported that the enemy's cavalry were visible in front, and a line of sowars could be seen reconnoitring among the distant topes. The line of advance was then arranged as follows:—On the left of the Bareilly-road, a line of skirmishers of the 2nd Punjab cavalry; on the right a similar line of the Lahore light horse, Tombs' troop of horse artillery, a troop of the 1st Punjab cavalry, four guns of Hammond's and three of Remmington's, supported by a troop of the 1st Punjab cavalry; and a troop of the 9th lancers being in line across the road, from right to left, in support. The 42nd highlanders marched on the left of the road, in rear of Tombs' guns. The 78th highlanders, followed by the engineers and sappers, moved along the road, and on their right was the 93rd regiment. The 79th followed the 42nd, their flanks being covered by the carabiniers and the Mooltanee horse; the 2nd Punjab cavalry and the remainder of the 9th lancers moving on the right of the 78th highlanders; and a wing of the Belooch battalion, on the right of the road, moved on the same line as the 79th, on the left of the road, behind the sappers and miners. The siege-train and the baggage, extending to an enormous length, moved slowly on, being covered on the left by the 4th Punjab rifles, H.M.'s 64th regiment, and the 2nd Punjab infantry; and, on the left, by a wing of H.M.'s 82nd regiment. The rear guard consisted of three guns of Remmington's troop, one squadron of the 5th Punjab cavalry, 17th irregular cavalry, and 22nd Punjab infantry.

As the troops approached the stream before mentioned, the first shot was fired by the enemy from a rude breastwork thrown up about half a mile in front of the bridge; but a few shots in return speedily drove them from this advanced position, and they fell back from the bridge itself, where they had made some show of intending to stand, and retired towards the ruined buildings of the old cantonments, without making the slightest effort to resist the passage of the stream, which, though everywhere fordable, had steep high banks, which presented formidable obstacles for infantry, and still more for cavalry; neither did they attempt to impede the advance of the British troops by destroying the bridge, which they had ample time to have done. As the column advanced, skirmishers fell-in and retired on the flanks, and the leading regiments deployed into line. Little could now be seen of the enemy, who were screened behind the cantonments, with the exception of their cavalry, which showed now and then among the trees on both flanks of the position, and in considerable numbers. Suddenly a gun opened upon Tombs' troop, on the left of the line of advance, with such precision, that the first four shots all took effect; but this was speedily silenced. The troops continued to advance without meeting with any opposition from the enemy's infantry; but their cavalry exhibited increased activity; and a strong body, with three guns, came out from the cantonment enclosure and menaced the left and baggage. On the front and right, also, such numbers of the enemy's horse came out from time to time, as showed they had more than 2,500 sabres in the field. In the absence of any definite information respecting the strength of the enemy's infantry, or even of the position they occupied, the commander-in-chief was averse to engage his best troops in a precipitate attack upon the town, which was yet nearly two miles distant. Some companies of a Punjab regiment were therefore sent forward to explore a ruined mass of one-storied houses in front of the lines; while the 42nd regiment, divided into two wings, moved up in support, the 78th regiment covering their left at some distance. As soon as the Sikhs got into the houses they were exposed to a heavy fire from a large body of matchlockmen concealed around them, and they fell back with rapidity and disorder upon the advancing highlanders. The scene that followed was extraordinary. Among the matchlockmen —who, to the number of 700 or 800, were lying behind the walls of the houses—was a body of Ghazees, who, with fanatic zeal, had devoted themselves to death for their

religion. Uttering loud cries, "Bismallah! Allah! deen! deen!" 130 of these men, scarcely human, and more ferocious than the wild monarchs of the jungle, tulwar in hand, with small circular bucklers on the left arm, and green cummerbunds, rushed out after the Sikhs, and dashed at the left and right wing of the highlanders. With bodies bent, and heads low, waving their tulwars with a circular motion in the air, they came towards the troops with astonishing rapidity. At first they were mistaken by the men for the Sikhs, whose hasty retreat had already partly disordered their ranks; but, fortunately, Sir Colin Campbell was close up with the 42nd, and his keen quick eye penetrated the case at once. "Steady, men, steady—close up the ranks; bayonet them as they come on"—was his instant order, and it was only just in time; for the madmen, furious with bhang, were already among the troops, and a party of them sweeping round the left of the right wing, had got in the rear of the regiment. The struggle was sanguinary but brief. Three of the Ghazees dashed so suddenly at Colonel Cameron, that he was pulled off his horse before he could defend himself. His sword fell out of its sheath, and, in a moment, he would have been hacked to pieces by the knife-like tulwars, but for the activity of a colour-sergeant (Gardiner), who, stepping out of the ranks, drove his bayonet through two of the ruffians, while the third was shot by a man of the 42nd. Brigadier Walpole had a similar escape: two or three of the Ghazees sprang upon him, and strove to pull him off his horse, while others cut at him with their tulwars. He received two cuts on the hand; but was rescued by the quick bayonets of the 42nd. In a few minutes, the dead bodies of 133 Ghazees, and some eighteen or twenty wounded highlanders, were all the tokens left of the struggle in this quarter. About the same time, however, that this desperate affair was in progress, the enemy's cavalry, issuing in considerable numbers on the left of the British force, made a charge across the plain, which created a panic among the sick and camp-followers. They swept across the ground as if intending to make a dash at the baggage, cutting up as they went some of the camel-drivers and bazaar people; but they were speedily checked, and retired at full speed the instant the cavalry approached them. A similar feint on another part of the column, occasioned a second alarm; but it was productive of nothing more.

The line continued to advance towards the town, the enemy melting away from the suburbs before it, as it was believed, for the purpose of concentrating upon some point within the place. In the now exhausted state of the troops, it was not deemed advisable to throw the troops into a series of street-fights; besides which, the heat was intense, and many men had fallen in the ranks from sun-stroke. Towards evening, therefore, Sir Colin determined to secure the cantonments and posts in advance, and halted upon the plain between them and the town, where the troops bivouacked for the night.

On the following morning (May 6th), as the men were falling into column, it was reported that one of the principal chiefs with the rebel force (Kambo Nodra Khan), with most of his followers, had fled from Bareilly at noon on the previous day—other chiefs following his example; and that the force in the city had rapidly diminished during the night. Still it was known that considerable portions of the enemy were reported to be in the possession of some strongholds in the city, where many of the houses were loopholed for defence. The principal buildings were also reported to be mined, and the defenders ready to blow themselves up with their conquerors. Some mortars and heavy guns were brought to bear upon the points indicated, and, after a few hours' practice, they were rendered untenable. During the morning, a body of cavalry was dispatched to the right of the force, to intercept a party of the enemy leaving the city, and, fortunately coming up with them, cut some hundreds to pieces, and forced others into the river, where they perished. While this work was proceeding, the guns of Brigadier Jones's column were heard opening fire on the north side of the town, and that gallant officer was thus enabled to take part in the operations at Bareilly.

On the 7th, the advance was pushed on through the town, a great part of which was burnt and in ruins. A quantity of artillery, mostly of recent native manufacture, with shot, shell, and gunpowder, fell into the hands of the captors. Orders were issued against plunder; but the city contained little or nothing that could be "looted." In the gaol was found a poor English lunatic named Healey, who had been left behind when the insurrection

broke out in May, 1857, and whose life had been spared by the superstition of the Mohammedans. This unfortunate person was quite reconciled to his place of residence, and refused to leave it when asked to do so. His companion was a native who had been shot through both legs, and who, with a match in his hand, was ready to fire a mine as soon as our soldiers entered. All the other inmates of the gaol were gone.

According to their usual practice, the Mohammedans did very great damage to the church and graveyard at Bareilly, for which, at a subsequent period, a fine of 25,000 rupees was inflicted upon the inhabitants, which sum was paid, and appropriated to the restoration of the building and graveyard.

It has already been mentioned, that when the commander-in-chief marched with his troops from Shahjehanpore, on the 2nd of May, *en route* for Bareilly, he left a small body of infantry, consisting of five companies of H.M.'s 82nd regiment, and a few squadrons of Punjab horse, as a garrison for its protection in the event of any movement of the enemy in that direction. As it happened, however, the force so left was not adequate for the purpose designed. The army had scarcely covered two marches from Shahjehanpore, before a rebel force, consisting of 8,000 men, with twelve guns, under the command of the moulvie and the rajah of Mohumdee, closing upon its rear, re-entered the town; the small force left for its protection retiring to the gaol and the intrenchment round it, which were strongly defended. The rebels then plundered the town, and put to death many of the native inhabitants who had shown a friendly disposition towards the English; and having taken possession of an old fort in the suburbs, they set themselves down to invest the garrison in the gaol. Fortunately, this was not so effectually done as to prevent intelligence of the movements of the rebels being conveyed to the commander-in-chief.

Accordingly, on the 8th of the month, Brigadier-general Jones was dispatched with a force to the rescue, the operations connected with which will be hereafter described. A despatch from Sir Colin Campbell to the governor-general, announced officially the occupation of Bareilly, and was published by the government, with the following introductory notification:—

"The right honourable the governor-general is pleased to direct the publication of the following despatch from his excellency the commander-in-chief, dated 8th of May, 1858, reporting operations against the rebels in Rohilcund. His lordship desires that his excellency will accept his hearty congratulations and thanks upon the complete accomplishment of all the operations projected for Rohilcund.

"The small cost of life at which success has been secured to the forces under his excellency's command, is again a source of the highest satisfaction to the governor-general; while the cheerful endurance by the troops of the fatigue and exposure to which they have necessarily been subjected of late, is quite admirable. The whole of Brigadier-general Jones's progress from Roorkee to Bareilly, has, in the governor-general's opinion, been marked with a happy combination of energy and prudence."

"*To the Right Hon. the Viscount Canning, Governor-general.*

"Camp, Bareilly, 8th May, 1858.

"My Lord,—I have the honour to report to your lordship, that according to my intentions already announced, my head-quarters were transferred to General Walpole's division in Rohilcund on the 27th of April, the siege-train, &c., having joined him on the previous day.

"The time had now arrived for General Walpole's division to advance on Bareilly on the one side, while directions were sent to Brigadier-general Jones, H.M.'s 60th rifles, with whose movements your lordship has already been made acquainted, to move forward from Moradabad in a like direction. The late lamented General Penny, C.B., was instructed to cross the Ganges with the troops, as detailed below,* at the same time at Nudowlee, to advance through the Budaon district, and unite himself to the column under my immediate orders at Meeranpore Kutra, by the evening of the 6th of March, from Futteghur.

"Although this officer unhappily lost his life in a trifling skirmish, the orders were literally obeyed, and the junction was effected as designed, under the orders of Brigadier Jones, H.M.'s 6th dragoon guards—the rebels, who had so long occupied the ghâts of the Ganges above Futteghur, and the district of Budaon, having retired before him, and swelled the mass of the insurgents at Bareilly. During my advance from Futteghur towards Bareilly, the detached parties of the enemy which had previously occupied Shahjehanpore, and the various large villages along the line of road, did not venture in a single instance to offer resistance. Accordingly every town and village was spared, and I advanced by the regular marches, having halted one day at Shahjehanpore to form a military post at that place.

"On the 5th instant, a movement was made on Bareilly. The information which had been furnished me from various quarters was most conflicting; and to place reliance on it was utterly im-

* Light field battery, heavy field battery, under Major Hammond; head-quarters and two squadrons 6th dragoon guards, carabiniers; detachment Mooltanee horse; head-quarters H.M.'s 64th foot, seven companies; wing of 1st Belooch battalion; 22nd Punjab infantry.

possible. In short, in spite of the assumed friendship of the Hindoo portion of the population, I have not found it easier to obtain information in Rohilcund, on which trust could be put, than has been the case in dealing with the insurrection in other parts of the empire.

"Very early on the morning of the 5th, the advance having been made from Fureedpore, the force, consisting as detailed below,* was formed in line-of-battle about six o'clock A.M. The first line consisted of the highland brigade, supported by the 4th Sikhs and Belooch battalion, with a heavy field battery in the centre, with horse artillery and cavalry on both flanks, under the respective brigadiers and commandants.

"The second line was wholly employed for the protection of the baggage and siege-train, this precaution appearing to be necessary owing to the very numerous rebel cavalry. The enemy, who had come out from the city with much boldness, and taken position on the left bank of the Nuttea Nuddee, having that stream in his rear, fired his first gun about seven o'clock A.M.

"His guns were well placed, advantage having been taken of the road along which we were advancing, and of certain sand-hills. The horse artillery and cavalry advanced at a trot from both flanks, while the heavy field battery, with infantry in line, pressed up along the centre.

"In a short time the enemy was driven from his guns, the left part of our line taking position on the river, while the right crossed the bridge and advanced about three-quarters of a mile towards the town. The heavy guns were rapidly passed over in succession, and placed in a position from which they raked the centre of the enemy's second line, which he had taken up in the suburbs. A considerable distance had now been traversed by the troops, and it became necessary to check the advance, to allow time for the siege-train and baggage to close up.

"About 11 A.M. great activity was observed in the enemy's ranks; and while the attention of my right was occupied by a considerable body in the suburbs, the most determined effort that I have seen made in this war to turn and break through the left, was executed at this time by the enemy. Some old cavalry lines had been occupied by a Sikh regiment. Such was the vigour with which this regiment—a most distinguished one (Major Wilde's), under command of Lieutenant McQueen—was attacked by a large body of fanatical Ghazees, that they gave way for a few minutes. The Ghazees, pursuing their advantage, rushed like madmen on the 42nd highlanders, who had been formed in line in rear of the village, to support the Sikhs as soon as the hostile movement was descried. These men were all killed in the very ranks of the 42nd highlanders, in a most desperate hand-to-hand encounter.

"The 42nd, supported by the 4th Sikhs and a part of the 79th highlanders, then advanced, sweeping through to seize all the various lines for about a mile and a-half into the cantonments, where they were placed in position for the day.

"Whilst the Ghazee attack had been going on on the left of the first line, a very large body of the enemy's cavalry, some 600 or 700 in number, coming round our extreme left, attacked the baggage. They were quickly encountered by Lieutenant-colonel Tombs' horse artillery troop (which, after the first advance across the river, had been left to meet such a contingency), by H.M.'s carabiniers (6th dragoon guards), the Mooltanee horse, and infantry of the rear-guard; their instant dispersion took place.

"This is the last effort made by the enemy. A short time afterwards, the 79th and 93rd were directed to seize all the suburbs in their front, and the troops were put under shade as far as possible, the action having lasted for about six hours, and the troops having been under arms from 2 A.M.

"Early the next morning, on the 6th instant, the whole force advanced into the cantonment. At the same time I had the pleasure to hear Brigadier-general Jones's guns on the Moradabad side of Bareilly. This officer, who obeyed his instructions with great judgment and spirit, defeated a portion of the enemy on the 5th instant, taking three guns; and, finding himself resisted in his approach to the town on the 6th, took three more, which were in position against him; then entered the town, and took an advanced position without delay.

"On the morning of the 7th, the town was finally reduced, and the Mussulman portion of it—where there were still detached bodies of Ghazees remaining, with the intention to sell their lives as dearly as possible—was cleared.

"When I passed through Shahjehanpore, I was informed that the Fyzabad moulvie and the nawab of the former place were at Mohumdee, with a considerable body of men who had retired from Shahjehanpore. I thought it would be impolitic to leave the district of that name without evidence of our presence; a post was therefore formed, consisting of 500 H.M.'s 82nd foot, a detachment of artillery with two 24-pounders and two 9-pounders, and De Kantzow's horse, under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Hale, C.B., H.M.'s 82nd foot. He was directed to hold the large enclosure of the gaol. I anticipated that as soon as my back was turned, the moulvie

* 1st brigade, under Brigadier Jones, 6th dragoon guards; head-quarters and two squadrons 6th dragoon guards, under Captain Bickerstaff; Captain Lind's Mooltanee horse; 2nd brigade, under Brigadier Hagart, 7th hussars; H.M.'s 9th lancers, under Major Coles; 2nd Punjab cavalry, under Major S. Browne; detachments of Lahore light horse, 1st Punjab cavalry, 5th Punjab cavalry, and 17th irregular cavalry. *Artillery.*—Under Lieutenant-colonel Brind, C.B., B.A.; Lieutenant-colonel Tombs' troop, B.H.A.; Lieutenant-colonel Remmington's troop, B.H.A.; Major Hammond's light field battery, B.A., four guns; two heavy field batteries, Captain Francis, B.A.; siege-train, with Major Le Messurier's company, R.A., under Captain Cookworthy's detachment, B.A.; detachment R.E., Bengal and Punjab; sappers and miners under Lieutenant-colonel Harness, R.E., chief engineer to the force. *Infantry.*—Highland brigade, under Lieutenant-colonel Leith Hay, C.B., H.M.'s 93rd highlanders; H.M.'s 42nd highlanders, under Lieutenant-colonel Cameron; H.M.'s 79th highlanders, under Lieutenant-colonel Taylor, C.B.; H.M.'s 93rd highlanders, under Lieutenant-colonel Ross; 4th Punjab rifles, Lieutenant McQueen; Belooch battalion, Captain Beville; Brigadier Stisted's (78th) brigade; seven companies H.M.'s 64th foot, Lieutenant-colonel Bingham, C.B.; H.M.'s 78th highlanders, Colonel Hamilton; four companies H.M.'s 82nd foot, Colonel the Hon. P. Herbert, C.B.; 2nd Punjab infantry, Lieutenant-colonel Greene; 22nd Punjab infantry, Captain Stafford.

and the nawab would annoy him. This expectation turned out to be correct, and, on the 3rd instant, he was attacked and invested by immense bodies, and cavalry. The guns brought against him were of very insignificant calibre, and he writes that he had no casualties within his intrenchments.

"Brigadier-general Jones marched this morning with a sufficient force to his relief. The brigadier-general has a discretionary power to attack Mohumdee after the rescue has been effected. I have not as yet received Brigadier-general Jones's despatch of his own operations on the 5th and 6th instant, but it will be forwarded to the secretary of government for submission to your lordship in due course. In the meantime, I beg to recommend most favourably to your lordship, the brigadier-general, and the officers to whom he is indebted since his passage of the Ganges, to take part in the general contribution arranged for the reduction of Rohilcund. I have the greatest reason to be satisfied with all the troops under my own immediate command. Their alacrity to meet the enemy on all occasions, is of course what your lordship expects from them; but I must not lose this opportunity of bearing my testimony to the constancy displayed by all ranks of the force, in the performance of their duty during the great and incessant heat of the season of the year. It is difficult to speak too highly of that cheerful endurance of intense fatigue, to which we are indebted for the victories gained at comparatively trifling loss on the day of battle.

"I beg to return my thanks to the officers of the staff, and officers commanding regiments and corps employed during the campaign of Rohilcund, and to append a list of their names.—I have the honour to be, my lord, with the greatest respect, your lordship's most obedient and humble servant,

"C. CAMPBELL, General,
"Commander-in-chief, East Indies."

A list of captured ordnance and stores, and a nominal roll of the killed, wounded, and missing, on the 5th of May, accompanied the above despatch.

The following communication from Bareilly, of the 10th of May, affords some interesting notices, which are enhanced in value by the statement of one of the parties referred to:—

"Bareilly, May 10th.—Nothing extraordinary, since I last wrote, has transpired in Bareilly itself. The force detached and sent towards Shahjehanpore, was to relieve a small force of 500 horse and foot left there after it was cleared, but subsequently got surrounded by a body of rebels who returned there. Another portion of this very large force here made its first march towards Moradabad this morning; some to remain there, and some homeward bound, *i.e.*, for the Punjab. I am glad to tell you, that a force of sufficient strength for all purposes, is to be set apart for this station, highland regiments among the number. This is cheering; for it is not possible we can easily come to grief.

"The total number of guns taken in the engagements here is twenty-three. When the rebels engaged the chief's force, it is said that they were so intoxicated that the cavalry could scarcely keep their saddles, and the infantry scarcely stand. The city was, of course, after the action given up to plunder, and completely gutted; its streets are now lined with guards of British soldiers, and every important position occupied; some spacious buildings exist in the town. The college has been turned, after being so lately the residence of the Nana, into an hospital. Accommodation out of the city, for any purpose, is not to be obtained at any price; the fact is, Bareilly presents one vast scene of desolation. Walls, and in some instances scarcely they, exist, of houses the property of those who no longer tenant this earth. The following are the names of those rescued, or who escaped the Bareilly massacre:—

"Mrs. Worrell, wife of a sergeant-gaoler, commanding gaol-guards. No tidings of her husband.—Mrs. Wilson and three children, wife of assistant-gaoler. Husband safe at Nynee Tal.—Mrs. Cruiser and child, wife of a drummer, 9th native infantry.—Mrs. Cruiser, mother to above.—Miss Martindel, and a very young brother, brought prisoners with their father and another brother from Fyzabad in Oude, where the father was head-clerk in the commissioner's office. The father and brother were put to death in Bareilly.—Mrs. Decamp and three children. Mr. Decamp was a pensioner and farrier in the station.—Mrs. Davies, mother of a writer in the station; and John Roderick, wife, and child. Roderick was a drummer in the 9th native infantry."

Statement of Mrs. Decamp, Widow of Mr. Decamp, of the Invalid Establishment, resident of Bareilly.

"My maiden name is Elizabeth. I was residing in the Suddur Bazaar of Bareilly. On the 31st of May, on which the mutiny took place at Bareilly, I was obliged to make my escape from it with the folllowing members of my family:—Joseph Steers, William Steers (my sons by my former husband), Robert Decamp, Charles Decamp (my sons by my late husband), Emilia, my daughter-in-law, Joseph Solomon, my grandson, and a male infant (not yet baptized), and Mary, a native female Christian. We remained concealed in a native house in the Suddur Bazaar till eleven o'clock at

night, after which we made our escape, and arrived at a village named Thileea, two miles distant from the Suddur Bazaar. We remained in that village for a month, under the protection of Gujjoo Khan, one of the putteedars of the said village. Khan Bahadoor, the rebel nawab of Bareilly, having been informed of our place of concealment, sent a party to seize us. They surrounded Gujjoo Khan's house, but Gujjoo Khan had contrived to send us beforehand to the jungles; however, the rebels wounded his brother, Jumaiyet Khan, most severely. The rebels seized me in the jungles with my two sons, Robert Decamp and Charles Decamp. The other members of my family that had made their escape with me from Bareilly, did not fall into the hands of the rebels, but succeeded in reaching Keearah, belonging to Jymul Sing Zumeendar. The rebels carried me, with my two sons, to their chief, Khan Bahadoor Khan, who detained me at his house one whole day, after which he expressed his willingness to set us at liberty. I told him that I would live in my own house in the Suddur Bazaar. I accordingly occupied my house one whole month; but finding that the Mussulmans were thirsting for our blood, we secretly went to Keearah, where I found the rest of my relations, living safely with Jymul Sing Zumeendar. In the month of December last, my son, Joseph Steers, with his wife and two children, was escorted by the Thakoors to the other side of the Ganges, where he and some other Christian refugees were safely made over to the British authorities. As I apprehended no danger while living under the protection of Jymul Sing Zumeendar, I remained at Keearah, longing for the arrival of the British troops in Rohilcund, that I might then recover possession of my house in Bareilly. This day Jymul Sing brought me, with my three sons, William Steers, Robert Decamp, and Charles Decamp, to the camp of J. C. Wilson, Esq., commissioner, on special duty.

"It behoves me to state here, that while British rule was suspended in the whole of Rohilcund, and the Mohammedans were doing all in their power to kill the Christians, Jymul Sing remained staunch and faithful to the British government. He protected every Christian soul that took refuge in his house, and treated the refugees very kindly.

"Bareilly, 9th May, 1858."

On the 11th of May, despatches from the governor-general to the commander-in-chief at Bareilly, brought with them the expression of her majesty's high appreciation of the valour and services of her troops in India; and the gracious recognition of the sovereign was made known to the troops by the following general order of his excellency:—

"Head-quarters, Camp, Bareilly, 11th May.

"The commander-in-chief has received the most gracious commands of her majesty the queen, to communicate to the army the expression of the deep interest felt by the queen in the exertions of the troops, and the successful progress of the campaign.

"Sir Colin Campbell has delayed giving execution to the command until he was able to announce to the army that the last great stronghold of rebellion had fallen before the persevering efforts of the troops of her majesty and the Hon. East India Company. The commander-in-chief ventures to quote the very words of the queen:—'That so many gallant, and brave, and distinguished men, beginning with one whose name will ever be remembered with pride (Brigadier-general Havelock), should have died and fallen, is a great grief to the queen. To all Europeans as well as native troops who have fought so nobly and so gallantly, and among whom the queen is rejoiced to see the 93rd, the queen wishes Sir Colin to convey the expression of her great admiration and gratitude.'

"It is impossible for the commander-in-chief to express adequately his sense of the high honour done to him in having been chosen by the queen to convey her majesty's most gracious acknowledgments to the army in the ranks of which he has passed his life."

Returning to the movements of Brigadier Jones for relieving the garrison of Shahjehanpore, it has already been stated, that the force under the command of that officer marched from Bareilly on the 8th of the month, arriving before the town at daybreak on the 11th. Shortly after the troops had halted for the morning's refreshment, the main body of the enemy was discovered at a short distance, and no time was lost in putting the brigade in order of battle. The word was then given to advance upon a mass of rebels who had taken a position in front of the town, and were apparently determined to await an attack. After a short interval, some of their cavalry deployed on the left flank of the column, and approached it with great boldness, until a well-directed fire from howitzers threw them into confusion. The large guns of Brigadier Jones then opened on the rebel mass; and the highlanders and rifles pushing on as skirmishers, the enemy retired, their movements being hastened by the sharp fire of the horse artillery. The retreat soon

became a disorderly flight, the fugitives seeking shelter among the houses in the town. The heavy mortars being by this time placed in position, the town was bombarded during two hours, at the end of which time the fort was evacuated, and the stone bridge abandoned. As it was reported that the houses were loopholed and filled with armed men, the brigadier directed that the troops should avoid the main street, and make a detour by the eastern suburb. Along this route no opposition was offered—the enemy retiring as the troops advanced, and increasing their speed as some shrapnels burst among them. After a short time the troops arrived before the gaol in which the beleaguered detachment had been shut up, and which was now liberated. It was then ascertained, that the force with which the brigadier had been engaged formed but a small portion of the insurgent army that had been gathered near the place. On the city and station being cleared, it was found that the enemy had loopholed and mined most of the buildings in the route by which it was expected the troops would advance, and that preparations had been made for a stubborn and prolonged resistance.

When the brigadier had secured his position in the city, much valuable property belonging to the European residents, which the rebels had abandoned in their hasty retreat, was recovered; and among it was the mail of the 26th of April, which had been stopped by them. Of this, two large bags, containing letters and papers for the army, were found; one being yet unopened, the other emptied, and the contents scattered about the streets as if in sheer wantonness.

The brigadier had scarcely effected the relief of the British garrison, when he found himself almost surrounded by masses of the rebel troops under the moulvie, the queen of Oude, and Feroze Shah, who were preparing to attack him in three columns at daybreak on the 15th. Accordingly, at 2 A.M. he formed in position, and awaited their approach; but it was noon before the enemy appeared. They were then observed placing their guns on a ridge over the left bank of the stream, on the Mohumdee side, from whence they opened fire on the British position, but at too long a range to do any harm. Jones's artillery replied with effect; and after a short time the enemy's cavalry, crossing the nullah a few miles above the town, came down like a hail-storm upon the artillery. They were seen in time, and received with such a destructive fire, that they withdrew in confusion, and the whole force quickly disappeared.

The march of the column to the relief of Shahjehanpore had told heavily on the men; thirty-eight of the rank and file of the 79th regiment having fallen in marching to and through the city. The 60th rifles, though accustomed to Indian warfare, were deprived of the services of more than forty men from sun-stroke, and it was pitiable to see the poor fellows lying in their dhoolies gasping for life. The veins of the arms were opened, and leeches applied to the temples; but, in despite of every care, the greater number of the cases terminated fatally; and of those who did not sink under the blow, there were few fit for duty until after a considerable period had elapsed.

Urged as well by the pressure of the enemy as by the weakened state of his column, no time was lost by the brigadier in announcing to the commander-in-chief the necessity for immediate aid. The intelligence reached Sir Colin Campbell, who was then on his way to Futteghur with a portion of the troops from Bareilly, and he at once prepared to lead in person a powerful reinforcement of cavalry and artillery to the aid of the brigadier; but, as it was probable the enemy would be informed of the movement, great caution was necessarily used. Spies now reported that the moulvie, with the confederated rebel chiefs and an army of 20,000 men, had retired, after the defeat of the 15th, along the Mohumdee-road, to a place about eight miles distant from Jones's outposts; so that it was possible for them, by a night march, to fall upon the flank of the column of relief: the advance guard was therefore sent well on in front, with flankers extended along the plain; and from time to time halts took place to allow the baggage to close up. In this way the column advanced on the 15th and 16th without molestation, the people of some of the villages through which the troops passed gathering on the road-side to watch them, and produced stores of flour, rice, and native luxuries for sale; exhibiting a confidence that was attributable to the fact, that on the passage of the troops through the same places on their way to Bareilly a short time previous, the men's conduct had been extremely regular, and no attempt to plunder had been made. On

the 17th the troops passed through the village of Tilhur, and about 8 A.M. en campe in a large mango tope to the south of it, where they remained during the day without any annoyance from the enemy.* Late in the evening, a report reached the camp that the enemy were strongly posted a few miles to the north-east of Shahjehanpore; and half-an-hour after midnight the first bugle sounded, and in a very few moments afterwards, the flare of a torch, carried by a native on foot, flashed through the dark network of the trees, and lighted up the path of two horsemen, followed by a small body of Sikh cavalry. The commander-in-chief and General Mansfield were thus riding out early to superintend the order of the march, which commenced at half-past two, and at length brought the force within view of Shahjehanpore, and the rich topes that surround it. Passing over the old camping-ground, the column swept round the city to the bridge of boats, and, crossing it, filed through the long main street of the place, right away to the tope beyond the old cantonments at the other end. To the troops the appearance of the city was saddening, for it had been miserably devastated since they traversed its streets a short time previous. Brigadier Jones, in advancing to the relief of the garrison, had, as already mentioned, shelled the place very effectively, and subsequently considered it necessary to burn down many of the remaining houses, which had given shelter to the enemy in the attack upon the gaol and its little garrison under Colonel Hale, or which were pointed out to him as the property of rebels. The vestiges presented by those blackened ruins and shattered walls, were numerous in the main street, and, with the deserted houses in every part of the city, combined to give an air of extreme desolation to it. Most of the mosques and Hindoo temples had escaped the general havoc; and the forbearance shown in that respect by the British troops, contrasted favourably with the conduct of the enemy in respect to the church of the cantonments, which had been shamefully desecrated, and its grounds laid waste, as if to impress more deeply the recollection of the outrages upon the Europeans assembled at divine worship on Sunday, the 31st of May, 1857.†

Upon halting at Shahjehanpore on the 18th, the camp of the commander-in-chief was pitched close to the river, and between

* Mr. Russell, in his admirable sketches, has given the following description of the mango topes of Rohilcund. He says—"These mango groves afford most welcome shelter to man and beast, and bird, and every living thing, from the relentless cruelty of the Indian sun. The trees attain a great size, and they stand as close together as their massive branches, clothed with rich dark green umbrageous foliage, will permit. At this season of the year (May) they are laden with fruit, each hanging from a long slender stem, and resembling in size and colour an unripe greengage plum. The fruit is not considered ripe until after the rains have set in. The tree seems subject to a curious sort of decay, which is betokened by large deep holes in the trunk and upper branches, without any apparent influence upon its foliage or vitality. In these recesses, large and beautiful bright blue jays, small green parroquets, three or four kinds of gaudy woodpeckers, bees, snakes, and the small brown horned owl, reside during the greater part of the year. A dust-coloured squirrel, with brown bars, and a large bat covered with dark-brown fur, and having fine and extremely delicate membranous wings, also frequent them—in fact, these topes abound with life. All day they are mute, but at night become vocal with discordant sounds, not redeemed by the call of the gaudy mango bird, the pleasant note of the bulbul, or the incessant chattering of the minors. The grey-headed black pie, uncommonly like our own mag, and properly called a crow or rook, comes from the fields during the heat of the day, and seeks shelter in the tope; and there he sits with his bill wide open and his tongue out, uttering sultry calls from time to time, gasping for breath, and looking decidedly as if he wanted some iced claret. Parrots, kites, and all the natives of the groves give similar evidence of their suffering from the heat, and seek for shade wherever it is to be found." A ludicrous incident was connected with the halt mentioned in the text, which is thus described by the same writer:—"The halt under the shade of this friendly grove, was not enjoyed without considerable opposition from some of the inhabitants; for it so happened, that the first camp fire that was lighted, disturbed a community of the most vindictive bees, in a hollow of the tree above, that I ever heard of; they at once descended to the assault, and in a few minutes most of their enemies were utterly routed. The commander-in-chief himself was attacked, and driven right out of the field, or rather out of the tope, for the enemy did not desist until they had forced him to take refuge in the open plain. The chief of the staff too was attacked, and utterly defeated in a few seconds. Colonel Althorp, after a gallant stand, was obliged to fly with the loss of his spectacles. Mr. Mackinnon, using a large mango branch as a claymor, resisted his foes with great activity and courage for some time; but finally he was obliged to fly, wounded in several places, and to take refuge in a neighbouring tank. The guard over the treasure was also obliged to abandon their post; the natives wrapped themselves up in their cotton robes, and lay flat on the ground, and for a short time the bees were completely victorious. During the struggle, all the head-quarter staff armed themselves with green boughs, so that it looked as if they were rehearsing a second march to Dunsinane." When the tents were pitched we found shelter

† See vol. i., pp. 180; 246.

two fords and the bridge, the enemy being at some distance on the opposite side; but as their cavalry were occasionally visible through a tope, some guns were placed in position to protect the flanks of the camp, while a body of infantry crossed to occupy two villages beyond the town, in order to prevent the enemy from bringing their guns sufficiently near to annoy the camp; and, as it was the wish of the commander-in-chief to allow the troops some interval of rest during the heat of the day, a cavalry detachment, under Colonel Herbert, was sent out to reconnoitre. About two miles from the camp there happened to be a small mud fort, occupied by a strong body of the enemy, with four guns; and, as soon as the colonel and his party came in view, they were met by a discharge of grape, the enemy's cavalry at the same time advancing from the rear of the fort, and showing in great numbers along the whole front of the camp. The report of those guns speedily brought forward the commander-in-chief and his force, and a line-of-battle was at once formed. On the part of the enemy, there appeared no disinclination to measure swords; and, as they had a vast number of Rohilla horsemen in their ranks, who were well supported by artillery, a considerable amount of cavalry and artillery skirmishing ensued. During the firing, a round shot passed so close to Sir Colin Campbell and the chief of the staff, as to strike the earth near their feet and cover them with dust, to the great consternation of the officers around, who thought their escape from mortal injury impossible. Had it been the intention of the commander-in-chief to make an offensive movement at the time, he might probably have compelled the enemy to retire; but it was late in the evening when the affair commenced; and even if the men had been in a condition to pursue the enemy, nightfall would have checked them. Sir Colin therefore contented himself with occupying the hamlets and topes in force, and with ordering up a 24-pounder and a heavy howitzer from the siege-train, under Captain Todd Brown; which, acting in conjunction with a troop of field artillery, under Captain Tombs, soon drove the enemy off the field and out of range, and eventually forced them to withdraw their guns, one of which was disabled. Some time after sunset, the commander-in-chief returned to camp. The casualties of the day embraced upwards of eighty killed and wounded among the enemy, and six of the British force, exclusive of a few cases of exhaustion by fatigue and heat.

The commander-in-chief finding himself too weak in cavalry to pursue the enemy with any effect, now suspended operations for a few days, remaining at Shahjehanpore until Brigadier Coke's column could join him from the district of Pileebheet. This junction was effected on the 22nd, and preparations were then completed for the immediate advance of the column, under Brigadier Jones, on the rebel position at Mohumdee—a town in Oude, about twenty miles distant, which had been converted into a stronghold by the rebels, who had garrisoned an extensive brick fort, which they mounted with fifteen guns, and gathered round it a large force of insurgent troops, under the command-in-chief of the moulvie of Fyzabad;* who was said to be accompanied by the begum of Oude and the shahzadah of Delhi. The time at

* Of this extraordinary and ubiquitous person, we have the following by no means prepossessing personal description:—"A tall, lean, muscular man; with thin jaws, long thin lips, high aquiline nose; deep-set, large dark eyes, beetle brows, long beard, and coarse black hair, falling in masses over his shoulders." During the investigations which were made into the plans and intrigues of the rebels in Oude, the fact was ascertained that this moulvie had been known to the English authorities for many years as Ahmed Shah, an inspired prophet or fakir. He had travelled through the North-West Provinces on some mission ostensibly religious, but still a mystery to the Europeans; and during this journey, he had made a stay of considerable duration at Agra, and became remarkable for the influence he appeared to exercise over the Mohammedan natives. The magistrates of the city kept a watchful eye upon his movements; and it was afterwards believed that he was then engaged in some plot inimical to the British government. Nothing, however, appeared at the time to implicate him in any treasonable design, and he remained at liberty. When at length the rebellion broke out, and the mutiny of the soldiers had spread to the troops at Fyzabad (see vol. i., p. 394), the moulvie, who had previously rendered himself conspicuous in the place by encouraging the disorderly conduct of his followers, and had been placed in charge of a military guard in consequence, was released by the mutinous soldiers, and placed at their head, and he thus became leader of a powerful force. Though sometimes eclipsed in actual power by other chiefs of the rebellion, he yet maintained great influence over the rebels; and as he was an able man, and free from the stain of cruelty that characterised the vindictive ferocity of Nana Sahib and some other leaders, he was looked upon by the British with some degree of consideration, as an enemy by no means to be despised. Towards the latter part of his career he exhibited a more rancorous spirit.

length arrived for dispersing the rebel force thus concentrated; and Brigadier-general Jones, marching from Shahjehanpore on the 22nd of the month, advanced towards the town of Mohumdee, the enemy retiring before him without even a show of resistance. Upon reaching the place it was found empty; the moulvie and his associates having withdrawn their troops to another battle-field in Oude. To prevent the place again becoming a nucleus for insurgent operations, it was now burnt and utterly destroyed, the fort being blown up. Kujoorea, a fortified village in the neighbourhood, was also destroyed, after some guns and property buried by the rebels had been recovered; and, on the 27th, the troops returned to Shahjehanpore, the only casualties having occurred from sun-stroke, which, in two days, had prostrated eighty of the men.

During the operations of the force under Brigadier-general Jones, against the troops of the moulvie at Mohumdee, the commander-in-chief removed his head-quarters to Futteghur, as a more central station, from whence communication could be held with the various brigadiers, whose columns were still actively employed in different parts of Northern India. The safety of Rohilcund had been provided for by a force under the command of General Walpole, whose head-quarters were to be stationed at Bareilly, and also by the formation of a column under Brigadier Coke, for special service in the country districts. Bareilly, the capital, under the superintendence of Major Lennox, R.E., was about to be protected by efficient defences; and the civil government of the province was left to the organisation of the chief commissioner, Mr. Alexander, whose province it was to restore order among the yet agitated elements of anarchy and confusion.

So far, therefore, the more important events of the campaign had been brought to a close in Rohilcund, and there appeared to be a prospect of repose for the troops, who had so triumphantly borne the colours of their sovereign over the subjugated strongholds and scorching plains of India. The occasion presented by the breaking-up of the Rohilcund and Roorkee field forces, seemed fitting to the veteran leader for a parting address of recognition of services and high approval of conduct, which the whole Anglo-Indian army had eminently purchased a claim to by its valour and endurance; and, accordingly, at the end of May, the following honourable testimonial from the commander-in-chief, appeared in general orders by his excellency's command:—

"(General Orders). Head-quarters, Camp, Bareilly, 28th May, 1858.

"In the month of October, 1857, the garrison of Lucknow was still shut up, the road from Calcutta to Cawnpore was unsafe, the communications with the north-west were entirely closed, and the civil and military functionaries had disappeared altogether from wide and numerous provinces. Under instructions from the right honourable the governor-general a large plan was designed, by which the resources of the three presidencies, after the arrival of reinforcements from England, should be made available for combined action. Thus, while the army of Bengal, gathering strength from day to day, has recovered the Gangetic Doab, restored the communications with the north-west of the empire, relieved the old garrison of Lucknow, afterwards taking that city, re-occupying Rohilcund, and finally assuring, in great measure, the tranquillity of the old provinces, the three colums put in movement from Madras and Bombay, have rendered like great and efficient services in their long and difficult marches to the Jumna, through Central India, and in Rajpootana.

"These columns, under the command of Major-generals Sir Hugh Rose, K.C.B., Whitlock, and Roberts, have admirably performed their share in the general combination arranged under the orders of his lordship the governor-general. That combination was spread over a surface ranging from the boundaries of Bombay and Madras, to the extreme north-west of India.

"By their patient endurance of fatigue, their unfailing obedience, and their steadfast gallantry, the troops have enabled the generals to fulfil their instructions. In no war has it ever happened that troops have been more often engaged than during the campaigns which have now terminated. In no war has it ever happened that troops should always contend against immense numerical odds, as has been invariably the case in every encounter during the struggle of the last year; and in no war has constant success without a check, been more conspicuously achieved. It has not occurred, that one column here, or another there, has won more honour than the other portions of the army. The various corps have done like hard work, have struggled through the difficulties of a hot-weather campaign, and have compensated for paucity of numbers in the vast area of operations, by continuous and unexampled marching, notwithstanding the season.

"It is probable that much yet remains for the army to perform; but now that the commander-in-chief is able to give the greater part of it rest for a time, he chooses this moment to congratulate the generals and the troops on the great results which have attended their labours. He can fairly say, that they have accomplished in a few months, what was believed by the ill-wishers of England to be either beyond her strength, or to be the work of many years."

It may fairly be assumed, that this unqualified expression of satisfaction on the part of the commander-in-chief, preceded,

as it had recently been, by the thanks and encomiums of their sovereign, afforded intense gratification to the brave men to whom such honourable recognitions were addressed; who thus saw their valour and exertions appreciated in the highest quarters, and by those best qualified to judge of their deserts.

CHAPTER XII.

TACTICS OF THE REBEL LEADERS; COMMENCEMENT OF A GUERILLA WAR; ASSASSINATION OF MAJOR WATERFIELD AND MR. MANSON; THE RAJAH OF NURGOOND; SIR HOPE GRANT IN OUDE; DISPERSION OF THE REBEL FORCES; LUCKNOW THREATENED; STATE OF OUDE IN MAY, 1858; BATTLE OF NUWABGUNGE DESPATCHES AND CORRESPONDENCE; THE RAJAH OF POWANEE; DEATH OF THE MOULVIE OF FYZABAD; THE DECCAN; THE CENTRAL INDIA FIELD FORCE; VALEDICTORY ADDRESS TO THE ARMY BY SIR HUGH ROSE; REBEL ADVANCE UPON GWALIOR; THE RANEE OF JHANSIE; TREACHERY OF SCINDIA'S TROOPS; DEFEAT AND FLIGHT OF THE MAHARAJAH; OCCUPATION OF GWALIOR BY TANTIA TOPEE; ADVANCE OF SIR H. ROSE; OPERATIONS BEFORE GWALIOR; DEATH OF THE RANEE OF JHANSIE; THE HEIGHTS CARRIED BY THE BRITISH TROOPS; FLIGHT OF THE ENEMY; CORRESPONDENCE; RESTORATION OF SCINDIA; INCIDENT AT THE FORT; DEATH OF LIEUTENANT ROSE; CONGRATULATORY ADDRESSES; CORRESPONDENCE; RETIREMENT OF SIR H. ROSE; STATE OF THE REBEL CAUSE, AND OF THE DISTURBED DISTRICTS AT THE END OF JUNE, 1858.

It must not be imagined, from the somewhat pacific tone of the immediately-preceding pages, that the Indian rebellion had yet been crushed, or that dangers, sudden and imminent, were not still hovering around the European element in every quarter unprotected by our military resources. The din of war upon a concentrated field of action, had, it is true, for a time subsided in Rohilcund. Delhi and Lucknow were no longer the strongholds of insurrectionary armies; but there was still ample cause for the exercise of sleepless vigilance and active exertion. The flames of the incendiary fire that for twelve months had raged over the cities and plains of India, were now hedged within comparatively narrow limits; but they were not extinguished: and it was in that portion of the country termed the Doab—the district lying between the Ganges and the Jumna—that the materials by which these flames were kept alive most abundantly existed, and were now most mischievously active. The revolt had here assumed the characteristics of a guerilla war. The enemy, as a mass, had ceased to oppose themselves to the European troops; and found, in a system of harassing marches, and the influences of a scorching sun, most valuable auxiliaries to the tactics they had been driven to adopt. For some time, the rebel leaders would seem to have abandoned all design of further offensive proceedings; and then, suddenly, and in a part where least expected, would feign an attack, making a demonstration only to tempt pursuit. Light of foot, and weighted only with their arms, they knew that if they could induce the heavily-burdened European troops to follow them, they had an ever-present and potent artillery in the blazing sun above, and that their pursuers would be prostrated by sun-stroke more surely than by round shot. They knew, also, that a rapid continuation of harassing marches, with deprivation of rest, could not but tell in their favour against the efficiency of troops sent in pursuit of them, and unused to the country and the climate.

In Oude—to which the rebel force under the moulvie had escaped after their expulsion from Bareilly—there were still large bodies of malcontents, under various chiefs, among whom Nerput Sing and the begum still contrived to attract numerous adherents, who were unapproachable by the European troops before the return of the cold weather. It was, however, hoped that the rains would seriously diminish the gatherings of these leaders, and that the approaching harvest and seed-time would also exercise a salutary influence among the irregular levies thus collected, a great portion of whom would, it was expected, quietly steal away from the army to engage in agricultural pursuits; so that, in that direction, delay was likely to be followed by beneficial and bloodless results to the cause of order.

Moreover, in some parts of the Lower Provinces, there were evident indications of a reaction in popular feeling favourable to the English. Here and there, villagers turned out armed, and attacked and cut up small bands of rebels who were prowling about the country. Near Cawnpore, the inhabitants of a district opposed the passage of a number of the rebels fleeing from Calpee; and, again, near Bewah, a considerable number of insurgents were successfully resisted by the people, who threw themselves into a little mud fort, and beat off their assailants with loss.

These, however, were but minor advantages, and of an isolated character. The universal feeling of the native army still continued determinately antagonistic to European rule; and it was not yet sufficiently reduced in numbers, resources, or spirit, to be otherwise than formidable. Armed bands of Goojurs and budmashes, and others of the vagabond class, traversed the country in all directions not protected by the immediate vicinity of a British force, plundering and murdering whatever Europeans or native Christians, or *employés* of the government, might fall in their way; and some of the ravages committed by them almost equalled the atrocities of the early days of the revolt. The assassination of Major Waterfield presents an instance of the blind vindictiveness and cowardly ferocity with which the people of India still expressed their hatred to their European masters.

On the 14th of May, this officer, who had been appointed to the command of a small garrison at Allygurh, was on his way to that station in a carriage, accompanied by Captain Fanshawe, an officer of his corps. These gentlemen were without any escort or attendants except the khitmutgur (or driver), and had reached Ferozeabad, on the Agra road, without molestation. About six miles from the former place, they were aroused from slumber, about 1 A.M., by the screams of the driver, who had received a shot through the stomach; and they awakened to find themselves surrounded by a band of 150 armed horsemen, clamouring for their blood. The coachman, in spite of his wound, urged on the horse; but was struck down and killed by another shot. During this outrage, the carriage was followed up by the rebels, and both Major Waterfield and his companion used their revolvers with effect. At length the major fell, having received a shot in the head, another through the chest, and a desperate tulwar cut across the stomach. The horse was then shot, and, in the darkness and confusion, Captain Fanshawe managed to get out of the carriage. He was instantly surrounded, but so closely, that the rebels for a moment could do nothing. Striking the head of one horse, it started back; and then, swinging his sword right and left, he made a passage through the crowd; two horsemen followed, and one was in the act of striking him with his uplifted tulwar, when the captain cut him deeply across the thigh, and the fellows suddenly rode back to their comrades. Fanshawe, profiting by the darkness, climbed a tree, and remained among its branches until he heard the rebels move off, when he descended, and sought shelter and protection in an adjacent village. The corpse of Major Waterfield was afterwards found lying among the yet burning embers of the carriage, which the murderers had set fire to. The khitmutgur was also discovered on the road, perforated with shot-holes, and with his head nearly severed from the trunk.

As soon as intelligence was received at Agra, a detachment of troops was sent to bring in the body of the major, which was afterwards interred, with military honours, in the cemetery of that station. The escape of Captain Fanshawe was considered marvellous, as in the confusion of a single-handed conflict with a numerous band, he only received a few scratches: he doubtless owed his safety to the utter cowardice of the gang by which he was attacked.

Another instance of the vindictive feeling that prevailed, occurred about the same time in the Southern Mahratta country, under circumstances that, as regarded the victim of it, appeared to have no political foundation for existence. The chief of the petty state of Nurgoond, about sixty miles to the eastward of Belgaum, in the Southern Mahratta country, had long been known to the officials of the district as a thriftless improvident man, who had deeply incumbered his jaghire, and was living in no fair way to redeem it. When the order of government for disarming the native chiefs was promulgated, it of course applied to this chief as to others, and he offered no active resistance to its requirements. His fort of Nurgoond mounted several guns, and these he had expressed his willing-

ness to surrender; but upon the plea of want of carriage to transport them to the head-quarters of the division, they remained in the immediate neighbourhood of his fort. As this was a palpable violation of the government order, and it was supposed to be a mere pretext to retain them for sinister purposes, it was determined to send some troops from Belgaum, to bring them away by force, if necessary. Before, however, resorting to this extreme step, Mr. Manson, the acting political agent of the division, determined to try the effect of a personal interview with the chief, to whom he was known, and trusting to his influence derived from some years experience of the people. Accordingly, that gentleman rode out from Belgaum with an escort of troopers *en route* for Nurgoond, calling on his way upon the chief of Ramdroog, to whom he mentioned the object of his errand to the former place, and by whom he was attempted to be dissuaded from proceeding, on the ground that the Nurgoond rajah was in open rebellion. Not deterred by this report from executing his purpose, he rode on, and, on the 29th of May, halted for the night at a village, where he lay down to rest in a palanquin—his escort around him. Here, in the dead of night, the chief of Nurgoond broke in upon him, with a party supposed to consist of several hundred men. Mr. Manson was cut down as he was getting out of his palkee, and sixteen of his escort fell while defending him, the few survivors flying to give an alarm. Upon receipt of intelligence of this foul murder at Belgaum, instant measures were adopted for the punishment of the assassins, and, on the 31st of the month, a force from Dhwar, consisting of two companies of the 74th highlanders, one company of the 28th native infantry, with two guns, joined a body of Mahratta horse under Colonel Malcolm, at Noolgoond, and in the morning of the 1st of June they advanced on Nurgoond—a strong fortress on the summit of a rock, 800 feet above the plain, with the town at its base. The force having halted, a *reconnaissance* was made, and it was found that the enemy, to the number of from 1,500 to 2,000, were encamped about a mile from the village. On observing the approach of the reconnoitring party, they withdrew; but when the former retired towards the main force, the rebels, imagining they fled, took heart, and, with their chief mounted on an elephant, advanced into the plain, brandishing their swords, and shouting defiance. Contrary to their expectation, the Mahratta horse suddenly made a determined charge into their ranks, followed by the European artillery and native infantry. The rebels turned and fled towards the town, about forty of them being cut down in the charge and pursuit. The horse then halted until the other troops came up; and when about 150 yards from the town, the artillery opened a most destructive fire upon it. The highlanders and sepoys then made a detour to the left, and entered the place by a gateway they found open and undefended, and in a short time the whole place was in the hands of Malcolm's force, whose casualties amounted to six men wounded, or scorched with gunpowder; but no deaths. The fort was still occupied by the enemy, who contented themselves with occasionally firing a gun towards the town; and as Colonel Malcolm had then no means of knowing the defences of the place, or the number of the garrison, he deemed it prudent to defer an attack upon it until the following morning. Accordingly, at 7 A.M. of June 2nd, a storming party proceeded to ascend the steep and rugged pathway leading from the plain to the main gate, which they proposed to blow-in by powder-bags. They approached unmolested—not a shot was fired or man seen upon the walls until they were within a few yards of the gate, when a single head was seen above the parapet, and the owner of it was speedily saluted by a couple of rifles, but without effect, as the man began to reciprocate the favour intended, by throwing stones at his two assailants. A Mahratta horseman at this moment sprang forward from the advance, and, without difficulty or impediment, scaled the wall of the fort, unbarred the gates, and the stormers were admitted without resistance: three men only were found inside the fort, who were promised their lives if they surrendered quietly; but the frightened wretches, doubtful of the proffered clemency, rushed to the wall, and, leaping from it, were dashed to pieces. The Brahmin in charge of the temple, had already drowned himself in the well of the fort; and this stronghold, which had at one time bade defiance to the armies of Tippoo Sahib, now fell without a blow being struck in its defence. After a day's rest, the troops marched in the direction of Gudduck, to co-operate with a detachment advancing from Belgaum; which had defeated

a party of rebels at a place called Kopal, and taken possession of the fort there. The moment the murder of Mr. Manson was known at Belgaum, Mr. Souter, a superintendent of police, with a mounted party, also proceeded in quest of the perpetrators of the crime: the chief of Nurgoond, who had been seen at the head of his army when the reconnoitring party of Colonel Malcolm fell back on its main body, had fled from the field as soon as the artillery opened fire, and with seven of his followers, who were present at the murder, were first heard of by the police superintendent at daybreak on the 2nd of June. The chase continued till sunset, when they were found skulking in a belt of jungle on the banks of the Mulpurba, near Ramdroog; and there the chief, with six of his seven confederates, were captured as they were about to start for another refuge. The prisoners were immediately escorted to Belgaum, where they were all tried by special commission, and convicted of rebellion and murder. The state of Nurgoond was declared confiscated; and on the 12th of the month the chief was hanged, with six of his followers; the rajah of Dumbul, one of his companions, was blown from a gun at the same time; and thus ended another frightful episode in the history of the sepoy rebellion.

The peculiar circumstances of atrocity which characterised this unprovoked murder of an estimable public officer, who had been on terms of personal intimacy and friendship with the perfidious chief of Nurgoond, were too glaring to be passed over by the Bombay government without special notice; and the following notification, which shortly afterwards appeared in the *Bombay Gazette*, exhibited the just appreciation, by the lieutenant-governor in council, of the public loss sustained by the death of the ill-fated gentleman.

"Bombay Castle, 4th June, 1858.

"I. The right honourable the governor in council feels the deepest regret in announcing the death, on the night of May the 29th, of J. C. Manson, Esq., acting political agent in the Southern Mahratta country.

"II. A report having reached Mr. Manson, when at Koorundwar, that an outbreak had occurred at Gudduck, in the Dharwar collectorate, in which Bheem Rao, of Moondurg, and the Dessayee of Hembghur, were actively engaged, and with which the chief of Nurgoond was suspected of being connected, Mr. Manson at once proceeded towards Nurgoond, in hope of restraining the chief from the commission of any act of rebellion, and of inducing him to continue loyal to the British government.

"III. Mr. Manson arrived at Ramdroog, about twenty-five miles from Nurgoond, on the evening of the 28th of May, attended by a single horseman, having far outridden the rest of his escort. He was assured by the chief of Ramdroog, that the chief of Nurgoond had collected troops, and was in open rebellion against the government. He was strongly urged not to proceed to Nurgoond; but, with that noble devotion to duty, of which the recent history of India has presented so many instances, he determined to make a final effort to save the chief, by his personal influence, from the ruin impending over him.

"IV. He left Ramdroog on the evening of the 29th of May, attended by sixteen sowars of the Southern Mahratta irregular horse, his escort having come up in the course of the day. He stopped at the village of Soorbund, about fifteen miles from Nurgoond, and slept in a palanquin, surrounded by the sowars. Here he was attacked, in the middle of the night, by the chief of Nurgoond, at the head of 800 men. After a desperate resistance, Mr. Manson and all the sowars were killed, with the exception of one, who escaped severely wounded.

"V. Such are the few facts which have been conveyed to government by the electric telegraph. They show that a gallant and accomplished gentleman, who had proved himself a most valuable servant of the state, had been basely murdered.

"VI. His lordship in council feels that this bloody deed is too recent for comment; but he is proud to say that, though recent, the avenging hand of justice is on the murderers.

"VII. Immediately on the receipt of the news of the outbreak, reinforcements were ordered to proceed to the Southern Mahratta country, and instructions were issued for proclaiming the confiscation of the Nurgoond state.

"VIII. On the 1st of June, a Madras column, under Major Hughes, carried the fort of Kopal by assault; and, among the slain, were the Bheem Rao of Moondurg, and the Dessayee of Hembghur. On the same day, Colonel Malcolm, with a light detachment, stormed Potal of Nurgoond, and obtained entire possession of the town. The murderers, though protected by one of the greatest strongholds in the Southern Mahratta country, then lost heart, and evacuated the fort, which was occupied by Colonel Malcolm on the 2nd of June. Arrangements were then made for the active pursuit of the chief; and the superintendent of police, Souter, after a long chase, succeeded in capturing the chief, and six of his principal adherents, on the evening of June the 3rd.

"IX. The body of Mr. Manson has been recovered, and has been buried at Kuludg. The right honourable the governor in council will regard it as a sacred duty to make provision for the families of the brave men who lost their lives in defending one whose untimely fate is so deeply deplored.

"By order of the right honourable the governor in council.—H. L. ANDERSON,

"Secretary to Government."

In other parts, also, of the British dependencies, during the whole of May, disturbances were occasioned by bands of marauders and insurgents, not belonging to leaders of note, or to be classed as forming a part of the rebel armies. For the most part, the individuals engaged in these

affairs were, except in numerical strength, a contemptible rabble, headed by refractory zemindars, and other disaffected persons; and their ravages extended as well to their own country-people as to the persons and property of Europeans—the chief object being plunder and rapine. In one instance, a party of about 2,000, led by the zemindar of Arpeillee (a place south of Nagpoor), ravaged many villages; and, in the course of their operations, brutally murdered some electric telegraph inspectors, and took away all the public and private property found at the station: but these rebel bands met with little countenance from the villagers, who trembled at their approach, and dreaded alike the costliness of their friendship, and the utter ruin which followed their hostility.

It will be remembered that, upon the final occupation of Lucknow by Sir Colin Campbell, in March, a very large number of the rebels were enabled to escape into Rohilcund, whither they were followed, as we have seen, by the commander-in-chief and his brigadiers. There were still, however, many of them known to be distributed over the territory of Oude, though not massed in any great numbers; to afford employment for the troops in a succession of desultory affairs that combined, with the heat of the weather, to harass and wear out the energies of the troops, whose labours for a time were incessant, without any commensurate result. Still, the general impression, towards the end of May, was, that the country had gradually approached a state of quietude, owing to the discretion with which the powers vested in the chief commissioner by the explanatory letter of the governor-general, were exercised by Mr. Montgomery. The most important military operations in this quarter, during April and May, were the following:—

On the 11th of April, General Sir Hope Grant, with a strong force of cavalry and infantry, left Lucknow for the north of Oude, with a hope of being able to intercept and capture the begum and moulvie, both of whom had fled in that direction after their expulsion from the capital; and, on the third day, he came within sight of the enemy's troops at Bary, twenty-nine miles north of Lucknow. After a brisk skirmish, in which the 7th dragoons lost five killed and wounded, the enemy made off with their usual rapidity; and it being then ascertained that the two leaders had separated—the begum proceeding further northward, and the moulvie to the west—General Grant discontinued the useless pursuit, and moved towards the east in the direction of Beraitch. On reaching Ramnuggur, upon the 19th, as no reliable information could be obtained of the begum's movements, the column returned by easy marches to Lucknow, *viâ* Nuwabgunge, and reached the capital on the 21st of the following month, the expedition being altogether barren of any important result.

During the interval of his absence, the eastern part of the province was infested by rebel bands of considerable strength; and it became known that, at Beraitch and Fyzabad, formidable preparations were making in the way of collecting troops and ammunition, for the commencement of another campaign. From the first-named place it was reported that Lucknow was again menaced, and that messages had been conveyed to the native inhabitants to leave the city, that they might escape the certain fate of the Europeans, which was to be death by indiscriminate slaughter. On the 10th of May, a large body of rebels, of all arms, approached within seven miles of Lucknow; and a letter of that date says—"The people are flocking away from the town in great numbers; the reason they assign for this is, that the moulvie is going to attack the town. How far this may be true I cannot pretend to say; but one thing is certain—that they are collecting provisions at Nuwabgunge, and that their numbers are increasing rapidly every day. This frightens people; and our inaction gives ground for the belief that we shall be besieged."—Another letter of the same date has the following passages:—"The atmosphere is thickening, and we are making preparations accordingly: arrangements are being made for guarding against a surprise, should the enemy attempt to rush in at night; pickets are posted in every direction to give early notice of their approach; and Grant's column has been requested to take a turn in the Cawnpore road, and march up to us. We can muster, now that the column is out, 1,500 infantry for work, besides sentries for all the posts; and we are strong in artillery."—The rumoured approach of a rebel force continued to gain strength; and, on the 17th of the month, a correspondent from the city wrote thus:—"Since my last we have been in a great state of excitement, owing to several conflicting reports which reached us, that the moulvie, Sahib, intended

paying us a visit. Last Friday we heard that he was as close as ten miles of this, with a very large force, composed chiefly of Rohillas, who, on this occasion, had declared they came prepared to die, if they could not enable the moulvie to fulfil his oath of praying the day following, should it happen to be the Eed, in Lucknow city. Saturday came, and passed over, but no moulvie was visible. We then heard he had postponed his attack until Sunday, on the night of which there was to be a riot and general rising of the people. Sunday, also, passed away in apprehension, but still in safety. Thus we have had the cry of 'Wolf! wolf!' but no wolf has ventured to present himself as yet."

It was, however, quite evident that the delay on the part of the rebels did not arise from a deficiency of strength to make the threatened attack, as it had been clearly ascertained that the aggregate amount of the insurgent forces dispersed over Oude, under the command of the moulvie and other leaders of note, did not fall short of 120,000 men, having among them from eighty to ninety guns. As June wore on, these bands had made a simultaneous movement towards Lucknow, and had, on several occasions, very materially endangered the communication between that city and Cawnpore. At Oanoo, an intermediate station between those places, Mr. Lawrence, the deputy-commissioner, had been ordered to look to his own safety; as, owing to the weakness of the Lucknow garrison, no assistance could be given him in the event of his being attacked: and, in truth, assuming the statements in the following letter of the 23rd of May to be correct, the state of Oude was in every direction imminently serious. The writer says—"I will detail what I am myself acquainted with, so as to render future letters intelligible. In the north, at a place called Bourdee or Bounree, and other places contiguous, are the begum, Mummoo Khan (her paramour—the gentleman who had the power delegated to him of passing sentence of death on all Christians; Jackson and Orr to wit, who were shot, not hanged, as generally supposed, at the Tera Kotee), and Birjees Kudr, the worthy son of a worthy mother; these have with them about 5,000 troops and eight guns. They have with them the moulvie and Nerput Sing. The former is at present encamped outside the walls of Slorhea, and is represented to be a man of daring courage; that is, he is foremost in action, when no *gora logue* are present, and the first to show his heels when there are. This man has at his command, on the average, 50,000 men; and, deducting waifs and strays, commands some 20,000 effective men, and eighteen guns. Nerput Sing is the talookdar of the Slorhea district: he has some 5,000 men with him, and eight guns. This is the man who commanded the fort of Roohea, when General Walpole's column appeared before it; but the less said about that circumstance the better. The fort was supposed to have been destroyed; if it was, Nerput is not a man to be trifled with, for his stronghold has been repaired, and the guns mounted upon the same prove that he is prepared for another such an affair—a *trifle*—as that of the 14th of April. There are many Adrian Hopes to spare. The moulvie and Nerput are now together, and with them is Hurdul Sing, the rajah of Boondee, who commands some 3,000 men and five guns. Into this conclave have been recently admitted the Nana, Khan Bahadoor Khan, and Feroze Shah, with all the Bareilly fugitives. I may add, that after the Nana fled from Bithoor, he received great assistance from Nerput Sing, among others. The total of forces against us to the north, amount to, in round numbers, some 70,000 men and twenty-five guns, and are distributed within an angle, north-east and north-west from Lucknow; none at present being nearer to the capital than twenty, nor further than a hundred miles. I must not forget to add that, at Mahadeo, Byram Ghât, Hamnuggur, and Saadutgunge, four miles south of the latter, there are some 12,000 men with eleven guns: all these places are round and about Nuwabgunge, a town on the Gogra, fifty miles west of Lucknow. Between the angle south-east and south-west of Lucknow, our principal enemy is Beni Mahdo Sing, who has now with him 12,000 men and ten guns. This man, in the eyes of his followers, is looked upon as a great one, as having stalemated General Grant's column at Simree. Numbers are flocking to him since that event; and he is evidently bent on mischief of some sort on the Lucknow and Cawnpore roads. Besides these, we have, as independent leaders, Derigbijoy Sing, of Oncurrea; Mohona, who, with some 3,000 men and five guns, is everywhere plundering the district;

Dabee Bux, commonly called the rajah of Gonda, with 20,000 men (he is just now at a place called Mowrawa); Hiupurshed, chuckledar of Khairabad, near Seetapore, to the north, with 4,000 men and three guns; Mansahib Allee, with 2,000 men and six guns, at Poorwa (this man is now becoming conspicuous); Goorbux Sing, rajah of Bitowlee, commands the services of some 15,000, with the aid of five guns. Of rebel troops there are great numbers in the various districts, who sometimes attach themselves to one leader, and then to another, but whose principal occupation appears to be solely plunder. This is the position we are in now; and the total number of men of all classes in arms against us, cannot be less than 120,000, with between fifty and sixty guns."

Continuing slowly their desultory approach towards the capital, and destroying in their path whatever savoured of loyalty to the English authorities, the rebels had, so early as the 4th of June, burnt all the villages up to within four miles north, and north-west, of Lucknow; and it was then deemed necessary, for the security of the city, to destroy the stone bridge over the Goomtee, leaving the iron bridge as the only approach to the place from the north: in short, everything indicated a design to beleaguer and attack the place; and the state of apprehension in which the inhabitants were kept, was represented as baffling all description.

At length it was considered proper to put an end to operations that produced so much needless anxiety; and at midnight on the 12th of June, Sir Hope Grant, with a column of all arms, amounting to 5,000 men, marched for Chinhut, on his way to beat up the quarters of a division of the enemy, reported to be commanded by the moulvie. The night was dark, but the guides were skilful; and the force, without accident reached Quadrigunge, near Nuwabgunge, where it was to cross the Beti Nuddee. Here the advanced guard was challenged by a picket of the enemy, and the column halted. At daylight it again moved forward and crossed the bridge, under a fire of musketry, and guns so placed in adjacent topes, as to sweep the line of advance. The enemy's fire was well directed; but, fortunately, the river bank was sufficiently elevated to cover the bridge, and the approach to it; and as soon as the artillery had got up and opened fire, the rebels began to retire to their main body (about 16,000 strong), a short distance in the rear of a tope and ravine. The troops followed, and in a short time found themselves surrounded—a heavy ill-directed fire opening upon them from the brushwood in their front, their rear, and both flanks. Encouraged by the success of the manœuvre by which the European troops had been, as it were, drawn into a trap, the rebels ventured to emerge from the wood, and bringing their guns into the plain, commenced an assault; but Grant's artillery, only 200 yards distant, opened upon them with such a destructive shower of grape, as inflicted a fearful slaughter in their ranks, and deterred them from any further effort to attack. While yet hesitating, two squadrons of cavalry, and one of Hodson's horse, charged with the infantry, and cut down about 500 of them; and the remainder of the insurgent force, finding themselves beaten on all points, retired precipitately on Nuwabgunge, where they remained till the following day, when they were driven out with considerable loss by the English troops, leaving also a great portion of their baggage behind them. At noon on the 14th, Sir H. Grant occupied Nuwabgunge, which he at once proceeded to fortify. The rebels, who had retired to Bitowlee, at the confluence of the rivers Gogra and Chowka, lost no time in throwing up strong earthworks for their protection at that place. The loss sustained by them in the action of the 13th, amounted, in killed and wounded, to 1,000 men, with nine guns and two standards: that on the British side amounted to thirty-six killed, and sixty-two wounded.

The following is Sir H. Grant's report of his victory at Nuwabgunge, as transmitted to the deputy-adjutant-general:—

"Head-quarters, Camp, Nuwabgunge, 17th June.

"Sir,—I have the honour to report to you, for the information of his excellency the commander-in-chief, that on the morning of the 12th instant, I arrived with the column noted below* at Chinhut, where a garrison column had been stationed, under command of Colonel Purnell, during my absence to the south of Lucknow. At this place I ascertained

* *Artillery*—One troop horse artillery; two light field batteries. *Cavalry*—H.M.'s 2nd dragoon guards (two squadrons); H.M.'s 7th hussars; 1st Sikh infantry cavalry (one squadron); one troop mounted police; Hodson's horse. *Infantry*—2nd battalion rifle brigade; 3rd battalion rifle brigade; 5th Punjab rifles; detail of engineers and sappers. (The total number amounted to about 5,000 of all arms.)

that a large force of rebels, amounting to some 16,000, with a good many guns, had taken up a position along a nullah in the neighbourhood of Nuwabgunge, twelve miles from Chinhut.

"I determined to start at night, though there was no moon, and to get close to this nullah before daybreak. I accordingly directed all baggage and supplies to be left at Chinhut, under charge of Colonel Purnell, and formed up my column along the Fyzabad road, at 11 o'clock, P.M. The nullah ran across this road about four miles from Nuwabgunge, over which there was an old stone bridge; but, knowing that there was a large jungle about three miles to the north of the town, I determined to cross at a ford, or rather causeway, which lay about two miles above the bridge, that I might get between the enemy and this jungle. We got off soon after eleven o'clock, and the whole march was performed with the greatest regularity, though a great part of the way was across country.

"The advanced guard arrived within a quarter of a mile of the nullah which ran along the front of the enemy's position, about half-an-hour before daybreak on the morning of the 13th. The column was halted, and the men had some refreshment. As soon as it was light, the force advanced towards the ford, which was defended by a body of the enemy, strongly posted in topes of trees and ravines, supported by three guns. Three horse artillery guns of Captain Mackinnon's troop, and Captain Johnson's battery, were immediately got into position, to cover the passage of the advanced guard. The enemy's guns were soon silenced, and one of them turned over, and the advance, consisting of two horse artillery guns, under Lieutenant McLeod, two squadrons of cavalry, under Captain Stisted (7th hussars) and Lieutenant Prendergast, Wale's horse, and 200 infantry, under Major Oxenden, immediately crossed, and took up a position on the other side.

"Our two guns opened fire; and the rifles advancing in gallant style, in skirmishing order, under heavy fire, soon drove the enemy from his first position. The remaining guns of the horse artillery, Captain Johnson's battery, and a portion of the cavalry, immediately followed, and I at once advanced, at a trot, against what appeared to be the centre of the enemy's position. As soon as the dust cleared off, the enemy were to be seen all round, and their guns opened in my front, and on both flanks. The troop of horse artillery immediately got into action to the front; and Captain Johnson's battery, supported by two squadrons of the 2nd dragoons, under Major Seymour, I sent to engage the enemy on my left, where they were in very considerable force.

"About this time, a large portion of the enemy, cavalry and infantry, and two guns, moved round to my right rear, in the direction of the ford, expecting, no doubt, to find my baggage crossing; but Hodson's horse, under Major Daly, C.B., a squadron of the police horse, under Lieutenant Hill, and the 3rd battalion of the rifle brigade, under Lieutenant-colonel Glyn, had just crossed, and were ready to receive them. This body of cavalry, and two companies of the rifles, under the command of Captain Atherley, formed line to the right, and advanced against them. Major Carleton's battery, which was following, had some difficulty in crossing the ford; but, as soon as he got two guns across, he brought them up to the support of Major Daly.

"Here the enemy offered considerable opposition. The rifles charged them twice with the sword, cutting up many. Major Daly detached a hundred cavalry under Lieutenant Meecham and Lieutenant the Hon. J. Fraser, to act upon their left; while he, with the remainder of his cavalry, charged them in front. Lieutenant Meecham led his men on gallantly over broken ground, and was severely wounded.

"The remainder of Major Carleton's battery was brought up by Lieutenant Percival, into a good position on the right, and in time to open with considerable effect on the enemy as they retired. Meanwhile, Captain Mackinnon's troop of horse artillery, supported by the 7th hussars, under the command of Major Sir W. Russell, was hotly engaged to the front and left; as also Captain Johnson's battery, which was on my extreme left. The enemy in my front having been driven back, Mackinnon's troop changed front to the left, and the troop and battery advanced, supported by the cavalry and the remainder of the 3rd battalion rifle brigade, which had come up, under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Glyn. The enemy here, also, were driven from their position after a sharp cannonade.

"The action on my proper right having commenced again with great vigour, I proceeded in that direction, leaving Colonel Hagart to superintend the troops on the left. On arriving at this point, I found a large number of Ghazees, with two guns, had come out on the open plain, and attacked Hodson's horse, with two guns of Major Carleton's battery, which covered my rear. I immediately ordered up the other four guns, under the command of Lieutenant Percival, and two squadrons of the 7th hussars, under the command of Major Sir W. Russell, and opened grape upon the force within three or four hundred yards, with terrible effect. But the rebels made the most determined resistance; and two men, in the midst of a shower of grape, brought forward two green standards, which they planted in the ground beside their guns, and rallied their men. Captain Atherley's two companies of the 3rd battalion rifle brigade at this moment advanced to the attack, which obliged the rebels to move off. The cavalry then got between them and the guns; and the 7th hussars, led gallantly by Major Sir W. Russell, supported by Hodson's horse, under Major Daly, C.B., swept through them twice, killing every man. I must here mention the gallant conduct of two officers of the 7th hussars—Captain Bushe and Captain Fraser. The latter I myself saw surrounded by the enemy, and fighting his way gallantly through them all; he was severely wounded in the hand.

"About this time, Brigadier Horsford advanced with the 5th Punjab infantry, under Major Vaughan, being joined by the two companies of the rifles, under Captain Atherley, and two of Major Carleton's guns, under Lieutenant Percival, and proceeded against a body of the enemy, which had taken up a position on their extreme proper left, in a large tope of trees, having two guns in position. Brigadier Horsford advanced steadily in skirmishing order, under a sharp cannonade from the enemy's guns, which were well served, and supported by large bodies of infantry. The enemy was soon pressed: they retired their guns some distance, and then re-opened them; but, in a few minutes, they were carried in gallant style, without the aid of any cavalry. This closed the action on my left, front,

and right. The enemy having, at the commencement of the action, detached a large force which seriously threatened our rear, Brigadier Horsford sent the 2nd battalion rifle brigade to hold them in check. This duty was ably performed by Lieutenant-colonel Hill. The advance of the enemy was not only checked, but they were forced to retire with considerable loss.

"I trust, through the mercy of God, this severe blow to the rebels will be the means of quieting all this part of the country."

After naming several officers of the division who had distinguished themselves in this action, the major-general proceeds to observe:—

"I have to bring to notice the conduct of private Samuel Shaw, of the 3rd battalion rifle brigade, who is recommended by his commanding officer for the Victoria Cross. An armed rebel had been seen to enter a tope of trees; some officers and men ran into the tope, in pursuit of him. This man was a Ghazee. Private Shaw drew his short sword, and with that weapon rushed single-handed on the Ghazee. Shaw received a severe tulwar wound, but after a desperate struggle he killed the man. I trust his excellency will allow me to recommend this man for the Victoria Cross, and that he will approve of my having issued a divisional order, stating that I have done so.

"I would now report the good and gallant conduct of Rissaldar Man Sing and Jemadar Hussian Ali, both of Hodson's horse; the former came to the assistance of Lieutenant Baker, and was severely wounded; the latter dismounted, and, sword in hand, cut up some gunners who remained with their guns.

"From all the information which I can obtain, the enemy must have left between five and six hundred dead bodies on the field, and their wounded must have been very numerous.

"In conclusion, I beg to point out that the troops were under arms from 10 P.M. on the 12th, until 9 A.M. on the 13th: during a most oppressive night, they made a march of ten miles, and in the morning fought an action of three hours' duration. All officers and soldiers did their utmost, and their exertions deserve high praise.—I have the honour to be, sir, your most obedient servant,

"J. HOPE GRANT, Major-general,
"Commanding Lucknow Field Force."

The following letter supplies some interesting particulars of the above action:—

"Lucknow, June 14th.

"Grant has added one more to the list of successes, in an action which he fought the day before yesterday. He marched from Chinhut, five miles towards Nuwabgunge, on the Fyzabad road. Then leaving his baggage, he took a turn to the left, and came up with the rebels, who are supposed to have been under the moulvie's command. The enemy made a good stand, attacking Grant in front and rear, and on both flanks; and, more wonderful still, bringing their guns into the open plain, hoisting two green flags, and shouting 'Deen! Deen!' Our guns opened on them at 200 yards, mowing them down by dozens. Two squadrons of the Bays, and one of Hodson's, with two companies of infantry, advanced and cut up about 500 of the enemy—all regular fanatics (Ghazees), who all died fighting, and not a man round the guns escaped."

It does not appear, from the report of Sir Hope Grant, that the redoubtable moulvie of Fyzabad, who for so long a time had been the directing genius of the storm that raged over Oude, was personally present in the action of Nuwabgunge; but whether so or not, his turbulent career was approaching its climax; and the shaft that laid him low was comparatively from an inglorious hand. On the 15th of June, the moulvie, after a hundred escapes from the battle-field, arrived before Powanee—an insignificant town, about sixteen miles north of Shahjehanpore—accompanied by a strong party of cavalry and some guns. Bent upon vengeance, he here surrounded the ghurree of the Rajah Juggurnath Sing, and demanded the persons of a tehseeldar and thanadar, who had given umbrage to him, and sought refuge with the rajah. The peremptory demand was met by denial, and an attack commenced. The rajah, supported by two of his brothers and their adherents, led out his forces to oppose the moulvie, and an engagement ensued, which lasted nearly three hours. In the course of this affair, according to one account, the moulvie was shot; and the moment he fell, his head was struck off by order of Buldeo Sing, one of the brothers of the rajah; who forthwith dispatched it, with the trunk, to the English commissioner at Shahjehanpore, by whom he was declared entitled to the reward of £5,000, offered by government for the capture or death of the formidable rebel.* The whole province of Oude was, by the end of June, in a frightfully unsettled condition, since every ryot or zemindar suspected of a leaning to the English cause, was systematically attacked by the insurgents, and if vanquished, was put to death without mercy—the rebel leaders, who by this time were convinced they had no chance in the field with the British commander, venting their rage and

* The *Times'* correspondent, alluding to this occurrence at a subsequent period, gives the following version:—"The moulvie has fallen by the treachery of our friend the râjah of Powanee—for treachery it was, if it be true, as I have heard, that the fanatic was shot while engaged in a parley."

disappointment upon their own countrymen, who were by no means such dangerous enemies.

In the Deccan, the Rohillas and Arabs, who could not find employment in the Nizam's force, collected in bands for marauding purposes; and as, in one locality alone, near Aurungabad, their numbers were estimated at between four and five hundred, they were sufficiently formidable to cause anxiety to the government. For the repression of these irregular gatherings, the Nizam and his ministers were held responsible; but it did not appear that they had power to meet the emergency, or to reduce to order the zemindars who encouraged, for their own purposes, the outrages of the lawless bands that swarmed over the country in search of plunder and sensual indulgence. Thus, it was the practice among these landholders, if any one of them had, or imagined he had, a grievance, to call to his aid the unemployed Rohillas and Arabs, who, for their own gratification and advantage, would eagerly adopt the grievance as their own, collect their bands, and attack, plunder, and violate, in any direction required. Under some such circumstances the village of Sonapait, in the Madras presidency, was attacked by a predatory band, and plundered, property being carried off to the extent of four lacs of rupees, houses wantonly destroyed, and the female inhabitants shamefully outraged. Of the Hindoo women thus treated, several, unable to bear the sense of degradation to which they had been reduced, found relief from their anguish by self-destruction. Other places were similarly attacked, with the like results; and the entire district was kept in a state of terror by the movements of these "free lances," who recognised no law but that of the sword, and no control beyond their own will.

It will have been observed, that throughout the whole of the contest that began in May, 1857, and had scarcely reached its climax at the end of 1858, the rebels invariably succeeded in escaping after defeat: they neither surrendered as prisoners of war, nor remained in the captured towns to risk the chances of being punished or pardoned. Nimble of foot, lightly weighted, and able to fly through roads and jungles better known to themselves than to their pursuers, they always made use of the intelligence imparted by their spies among the country-people, to arrange their plans of retreat; and they were enabled to act upon them, because the British were seldom or never in such force as might completely surround the places they besieged. Thus it had been in Behar, in Oude, Rohilcund, and the Doab—in Bundelcund, Rajpootana, and Central India; and the consequence was, that the duties of the army became more arduous and tedious than really dangerous, since in the open field there could be nothing to fear from an enemy always retreating; but in the multifarious operations in which the troops were engaged while divided into numerous small columns, each depending for success on the judgment of its individual leader, there was much to harass and wear out the strongest of the brave men who were now, as it were, destined to undergo the fatigues of a guerilla war under the burning sun of India.

With the capture of Calpee* the labours of the Central India field force seemed at the moment to have terminated. The last stronghold of the enemy was supposed to have fallen, and with it his guns, stores, and munitions of war: thus there appeared no object of sufficient magnitude and importance to demand the combined energies of the several brigades of which that force was composed. Sir Hugh Rose had suffered so fearfully from exposure, and from repeated attacks of sun-stroke, that he had resolved to decline further active service, and to proceed by Allahabad to Bombay on sick certificate; but, previous to his intended departure, the gallant general announced the breaking-up of the force, and took leave of the brave men under his command in a spirited and eloquent general order, which came home to the hearts of his soldiers. The document, written with a considerable degree of pathos, at once expressed the heartfelt sincerity of the writer, and excited feelings of deep sympathy for the failing hero throughout the force he had so often led to victory.

The address to the troops ran as follows:—

"Head-quarters, Camp, Calpee, 1st June.

"Soldiers!—You have marched more than a thousand miles, and taken more than a hundred guns. You have forced your way through mountain passes, and intricate jungles, and over rivers. You have captured the strongest forts, and beaten the enemy, no matter what the odds, whenever you met him. You have restored extensive

* See *ante*, p. 299.

districts to the government; and peace and order now exist, where before, for a twelvemonth, were tyranny and rebellion. You have done all this, and you never had a check. I thank you with all sincerity for your bravery, your devotion, and your discipline. When you first marched, I told you, that you, as British soldiers, had more than enough of courage for the work which was before you, but that courage without discipline was of no avail; and I exhorted you to let discipline be your watchword. You have attended to my orders. In hardships, in temptations, and dangers, you have obeyed your general, and you have never left your ranks; you have fought against the strong, and you have protected the rights of the weak and defenceless—of foes as well as of friends. I have seen you, in the ardour of the combat, preserve and place children out of harm's way. This is the discipline of Christian soldiers, and it is what has brought you triumphant from the shores of Western India to the waters of the Jumna, and establishes, without doubt, that you will find no place before which the glory of your arms can be dimmed."

This gratifying tribute to his brave followers had scarcely been issued, when the general received intelligence which convinced him that the proposed distribution of his force, and his own retirement from active service, must, for the present at least, be postponed. Gwalior, the capital of Scindia's dominions, had fallen into the hands of the rebels, and the chief himself was a fugitive in the English camp.

It will be in memory, that early in July of the preceding year, nearly the whole of Scindia's army—the Gwalior contingent, numbering close on 12,000 men, as well armed and disciplined as any troops in India—had joined the insurrection,* and, from that time, had formed one of the most formidable bodies in arms against the government. It was these men who shut up General Windham in Cawnpore, and were only driven from their prey by the hurried return of the commander-in-chief from Lucknow. A large portion of them then joined the rebel garrisons of Jhansie and Calpee, considered strongholds peculiarly capable of maintaining an obstinate and protracted resistance. Of the whole Gwalior contingent, some 6,000 only remained faithful to the maharajah when the bulk of his force abandoned him · and the time had now arrived when their fidelity also gave way, under the pressure of circumstances and the influence of religious hatred.

From the time of the defeat at Konch, Gwalior was looked to by the discomfited rebels as a city of refuge; and as soon as Calpee fell, a general rush in that direction was made. The approach of the rebel bands was announced; and Scindia, who had abundant cause to doubt the soundness of the troops that remained with him, determined, nevertheless, to abide the storm, and bear it as he best might, inasmuch as his repeated appeals to the governor-general for European aid, to avert the danger he well knew to be impending, had been without any beneficial result.

Some days before the fall of Calpee, it had become known that the rebel leader, Tantia Topee, had moved away from that place to the westward, with a portion of the force under his command; and his destination, not apparent at the time, afterwards turned out to be Gwalior. On arriving near that place, he separated himself from the troops he had brought with him, and proceeded, with a few trusty adherents, to the cantonments, where the remaining troops of the contingent were quartered; and there he occupied himself in tampering with the soldiers, and preparing them to welcome the rebels, whom he foresaw would very shortly be on their route thither from Calpee; and his intrigues were, as seen in the sequel, too successful.

Shortly after daybreak on the 1st of June, scouts reported that the rebels, driven from Calpee, were approaching the capital; and a short time sufficed to prove the correctness of the intelligence. They came on in great strength, under the nominal command of Rao Sahib, nephew of the Nana; but as soon as they came near the place, Tantia Topee emerged from his shelter and assumed command. With the force, also, was the ranee of Jhansie—a woman whose conduct was not to be scanned by the usual tests applied to her sex, since but for her relentless cruelty to the Europeans at her capital on the 8th of June, 1857, she might have been looked upon as deserving admiration, if not entitled to respect. That she had been goaded to a desperate and unpitying revenge by some real or imaginary wrong perpetrated by the Company in carrying out their favourite system of annexation, was one among many questions of

* See vol. i., p. 418.

a similar kind forced by events upon public consideration; and supposing her sincere in a belief that territory had been unjustly taken from her, her conduct (setting aside her cruelty) had something of the stamp of heroism about it. Perfectly Amazonian in courage and example, she led her troops to the field in person, armed, and actually fighting like a man, stimulating her followers to contend to the last against the Feringhees, and at length sealing her testimony against them by a soldier's death upon the field.

The enemy's force, as it approached the capital of Scindia, consisted of 4,000 cavalry, 7,000 infantry, and twelve guns; and, for the most part, it was composed of well-disciplined soldiers, belonging to the Bengal army and to several of the contingents that had fallen into the stream of revolt, and who were all exasperated by the successive disasters that had befallen them in their various conflicts with the British troops. They had now, however, opponents of different mettle—men of their own country and faith, and of numbers far inferior to their own; and in the present instance, therefore, success was far from improbable, since, besides the sword, they had the rallying cry of "Deen!" and the standard of the prophet to exercise a powerful influence on their behalf. The force of the maharajah consisted of 600 cavalry (forming his body-guard), 6,000 infantry, and eight guns; and on the morning of the 1st of June, placing himself at their head, Scindia marched out to encounter the advancing enemy. The forces met, shortly after daybreak, upon a plain about two miles from Morar—the cantonment of Gwalior; and so soon as the guns of the maharajah opened upon the rebels, about 2,000 of their cavalry made a desperate charge upon them, cut down the gunners, and secured the guns. The maharajah's body-guard fought with great determination for the protection of their chief and the recovery of the guns, and had above 200 killed in the attempt; but the moment the guns were captured, 2,000 of the Gwalior troops went over in a body to the enemy, and fired upon such of their comrades as remained loyal. After a short time, the whole of the force, with the exception of the body-guard, either fled from the field or joined the ranks of the enemy. Under such circumstances of treachery and defection, it was useless to attempt further opposition, and Scindia fled with the remnant of his guard to Agra, whither they were hotly pursued by the rebel cavalry. The Baeza Baea (widow of a former prince of Gwalior), with Scindia's family, had already escaped from the capital to Seprce, and were in safety; but the principal officers and attendants of the maharajah's court, only preserved their lives by scattering themselves over the country in all directions, and in disguise.

As soon as Scindia had fled, the rebels entered and took possession of his capital, where they attempted to form a regular government. The arch-traitor, Nana Sahib, was chosen as Peishwa, or chief of the Mahratta confederacy of princes. Rao Sahib was appointed chief of Gwalior; and Ram Rao Govind, an individual who had some time before been dismissed Scindia's service for dishonesty, became prime minister. These selections were assented to by the traitors of the late army of Scindia, as well as by the other rebels, who were all gratified with a certain number of months' pay for their services in the achievement that had ended in the plunder of the capital. The army, constituted as the present one had been, presented, however, a great difficulty to the new government. The insurgents from Calpee, and the newly-revolted troops of Scindia, had certainly worked together for a common object in the present instance; but there was an ill-feeling among them; and nothing could overcome it but a liberal distribution of money, partly as arrears of pay, and partly as a reward. The greater portion of the rebel force, under the immediate command of the ranee of Jhansie, remained outside the city, encamped in a large garden called the Phool Bagh, and to this female leader was entrusted the charge of protecting all the approaches to the city. The property of the principal inhabitants was sequestered, as a punishment for their real or alleged adherence to the maharajah and his British allies; and the immense treasure belonging to the former, which he had been unable to remove from the palace before his flight, was betrayed into the hands of the rebel chiefs by the late treasurer of the fugitive prince; and by this means they were enabled to reward their troops with pay and gratuities. The whole of the royal property was confiscated; and four Mahratta chieftains of the district of Shekawattee, who had some time previously offended Scindia by declaring their independence, and had been captured and

imprisoned by him for so doing, were set at liberty by the new authorities, and received insignia and dresses of honour from the plundered treasury, on condition of raising forces in their several localities to oppose any British troops who might attempt to cross the Chumbul and approach the capital. The civil station, or residency, was plundered and burnt; the prisons opened; and such among the inmates as were likely to be useful, by their daring or cunning, were appointed to active duties. Letters of invitation were dispatched to the rajahs of all the adjacent districts, assuring them of the ultimate success of the native arms, and calling upon them to present themselves and their levies at the seat of the new government.

Some details of the action of the 1st of June, and of the proceedings of the rebels in Gwalior, are supplied by the following extract from a communication to the *Bombay Standard*:—

"The maharajah took up a position some distance to the eastward of the Morar cantonment, and awaited the attack of the rebels. His troops were drawn up in three divisions, of which the central one, consisting chiefly of the body-guard, was under his own command. The enemy came on in a cloud of mounted skirmishers; on which the left division instantly broke and fled, deserting their guns, and throwing away their arms. The centre stood firm, and fought manfully. The right division soon followed the example of the left, and their guns also fell into the hands of the rebels; the centre division then fell back, at first steadily and in good order, the body-guard charging the enemy's ranks three times with great determination and effect: they were, however, speedily outflanked, owing to the defection of the other divisions; and at length their guns also were captured in a terrific charge of the enemy's horse. The maharajah, who up to this moment had remained with his troops, encouraging them by his example and personal exertions, was then compelled to quit the field; and instead of going back to the Lushkur, where all was in confusion, he made his escape by the Saugor Tal and residency. The fight was for a short time renewed at the Phool Bagh, where a party of the body-guard and some Mahrattas offered a stout resistance until the rebels brought up three of the captured guns, and soon overwhelmed them. About 400 of the body-guard are said to have been killed. There is no doubt that Tantia Topee was for two or three previous days concealed in the Lushkur, where he arranged the plot which has for a time placed Gwalior in his hands. The maharajah, though anxious for the arrival of European troops, was quite taken by surprise at the defection of his force, and had made no arrangements to meet such a contingency; hence there was no possibility of doing anything to recover himself. The ranee went off towards Sepree whilst the fight was going on, and it is hoped has safely reached the camp of the Kotah brigade, which was on its way back from Chanderee to Gwalior."

It has already been mentioned that Sir Hugh Rose had issued a valedictory address to the troops under his command, and was about to relinquish further active service, when intelligence of the events at Gwalior reached him. The moment he learned that his presence was required to the northward of Calpee, he changed his plan, and made arrangements to head a force for the recovery of Gwalior, and there consummate the work he had hoped had been already brought triumphantly to its close. General Whitlock was summoned to garrison Calpee; and Sir Hugh Rose, pushing forward his army in divisions, under Brigadiers Stuart and Napier, followed with the last division on the 6th of June for Gwalior. The march from point to point occupied nine days, and was performed without a single interruption. On the evening of the 15th, the troops were within ten miles of the cantonments; and the general, with a strong guard, advanced to reconnoitre. He found the cantonments occupied by small parties of cavalry and infantry—the great mass of the rebel troops haing retired on the town. Meanwhile, Brigadier Smith's brigade from Sepree, which had been joined by Major Orr's force from Jhansie, moved on in advance of the main body, and occupied a position at Kota-ki-Serai, five miles south of the fort. After a brief *reconnaissance*, Sir Hugh ordered an advance on the Morar cantonment, which was about three miles from the town, and separated from it by the Suwarnarekha river. The troops advanced, and drove the enemy before them: part of the rebel force, with the guns, escaped over a bridge into the town; but a considerable number were driven along the whole length of the cantonments, being cut off from the line of retreat by the horse artillery. As this portion of the rebel force emerged from the cantonments, they were charged and

destroyed in great numbers by the 71st regiment; but some of them, who had posted themselves in an intrenched nullah, made a desperate resistance. A party of the sepoys had taken refuge from the pursuing horse artillery in a deep and narrow nullah, out of which they kept up a brisk and annoying fire of musketry. A company of the 71st highlanders came up, and went straight at the ditch, where the leading officer, Lieutenant Wyndham Neave, was shot; but the next moment his men were down among the rebels, and his death was sternly avenged. The spot was too confined for the use of fire-arms, and a terrific contest between the bayonet and tulwar ensued. Steadily the European bayonet bore down the native weapon—the wounded sepoy hugging the steel that pierced him, to deliver with his failing strength one last cut at his opponent. All that hate and despair could do in this mortal struggle was done, but in vain: not one single sepoy left the ditch alive. Of the highlanders, besides Lieutenant Neave, three were killed, and five more or less severely wounded. The corpses of the sepoys numbered forty-three within the nullah, and sixty at a short distance from it. The day closed with the occupation of the Morar cantonment and the severe punishment of the enemy, who, however, continued to hold the town and fort, with the heights to the eastward of it.

While Sir Hugh's force was still assembling in advance of Indorekee, Sir Robert Hamilton, present with the army as the governor-general's agent, sent a despatch to Scindia, at Agra, requesting him to move down at once to the Chumbul, that he might be in readiness to present himself at Gwalior immediately upon its being occupied by the British, or even previous to the assault. Accordingly, on the evening of the 13th, the maharajah quitted Agra with all his followers, escorted by a body of English horse, under Captain Meade. On the 15th he had reached Dholpore, where he found a division of the army, under Colonel Riddell, encamped. Here the maharajah was joined by a great number of fugitives who had deserted from the enemy at Gwalior. On the 16th, heavy firing was heard in the direction of that place, thirty-seven miles distant; and the night had not closed when an express arrived from Sir Thomas Hamilton, announcing the capture of the Morar cantonment, and urging the advance of the maharajah. Scindia at once mounted, and, escorted by Meade's horse, crossed the river, and took the road to his capital.

Early in the morning of the 17th, Brigadier Smith's column was at Kota-ki-Serai —ten miles from Gwalior, on the river Oomrar: beyond this point the road crosses or winds among successive ranges of hills, till the plain in which Gwalior lies is attained. Below, and in front of one of these ranges, when morning broke, the enemy's pickets were observed from Kota-ki-Serai. Skirmishing parties of infantry were immediately thrown across the stream, and a squadron of the 8th hussars followed to reconnoitre. These were soon after fired upon from a concealed battery of three guns. An advance in force was then ordered; the cavalry charged and took the battery, and the infantry at the same time carried and occupied the first range of heights. On the English side, Lieutenant Reilly, of the 8th, was killed, or died of sun-stroke, and two other officers were wounded. The loss on the side of the enemy must have been considerable; but the most important incident of the day was the death of the ranee of Jhansie, either by the bullet of a rifle or a splinter of a shell. This extraordinary female, whose age did not exceed twenty years, was in the dress of a mounted officer, superintending the movements of the cavalry on the field, and sharing in all the dangers of the struggle, when struck down. Her body was surrounded by her guard while a pile was raised, and it was then burnt upon the scene of her daring, to prevent its being profaned by the touch of the Feringhees, whom she so mortally hated.

On the following day (the 18th), Brigadier Smith's force remained quiet, merely exchanging long shots with the enemy on the next range of heights, from whence the fire was sufficiently good to be annoying. Sir Hugh Rose, perceiving that the strong positions of the enemy lay all in front of this officer, whose force alone was not sufficient to carry them, determined to join him by a flank march with the greater part of his division, and by a circuit of twelve miles to his left, through Kota-ki-Serai. The following day *reconnaissances* of the positions of the enemy on the heights were made by Sir Hugh Rose; and the day being far spent in the examination, orders were given to encamp, as nothing more seemed requisite than to keep the enemy at a distance until the morning. Emboldened by this appearance

of inactivity, the rebel leaders redoubled their practice with the guns, and at length it was found necessary to resort to active operations to put a stop to it. The order was given for the whole force to advance—the 86th, in skirmishing order, on the left; the 71st, in similar order, on the right; and the 95th, the Bombay 25th, and 10th native infantry supporting. A three-gun battery, which had chiefly annoyed the camp, was stormed by the 86th, and the guns captured, together with the heights on the left; the 71st carried those on the right at the same time. All the high ground cleared, the enemy's force—strong in cavalry and artillery—appeared drawn up in the plain below, which was about a mile in breadth. Against these, with the rapidity of the mountain torrent, the hussars and Bombay lancers poured down, the infantry skirmishers advancing at the same time; but the rebels awaited not the conflict, and fled in all directions. The extreme left of the British line was, however, threatened by another body of the mutineers; and the skirmishers, who had outrun their supports, were now compelled to slacken their pace and restrain their ardour. A company of the 95th regiment, reinforced by some men of the 86th, now swept along the heights, and captured two guns at the point of the bayonet. The rebels, after a feeble resistance, fled at all points; and after a running fight of about five hours' duration, the town of Gwalior was occupied by the British troops, the enemy leaving twenty-seven guns in the hands of the victors, and flying in the direction of Kerowlee and Jeypore. To dispose of these fugitives before they should have time to collect together and arrange further plans of mischief, Brigadier Napier was dispatched, with a flying column of cavalry and horse artillery, in pursuit, while other columns watched their flanks. Coming up with the rebels on the 20th and 21st, the brigadier cut them up fearfully, taking twenty-five more guns, and an immense quantity of ammunition, which they were carrying off. In a telegram announcing the result of the pursuit, the enemy are described as "lying killed in every direction along some miles of country." The brigadier returned from the "death-chase" on the 23rd, having, among other trophies of his successes, the person of Ameer Chund Buttye, the faithless treasurer of the maharajah, whom he had saved from the sword for a traitor's death by the halter.

Some particulars of this pursuit and engagement are supplied by the following extract from a letter, dated from the Morar cantonments, June 27th:—

"Napier's pursuit and dispersion of Tantia Topee's army was one of the most brilliant and dashing feats I ever heard of. Abbott, who was in advance, came in sight of the rebels drawn up, in the act of mustering preparatory to a march. They were, at the very lowest computation, 7,000 in number, and had twenty-five guns. Napier's force numbered 670 men—of dragoons, Meade's horse, 3rd Ressala, 3rd Bombay light cavalry, and one troop of horse artillery: about twenty of these were Europeans. Abbott crept up under the lee of some sand-hills, and made a *reconnaissance* of the enemy's position, but was at length seen by the rebels, who sent a couple of sowars to find out who he was. One of these gentry was quickly satisfied by a bullet from Abbott's orderly, and the other galloped back to give an alarm. Despite the enormous disparity of the forces, Napier determined to attack the enemy; and the tremendous dust he kicked up, together with the cover of the sand-hills, concealed the weakness of our force from the latter. Dragoons, irregulars, and horse artillery, rushed at them with a furious gallop—two rounds being given by the last-named with amazing rapidity. Abbott made a brilliant dash at what proved to be their rear-guard; and after breaking their light foot, blazed into their retreating masses. The enemy's cavalry bolted at once, with Tantia Topee, the nawab of Banda, and other notables, at their head, and never drew rein until they had placed a score of miles between themselves and the British. The infantry and artillery threw away their arms, and fled as hard as they could go. The pursuit was maintained for four miles, and about 250 rebels were cut up; whilst the entire park of twenty-five guns fell into our hands. They are now packed in this encampment. The heavy baggage of the enemy had been sent on the night before, and was out of our reach. It was most fearfully exciting work, and ——'s description of it is graphic enough. He says—'I only remember rushing the guns at the enemy and opening fire; all the rest was a blank until my servant awakened me next morning.' However, the fugitive army was utterly broken, and the rebels dispersed in parties of three and four in all directions. There was only one casualty incurred on our

side during this magnificent display of pluck: a sowar of the 3rd Ressala was shot dead —*et voila tout!*"

Immediately on taking possession of Gwalior, a royal salute was fired by Sir Hugh Rose to welcome the maharajah back to the capital of his dominions, into which, on the 20th of the month, he was escorted in state, attended by Sir Robert Hamilton, Sir Hugh Rose and his staff, and by all the troops in camp. At this moment it was believed that the fort of Gwalior, which commanded the town, had been evacuated by the rebels; and it is evident that due precaution had not been taken to verify the fact until almost too late. Thus, as the cavalcade passed slowly through one of the principal streets of the city, a shot from the walls threw the actors in the pageantry into some confusion. Fortunately, no harm ensued. A short time before the procession entered the town, it had become known to Lieutenant Rose, of the 28th Bombay native infantry, stationed at the Kotwalee, that some Ghazees were still remaining in the fort; but finding they did not exceed from ten to fifteen persons, he proposed (in the absence of his superior officer) to Lieutenant Waller, of the same corps, to go up with their party of sepoys, and take the fort by storm. The brother-officer agreed. Taking a blacksmith with them to force the outer gate, they rushed towards the entrance, which, within the enclosure of the rampart, is towards the north end of the east side, first by means of a steep road, and higher up by steps cut in the face of the rock, of such a size and moderate degree of acclivity, that elephants easily make their way up. This huge staircase was protected on the outside by a wall, and was swept by several traversing guns. Gaining this passage without the slightest resistance, they then forced five gates in succession, and gained the summit of the fort unhurt. Here they separated their little band of twenty into two bodies; and while Waller's party attacked and shot some men who had fired into the town, and had worked a gun at them during their ascent; Rose's followers cut up another party of the rebels, after a desperate hand-to-hand fight on one of the bastions. From this encounter the gallant officer escaped without a wound; but immediately afterwards, while turning to speak to his men, of whom he had got in advance, he was shot through the body, from behind a wall, by a Pathan, said to be Raheen Ali of Bareilly, who then emerging from his concealment, rushed upon the wounded officer, and inflicted two severe cuts with a tulwar. Turning from the prostrate officer, the infuriated rebel rushed towards Lieutenant Waller and his party, but was pierced with balls before he could strike a blow. The wounds of Lieutenant Rose unfortunately proved mortal; and the memory of his daring, and the successful achievement by which the fort was thrown open to its sovereign and his British allies, was thus recorded by Brigadier Stuart (to whose division the gallant officer belonged), in the following general order:—

"Brigadier Stuart has received, with the deepest regret, a report of the death of Lieutenant Rose, 25th Bombay native infantry, who was mortally wounded yesterday on entering the fort of Gwalior, on duty with his men. The brigadier feels assured that the whole brigade unites with him in deploring the early death of this gallant officer, whose many sterling qualities, none who knew him could fail to appreciate."

The Hindoo prince, known by his designation of Scindia, in whose behalf the force under Sir Hugh Rose was thus successfully employed, represented in his person the most considerable of the native powers; as, although not in reality at the head of the Mahratta confederacy, he was the strongest member of that great league. The relations which the various branches of that mighty clan of which he was a chief, had successively entered into with the Company's government, were not a little remarkable. The true prince of the Mahrattas, by descent, was the rajah of Sattara, with whose claims the British public were not unacquainted, in consequence of the efforts made on his behalf in parliament, some ten years previous to the time referred to. The position, however, of that sovereign family had been usurped by its ministers, with one of whom (Bajee Rao, under the title of *Peishwa*) the Indian government came finally into collision in the year 1818. The result of this, was the defeat and submission of Bajee Rao, who agreed to relinquish every political right or claim to the sovereignty, in exchange for an annual allowance of eight lacs of rupees, and an asylum at Bithoor—a place of sanctity near Cawnpore. The dethroned Peishwa, at his death, left no lawful heir; but a pretender to his rights, by adoption, appeared in the person of Nana Sahib, whose disappointment at the non-recognition of his claim, was alleged to be the cause of his

hostility to the Company's government. The rajah of Berar, another Mahratta chief, had died recently without issue, and his dominions had lapsed, in default of heirs, to the Company; and of the great Mahratta stock, once so formidable, but three princes now survived to exercise territorial sovereignty under British protection—the Guicowar at Baroda, Holkar at Oojein, and Scindia at Gwalior.

When the mutinies broke out in the North-Western Provinces of Bengal, in May, 1857, Scindia and Holkar, whose territories were conterminous, and closely adjacent to the disturbed districts, remained, as we have seen, faithful to their engagements with the Company; and the former, who was by far the more powerful of the two, displayed considerable judgment as well as loyalty in the policy he pursued. In virtue of the arrangements subsisting between himself and the Company's government, he had maintained, from the revenues of his principality, a compact and well-disciplined force of between five and six thousand men, as a "contingent" available in aid of the Bengal army. This force was organised and officered exactly like the sepoy regiments in the service of the Company; and it had proved true to its model in all respects, by joining the mutiny at a very early opportunity. At the time of its defection, the safety of British India trembled in the balance; and had that body of well-armed and well-disciplined men been conducted by an able leader either towards Delhi, Agra, or Lucknow, the consequences at the moment might have been disastrous in the extreme; but Scindia's measures in this emergency were taken with great ability. Like other native princes in his position, he retained in his pay, and under his independent control, a large military force over and above the "contingent" due to the Bengal establishment; and this force he played off against the mutineers.

The departure of the mutinous contingent at length left Scindia with what may be termed his own private army, in his capital city of Gwalior; where, notwithstanding its proximity to Kotah and Jhansie (two of the strongholds of the rebels), and the general disorganisation that pervaded the adjacent country, he for a long time maintained himself in perfect security and unshaken allegiance to British rule; but the moment at last arrived when the fidelity of his army gave way before the calls made upon it by the discomfited bands from Jhansie and Kotah; and Scindia, despite a valiant resistance, was compelled to fly from his capital, to which he now returned with untarnished honour, and strengthened claims to the confidence of the British government.

The restoration of Scindia to his throne, with all the *prestige* of triumph and of Oriental pomp that circumstances would admit of at the moment, was considered necessary, as showing to his people that the British government would promptly and firmly support a faithful ally, and also as an encouragement to other native princes to remain faithful. It was also necessary that the victors should be enabled to judge, from his information on the spot, who among the inhabitants of the capital had merited punishment, or were justly entitled to reward; and it was deemed a favourable augury, that in the course of the progress of the maharajah from the camp to the palace, the people who lined the streets manifested unequivocal symptoms of rejoicing at the restoration of their prince. Immediately upon this ceremonial being concluded, the officers of the court resumed their duties. The harem of Scindia arrived in safety; and by the night of the 22nd of June, few traces of the revolution were apparent in the palace of the maharajah.

When Gwalior had been fairly cleared of rebels, and order was re-established, two congratulatory documents were issued to the army by the governor-general and the commander-in-chief. The first was as follows:—

"Foreign Department, Allahabad, June 24th.

"The right honourable the governor-general has the highest gratification in announcing that the town and fort of Gwalior were conquered by Major-general Sir Hugh Rose on the 19th instant, after a general action, in which the rebels, who had usurped the authority of Maharajah Scindia, were totally defeated. On the 20th of June, the Maharajah Scindia, attended by the governor-general's agent for Central India, and Sir Hugh Rose, and escorted by British troops, was restored to the place of his ancestors, and was welcomed by his subjects with every mark of loyalty and attachment. It was on the 1st of June that the rebels, aided by the treachery of some of Maharajah Scindia's troops, seized the capital of his highness's kingdom, and hoped to establish a new government, under a pretender, in his highness's territory. Eighteen days had not elapsed before they were compelled to evacuate the town and fort of Gwalior, and to relinquish the authority which they had endeavoured to usurp. The promptitude and success with which

the strength of the British government has been put forth for the restoration of its faithful ally to the capital of his territory, and the continued presence of British troops at Gwalior, to support his highness in the re-establishment of his administration, offer to all a convincing proof, that the British government has the will and the power to befriend those who, like Maharajah Scindia, do not shrink from their obligations, or hesitate to avow their loyalty. The right honourable the governor-general, in order to mark his appreciation of the Maharajah Scindia's friendship, and his gratification at the re-establishment of his highness's authority in his ancestral dominions, is pleased to direct that a royal salute shall be fired at every principal station in India.

"By order of the right honourable the governor-general of India.

(Signed) "G. F. EDMONSTONE."

The second was a general order by the commander-in-chief, which ran thus:—

"Adjutant-general's Office, Calcutta, June 26th.

"The commander-in-chief congratulates Major-general Sir Hugh Rose very heartily on the successful result of his rapid advance on Gwalior. The restoration of the Maharajah Scindia to his capital, by the force under the command of the major-general, is a happy termination of the brilliant campaign through which the Central India field force has passed under his able direction.

"That campaign has been illustrated by many engagements in the open field—by the relief of Saugor, the capture of Ratghur, Shahghur, and Chunderee; by the memorable siege of Jhansie; by the fall of Calpee; and, lastly, by the reoccupation of Gwalior. His excellency again offers his hearty thanks and congratulations to Major-general Sir Hugh Rose, and the gallant troops under his command. It must not be forgotten that the advance of the Central India field force formed part of a large combination, and was rendered possible by the movement of Major-general Roberts, of the Bombay army, into Rajpootana, on the one side, and of Major-general Whitlock, of the Madras army, on the other, and by the support they respectively gave to Major-general Sir Hugh Rose, as he moved onwards in obedience to his instructions.

"The two major-generals have well sustained the honour of their presidencies. The siege of Kotah, and the action of Banda, take rank among the best achievements of the war. The commander-in-chief offers his best thanks to Major-general Roberts, to Major-general Whitlock, and the various corps under their command. He is happy in welcoming them to the presidency of Bengal.

"By order of his excellency the commander-in-chief.

"W. MAYHEW, Lieutenant-colonel, Adjutant-general of the Army."

The fall of Gwalior had a most excellent effect throughout the surrounding districts. Rebels who were looking out in Etawah, Agra, and Mynpoorie, for opportunity to rise and strike while the English troops should be concentrated and engaged before the city, now quietly subsided into a prudent inactivity. Lal Sing, the rebel chief of the last-named district, surrendered himself voluntarily to the authorities at Agra, only stipulating for a trial before execution; and throughout the North-Western Provinces there prevailed a general change of tone among the natives.

The pursuit and dispersion of a portion of the Gwalior mutineers, by Brigadier Napier, has already been mentioned; but the remainder of them had also to be disposed of. This division of the fugitive army, estimated at from five to six thousand in number, had followed Tantia Topee, who, after his last defeat, led them across the Chumbul, past Shree Muttra and Hindoun, and thence made towards Jeypoor and Bhurtpore, two principal cities of the Rajpoot states, where he expected to receive important aid from the discontented chieftains of the district. This leader carried with him the crown jewels, and an immense treasure belonging to Scindia, with which for some time he was enabled to keep his soldiers together by pay and gratuities; but, for a considerable period, his movements were involved in obscurity, and no decisive effort was made by him to disturb the apparent lull that followed the reconquest of Gwalior.

The subjoined extract from a letter, dated at Gwalior, June 23rd, contains some interesting details connected with the recovery of the city.

"We arrived at Kota-ki-Serai, about five miles from Gwalior, on the morning of the 17th of June. This is a small fort, and a native traveller's bungalow, from which its name is derived. A river runs past the fort; and, as we approached the place, we could see the enemy's cavalry and infantry moving about at the bottom of the hills. To get to Gwalior from the direction in which we came, you must cross a range of hills; and it was at the bottom of these that we first saw the enemy. A company of the 95th, and one of the 10th, were thrown across the river I mentioned as skirmishers, with some hussars as videttes; whilst another company of the 10th and the 95th, with a squadron of hussars and two guns horse artillery, remained on this side of the river, with the double object of protecting the ford and fort. J—— commanded one company, and I the other. About 8 A.M. the squadron of hussars crossed the river to reconnoitre, and as they advanced, a battery, which was unperceived by us, opened fire, and the first shot fell right amongst them, killing one

horse and wounding a trooper severely. This threw them into confusion, and caused them to retire, which they did without sustaining any further injury, though they were fired at several times. About nine o'clock the order was given for the two guns, hussars, and some lancers, with the infantry, to advance, and take possession of the battery and the hills. We did this, the enemy pouring shot into us, till they were silenced by our artillery, and the cavalry which charged. It was a very fine sight to see them charge. As soon as the infantry approached near the hills, we gave such a cheer as evidently frightened the rascals, and charged and took possession of the first range of hills. Instead of allowing us to remain and keep possession of what we had won, we were ordered to retire; and as we came again on the plain, we saw the whole brigade out, but retiring, and we then learnt that the enemy had made a flank movement and were in our camp, and the brigade was retiring to attack them. The rumour turned out to be incorrect, but unfortunately the evil was done. Immediately on our returning, the enemy reoccupied the hills we had vacated, and placed their guns so as to bring us under a cross-fire. It was whilst we were again moving up to the attack that Captain Anderson, of the lancers, was wounded, and a few men. After a little time our artillery silenced their guns, our skirmishers took the hills, and the whole brigade advanced further on. By sunset we had possession of the hills, on the right side of the nullah, and the enemy those on the left, which we ought to have held, instead of allowing the enemy to do so. A squadron of the hussars made a splendid charge, capturing three horse artillery guns and burning their camp. In this charge the hussars had some officers and men killed and wounded; Lieutenent Reilly was wounded, and died the same evening, not of his wounds, but sun-stroke. On my return to the camp, on the morning of the 18th, to my disgust, I found no tents pitched. I soon discovered the reason. The enemy, during the night, had made a battery on the hills on the left side of the nullah, which commanded our guns and camp; and it was to prevent the enemy from having any mark to aim at, that we were not allowed to pitch our tents. The heat was something awful, and I could not get any sleep. The heat became so intense, that many in the force put their tents up, but soon had to take them down again, as shot after shot fell amongst them. All day we played at long bowls, the enemy annoying us excessively by their well-directed fire. In the evening the force moved out to make a night attack, as was understood; but nothing came of it, and we returned to camp; and right glad was I to get a good night's rest. The 25th and Woolcombe's battery, and some of the 14th dragoons, arrived in camp on the night of the 17th instant; the rest of Sir H. Rose's force, with the heavy siege guns, on the 18th. On the morning of the 19th our regiment was ordered to move out of cannon-shot. It was fortunate for us that we did so, as the enemy had so placed a gun that shot after shot fell in the exact place where our regiment had bivouacked; and about half-an-hour after we had shifted, one round shot cut a horse-artilleryman and his horse right in two. It was a horrible sight. About noon of the 19th, the 86th took possession of the battery on the left side of the nullah, which had been annoying us so much. The whole force then crossed the nullah, and by sunset the whole of the hills, with the lines and town, were in our possession. The lancers made a very good charge, and captured some guns; but they went too far, and got amongst the lanes, in one of which Cornet Mills was shot dead through the chest; he was very much liked. The enemy plied their guns to the last, until our artillery was within three hundred yards of them; they then bolted. The rebels this time were Pucka mutineers, and their golundauze behaved very well, and served their guns beautifully. The Bombay artillery no doubt fire well; but then it was thought that on this occasion the firing of the enemy was superior. The rebels were some thousands strong, headed by Tantia Topee. They were composed of men of some Bengal regiments and the Gwalior contingent. The whole of the 5th Bengal cavalry were there. How many they lost there is no knowing, as they burnt the bodies; but no doubt a good number bit the dust. We took ten guns, all of which at one time belonged to the Bengal army; they had horse artillery guns, with 'Agra,' and other names written on them. On the morning of the 20th, the 25th took possession of the fort. It was at first thought that some severe fighting would take place, as there was only one door to the fort; but the 25th found it partly open, and, as they were marching in, some men rushed out, opened

the gate more, and commenced fighting: as they were only thirty strong, seeing no chance of escape, and the whole of the 25th being there, after having had some men killed, they commenced parleying; and whilst doing so, a treacherous villain went up to Lieutenant Rose, and shot him through the back and liver. The poor fellow died from hemorrhage on the 31st. The rest of the rebels were immediately cut up. The 25th remained in the fort, and were withdrawn next day. No one was allowed to go into the fort, as there are still some desperate mutineers in it, who have taken an oath that they will kill any one of the force they find there. On the morning of the 20th the fort was made over to Scindia. It is very difficult to exonerate Scindia from all blame in this affair, though he had some men who had remained faithful to him. Not a shot was fired by him in our favour; the opportunity was not wanting. Five Europeans were found hanging by their heels, with their heads cut off. These, undoubtedly, were men who had been killed; but regardless of that fact, this wanton and barbarous act shows the bitter animosity they have against the Feringhees, and how they would treat us if they caught us alive. I have not heard of the extent of the loss on our side; but I know that the 25th have five officers and eighteen men wounded, and some men killed. We have four men severely wounded, but fortunately no officer hurt. A force, consisting of one wing 3rd Europeans, 200 men of the 10th native infantry, and Woolcombe's battery, started at 2 A.M. on the 22nd; and at daylight, a force under Sir H. Rose—the 14th dragoons, 8th hussars, two troops of horse artillery, eighty-six men of the Madras sappers, and some siege guns, went in pursuit of the enemy. Part have already returned—the rest are expected to-morrow morning. This is in consequence of their having nothing to do. Several columns have been moving up in this direction lately, consequently the rebels were rather at a loss to know what direction to take; and, unfortunately for them, they came across General Napier's force, which has entirely cut them up, taken twenty-five guns, and their loot—glorious news!"

Now that the last stronghold, as it was supposed, of the enemy had fallen, with its guns, ammunition, and stores, into the hands of its rightful owner, there did not at the time appear to be in hand any enterprise of sufficient importance to demand the combined services of the different regiments constituting the Central India field force; and Sir Hugh Rose, worn out by fatigue and shattered health, through a long continuance of active service in hot weather, in which he had marched from one side of India to the other—had been five times engaged with the enemy, and had captured six strongly fortified towns—once more determined to seek that repose he so much needed, and which he had anticipated the enjoyment of, after the fall of Calpee. At the end of the month, the gallant veteran took leave of the army under his command, in the following general order:—

"Head-quarters, Camp, Gwalior, June 30th.

"The major-general commanding being on the point of resigning the command of the Poonah division of the Bombay army,* on account of ill-health, bids farewell to the Central India field force, and, at the same time, expresses the pleasure he feels that he commanded them when they gained one more laurel at Gwalior. The major-general witnessed with satisfaction, how the troops, and their gallant companions-in-arms, the Rajpootana brigade, under General Smith, stormed height after height, and gun after gun, under the fire of a numerous field and siege artillery, taking finally by assault two 18-pounders at Gwalior. Not a man in these forces enjoyed his natural strength or health; and an Indian sun, and months of marching and broken rest, had told on the strongest; but the moment they were told to take Gwalior for their queen and country, they thought of nothing but victory. They gained it, restoring England's brave and true ally to his throne; putting to complete rout the rebel army; killing numbers of them, and taking from them in the field, exclusive of those in the fort, fifty-two pieces of artillery, all their stores and ammunition, and capturing the city and fort of Gwalior, reckoned the strongest in India. The major-general thanks sincerely Brigadier-general Stuart C.B., and Brigadier Smith, commanding brigades in the field, for the very efficient and able assistance which they gave him, and to which he attributes the success of the day. He bids them and their brave soldiers, once more, a kind farewell. He cannot do so under better aspects than those of the victory of Gwalior."

It was admitted by every one, that the repose so much desired by the major-general had been well earned by five consecutive months of marching, fighting, besieging, and conquering, under an Indian sun. On the 12th of January, 1858, he had assumed command of the Central India field force at Sehore. On the 23rd he captured the town of Ratghur; on the 28th he defeated the enemy in the field; and on the 30th, captured the fort of

* The Central India field force was a branch of the Poonah division of the army of the presidency of Bombay.

Ratghur. On the 7th of February he relieved Saugor; on the 9th, captured the fort of Garra Kotah; and on the 3rd of March, forced the pass of Mundenpore; and, during the following week, captured a series of strongholds that gave him uninterrupted command of Bundelcund. On the 10th he captured and burnt Churkaree, and occupied Tal Beehut. The 1st of April he signalised by the defeat of the army of Tantia Topee, near Jhansie; and on the 3rd he followed up that victory by the capture of Jhansie itself, crowning the exploit, on the 7th, by storming the fort, and dispersing the rebel army. On the 7th of May he captured the fort of Konch; and, on that day, thrice fell from his horse from sun-stroke. The 20th found him engaged in a severe contest near Calpee, which resulted in his driving the rebels into the fort, which, on the 23rd, he took possession of. On the 16th of June he again defeated the enemy near Gwalior; on the 18th and 19th, captured the town and fortress; and, on the 20th, restored Scindia to the throne. With the exception of Havelock, there was no general engaged in the war of the revolt, whose operations were so numerous, continuous, and uniformly successful, as those of Sir Hugh Rose, who now retired to rest under the shade of those laurels he had so nobly gathered with his brave comrades beneath the scorching sun of India.

The following communication respecting the operations of the force under Sir Hugh, embraced a wider view of the circumstances by which they were attended, and were likely to be followed, than was afforded by the mere military reports published under the sanction of the government.

"Sir Hugh Rose, after the brilliant finale to his campaign, has gone down to Poonah to seek rest till next cold season, when we may hope to have him once more at our head. A portion of the press has attributed his temporary retirement to his having been called to account by the home authorities, for the stern justice he meted out to the mutineers of the late Bhopal contingent; but such is entirely without foundation. Not only has Sir Hugh's conduct not been questioned, but you may be sure, when the Blue Book reveals the truth to the public, they will adjudge the praise due to him.

"Would that the Blue Books could also expose the Pandyism that thwarted him from bringing the instigators of the sad murders at Indore, in July last, to the gallows. But no, it was not to be. The Holkar influence, always so paramount in Malwa, was now doubly exerted to save awkward revelations regarding the nobles of the court, if not against the head himself.

"Every ensign in the C. I. F. F. (especially those of the 2nd brigade), knows that Sir Hugh, from the first, has taken an independent course of action, untrammelled by the spider meshes of Central India diplomacy, which Colonel Durant broke through for awhile; and there is no doubt that the fresh healthy ideas of Sir Hugh, himself an old diplomate, were thoroughly at discord, and have completely overcome the smooth but double-tongued conventionalities which have been so long imposed upon the public by sycophants belauding them in the press. Such, however, are known, and valued aright by every politician in Malwa and Central India.

"The fall of Gwalior to the rebel army, and the recapture of it by us, has proved of the greatest use in quieting Central India. Gwalior, always a focus of discord, even from the first, when so many thought its master would turn against us, had latterly become a refuge for rebel fugitives, stirring up the feelings of malcontents who had not witnessed the invincibility of British power, and who were still deluded as to England's weakness. At last, the storm burst there, and the thunder of English guns and hint of Enfield bullets, with the lightning movements of the general, cleared the atmosphere of all its impurities; and, excepting the loss of treasure to Sindia, has left his capital in a far better state than it has been for years.

"The middle and upper classes of natives in Central India, and even some of the lower, now say—'The Peishwa's friends possessed themselves of the first Mahratta capital in India, with a flourishing town, ample supplies, a strong fortress, an immense treasury, guns, stores, arms, and munitions of war in abundance, as well as a fresh unbeaten army (Scindia's revolted troops): they had all the *prestige* attached to these enormous advantages, and yet they could not hold them three weeks. We have no faith in such leaders; by joining such, all is loss without gain. The fates are with the 'Sirkar Ungier.' It is useless to oppose the fates. We will henceforth go with the British, as their *ikbal* is now re-established.'

"So you see it is no love for us, but merely self-interest that binds the natives to us; and no one out of presidency atmospheres, who has lived with and among them, ever thought otherwise.

"Mr. Layard has tried to bolster up their cause; but we in India consider him to have made a miserable failure; and he is not only denounced by the anti-native party, but overthrown and disclaimed by the native party themselves as no friend of theirs: his misrepresentations are great; and the opinion is quite correct, that he came out to India with preconceived ideas, determined to prove them. We shall probably have a Pindarree warfare here after the rains, hunting up the small bands of marauders, who either fear to give themselves up, or have sufficient plunder to prevent them doing so. We should disarm every district directly after the rains, and this will tranquillise the country more than any other measure. The snake is ever poisonous so long as he retains his poison fangs."

By the time the recovery of Gwalior had been effected, that stage of the Indian year approached when the periodical rains would intervene to establish, as it were, an armistice, or rather an interval of compulsory inactivity, which afforded the adverse parties leisure to recruit their strength, and mature their plans of future operation. The unbroken chain of successes hitherto pursued by the British troops, was not yet likely to terminate in the complete pacification of the country. Tantia Topee and the nawab of Banda were still at large, beating up for adherents; and the whereabouts of the prime instigator to rebellion, Nana Sahib, was still unknown to the authorities, despite the enormous reward of £10,000, which had been offered for his capture, dead or alive; but which, hitherto, had produced no useful result. It should also be noticed that, while matters in the Upper Provinces certainly had acquired an improved appearance, the rebels, in detached parties, were still occasioning considerable trouble in Lower Bengal. In Buxar, cutting down the junglo had ceased for a time, as the rebels were reported to have left it; and Colonel Douglas, with his force, proceeded towards Benares; but he had scarcely advanced more than one march on the route, when he was recalled to Buxar, as the dispersed rebels took advantage of his absence and had reoccupied the jungle. About the same time, another body of mutineers attacked Gya, and the European residents had to retreat into the intrenchments. After plundering the bazaar, they went to the gaol, and released 150 prisoners. The Nujeebs, in whose charge they were, offered no resistance; and the rebels shortly after left the town without committing further depredation, in marked contrast to their conduct at other places, where they traced their progress by frightful atrocities, and by mutilating or slaying the natives in government employ.

The subjugation of Gwalior, and the reinstatement of Rao Scindia in his paternal dominions, were facts in reality of much greater importance than at first sight was apparent. That the rebels, after being everywhere defeated and dispersed, would make for Gwalior as a point of concentration, might have been foreseen; and the maharajah evidently entertained such opinion when he repeatedly applied for aid to the governor-general, even to the extent of only half a regiment, to enable him to hold out against such an anticipated attempt. Gwalior being the key to the Southern Mahratta country, if the city and fort had remained for any length of time in possession of the enemy, the flame of rebellion would have been kindled throughout the western presidency, where it was believed all the elements for an outbreak were ripe for action. Moreover, with Gwalior in the possession of the insurgents, Agra would have been in imminent danger; and no troops could be spared for a contingency that might or might not happen, while an actual necessity existed for their presence in a distant quarter.

The Central India field force was entirely broken up after the triumphant restoration of the maharajah. For a short time, the 95th regiment remained quartered in the rock fort; and two of the Queen's regiments of infantry, and one Bombay regiment, with detachments of cavalry and artillery, occupied the Morar cantonments. At Jhansie, the 3rd Bombay Europeans, and 24th Bombay native infantry, with some cavalry and artillery, were stationed. The Rajpootana brigade, which, under Brigadier Smith, had rendered good service in the siege of Gwalior, was distributed in three portions—one remaining at the latter place, the others occupying Sepree and Goonah. These troops positively needed a respite from the arduous duty they had so long

and so well performed; and to General Roberts, who held command of the disposable force in Rajpootana, was entrusted the task of intercepting the flight or progress of any rebel force that might still be scattered over the country.

Such, however, was the general aspect of affairs at the end of June, that, even at Calcutta, it was believed the Indian rebellion was at an end, and that little remained to be accomplished beyond the suppression of brigandage, and the re-establishment of order. The insurrection had certainly lost its most alarming characteristics, and had dwindled from the dimensions of a great military revolt to the limit of mere local disorders. No longer did the *prestige* of an organised and active rebellion exist, and no leader of note was known to be abroad with any military force of importance. "Matters," said a telegram of the 25th of June, seem settling down in all parts of India." Of the popular chiefs, some had paid the penalty of their folly and crimes, like the princes of Delhi; some were slain in the field, like Koer Sing and the ranee of Jhansie; and others had fallen by the hands of their own countrymen, as the moulvie of Fyzabad. Of those who at this time survived and were at liberty, not one held the command of any important fortress, or city, or garrison. Feroze Shah, the agile boaster, whose only claim to notice, beyond the marked cowardice he had exhibited, rested upon the fact that he was now the last of the Mogul princes to lift a sword against the British rule, dared not quit the hiding-place he had found after his flight from Bareilly; while Nana Sahib still continued to conceal himself so effectually that no one could even surmise where he might be found. Of all the notorieties among the rebel leaders, Tantia Topee was now the only one from whose determined hostility and military enterprise danger was likely to spring; and he was known to be a fugitive in the midst of a broken and discomfited army, without guns, or material of war. With regard to the Nana, it certainly was a remarkable fact, that a man on whose head so magnificent a sum had been set, should have escaped capture to this time. Fourteen months had nearly elapsed since the perpetration of his atrocities at Cawnpore, and eleven since the recovery of Delhi had replaced the British government in its capacity of conqueror and master. For nearly a year, therefore, it had not only enjoyed the renown of victory, but had had the command, more or less, of the territories in which the miscreant had lain concealed; and yet he had been ever successful in eluding pursuit or discovery. It was hardly certain that his route had once been correctly tracked, although his person was well known; and there were grounds for believing that he had been present at Lucknow, at Calpee, and at Bareilly. The circle was, however, now contracting around him and his confederates in crime; and sanguine anticipations were indulged, that the last asylum furnished by the wild and but half-cultivated region in which he was now sheltered, would speedily be destroyed.

The presidency of Bengal, at the period of which we write, consisted of three main divisions of territory, which materially differed from each other in condition. One of these was formed by the country to the east of Oude; a second, by that to the west of the same province; and the third, by that hotbed of rebellion, Oude itself. It could warrant no reflection on the progress of the British arms, that this central district—the home of the sepoy class of the revolted Bengal army—was yet unsubdued; for its landholders and cultivators still refused allegiance to the British government: many, or rather most, of its territorial chiefs had been, or were, in arms against the Company's rule; and the entire province was still in a state, if not of active insurrection, at least of latent anarchy. In Oude we held the capital with a European garrison superior to all the levies of the country, and could march out of Lucknow with a force sufficient to conquer and scatter abroad any assemblage of rebels that might venture to stand before it. To the east of Oude, in the old provinces of Bahar and Bengal, trifling disturbances occasionally demanded repression; but these were merely local, and did not exceed the usual magnitude of gang-robbery and marauding. To the west of Oude, however, the spectacle was more satisfactory. The vast country comprising the districts of Rohilcund and Delhi, which had been the original seat of the rebellion, the scene of its first outbreak, and of its most desperate struggles, was now perfectly tranquil, well ordered, well organised, and well controlled. This division of territory had been attached to the government of the Punjab, held by Sir John Lawrence; and Delhi, under his prudent administration, had become as peacable as Lahore.

As regards the brigandage and freebooting, which, at the end of June, formed the staple of Indian intelligence, it may be proper to observe, that the fact of its existence did not imply any new or dangerous element of political disorganisation. In India, robbery had for ages been systematised into a profession, just as piracy might have been on the shores of the Baltic ten centuries ago, when the sea-kings of the north ruled the troubled waters. Whole tribes, for instance, are recorded as having inherited predatory dispositions and pursuits, to the exclusion of all other. Upon the establishment of British rule, the government succeeded, to a considerable extent, in gradually suppressing the irregular practices it found inherent in the disposition of the people; though at one time the robbers, under the name of Pindarrees, were organised in such extraordinary numbers and strength, as to render necessary the operations of a regular war. The decisive measures of the government at length prevailed; and the vain struggles of the Pindarrees ended, at the close of 1817, by the solitary death of their last chief (Cheetoo)* in the jungles of Asseerghur, whither he had sought refuge from a force under Sir John Malcolm. Since that period, the country they were accustomed to ravage had been comparatively quiet; but the suspension of regular authority that ensued upon the outbreak of the revolt of 1857, relieved the descendants of the marauding communities from all control, and they relapsed into their old habits as soon as the pressure which restrained them was withdrawn. Thus, it was considered, that the minor and only disturbances which occurred about the end of June, 1858, were but a natural expression of Indian habit, rather than a feature of rebellion: the propensity had existed long before the insurrection, and it had been controlled; and it was but natural that, as the government re-entered gradually into the full exercise of its functions, it would be controlled again.

As a specimen of the hopeful tone that pervaded the public mind in India at the period we refer to, the following extract from the *Bombay Telegraph*—a newspaper of extensive circulation and influence—will not be inaptly quoted here. The article, *in extenso*, is entitled "Present State of India;" and it proceeds thus:—"Wednesday, June 23rd, was the anniversary of the battle of Plassy, when Clive, with 1,000 Englishmen and 2,000 sepoys, defeated and dispersed the army of Bengal, numbering 40,000 infantry, 15,000 cavalry, fifty pieces of the heaviest ordnance, and a number of French auxiliaries. On this day last year, the mutineers were in possession of Delhi; they had beset Lucknow, and besieged Cawnpore. A wail was heard throughout the land, and people asked each other, with pale lips, what was to happen next. England, however, girded up her loins, and prepared herself for the struggle. She lost many men, but she did not lose her heart; and India is ours to-day—aye, more firmly and more enduringly than ever it was since its fetters were forged on the plains of Plassy. Delhi is ours, Lucknow is ours, Cawnpore is ours, Bareilly is ours, Jhansie is ours, Calpee is ours, Kotah is ours, and Gwalior is ours; there is, in fact, not a stronghold in the country from the summit of which the British flag is not waving. The princes of the Mogul dynasty have been shot like dogs, and their carcasses exposed in the market-place. Everywhere retribution has overtaken the murderers, and the remnants of the mutinous army are now the denizens of the jungle. The rebellious rajahs and chiefs have now neither house nor home. They have been blown from guns, hanged, transported, and imprisoned; and even the foot of the miscreant of Bithoor can scarcely find a resting-place among his own kith and kindred. The king of Delhi is awaiting a felon's doom; and everywhere disaster, disgrace, and death have followed all who opposed us. Timid people still entertain alarm; but there is no longer any real grounds for apprehension. The anniversary of Plassy, in 1857, found us, in the midst of all our troubles and calamities, still the dominant race; and to-day, amid all our triumphs and vic-

* There is a touch of romance connected with the death of the robber-chief. "Driven from place to place, the daring freebooter bore up against misfortune with a spirit worthy a better cause; till he suddenly disappeared—none, not even his son and few remaining followers, knew how or where; for they had parted from him to hunt the forest for food. After some days, his horse was discovered grazing near the jungles of Asseerghur, saddled and bridled; and at a little distance lay a heap of torn and bloodstained garments, and a human head, the remains of a tiger's feast. It was a fitting death for the last of the Pindarrees—the last that deserved the name; for these marauders, whose strength in the field, so late as 1817, often exceeded 30,000 men, now deprived of their leaders, and without a home or a rendezvous, never again became formidable."—Montgomery Martin's *India*, p. 420.

tories, finds us a thousand times more so. We have, no doubt, a great work still before us; but the grand end has been attained—our supremacy in India has been made manifest. The *prestige* of our arms has everywhere been maintained; and even bhang and fanaticism have recoiled before the British bayonet. It is true that we have met with a few accidents; but these have been generally the result of the rash daring of thoughtless commanders, not the consequence of either a lack of courage or deficiency of endurance. We have beaten the rebels on their own battle-grounds; we have driven them from the fortresses they had most strongly fortified, and we have met and muzzled them in the jungles like tigers in their dens. Altogether, we look upon to-day as one of the most auspicious anniversaries the English ever witnessed in India. Our legions are invincible, the ramparts of our power impregnable, and our position as the dominant race unassailable. Everywhere our arms are victorious; and instead of being afraid of battle, we court it. Our gage is lying on the plains of Hindostan; but as yet we have found none to have the hardihood to pick it up. The rebel leaders would evidently rather hear the mouse squeak than the lark sing—hence their love for hole-and-corner fighting. Their end is, however, rapidly approaching; and the disappearance of 'something white' will, we imagine, be their own winding-sheet."

In closing this chapter with a brief glance at the state of the insurgent leaders and of the country at Midsummer, 1858, it may be fitly observed that, considering at the like period, twelve months previous, 150,000 well-organised soldiers were in arms against British rule—that they had possession of the chief arsenal of the country, and that everything gave prospect of a protracted and perhaps chequered struggle; it was certainly surprising that opportunities so extensive should not have brought forward any one example of political or military ability in the ranks of the insurgents. Not in all that immense army did there exist a single native general, though India had ever been, and still was, the country of successful soldiers and flourishing adventurers, comprising desperadoes of all the most promising races in the world. Arabs, Affghans, Malays, and Persians—the free lances of Oriental service, the representatives of Eastern conquerors, swarmed by thousands in the native courts and armies of the country; and yet not one soldier worthy of the name had stepped from the crowd. No Sivajee!—no Hyder Ali!—no Runjeet Sing had appeared on the scene. Koer Sing was said to have shown the nearest approach to military science in his movements; but the other rebel leaders had proved utterly worthless. The Khan Bahadoor Khan, who had been raised to the chief command during the brief occupancy of Delhi by the rebels, had his brain turned by an overpowering sense of the responsibility imposed upon him; and it is scarcely possible to be accurate as to the individual leaders at Calpee, at Cawnpore, or at Gwalior, and other scenes of serious conflict. If any distinction was achieved at all, in a military sense, by the rebel chiefs, it was achieved by women rather than by men!—by the ranee of Jhansie, and the begum of Oude! The native troops, whose treacherous revolt had carried fire and sword through the country, were virtually without a leader for any purpose of combined strategy. They certainly remembered the words of command, and the evolutions of a parade. They retained the impress of discipline and organisation so tenaciously, that regiments and brigades hung together until utterly broken up by defeat and dispersion. Thus they could go through all the forms of camp or garrison duty; but, in their campaigning, there was no life—no master-spirit to guide them. They never made a strategic movement!—never succeeded in an assault, and scarcely ever repelled one. As events showed, they could not even keep stone walls when attacked. Thus they held Delhi only until the heavy guns came up and effected a breach. Lucknow they abandoned after a faint struggle; and Gwalior they fled from without defending it at all. They had been beaten in masses wherever they dared stand before the armies of Retribution; and the survivors of the immense force were now dispersed over the country in comparatively insignificant bands, whose only means of annoyance consisted in carrying on a sort of guerilla warfare, until, in the course of events, the whole should be exterminated.

It has already been observed, that the glorious army which had toiled so long and so successfully against the concentrated force of the great rebellion which had now expended its energies, and languished into

a mere series of local annoyances, was at length about to rest from its labours, and to take much needed shelter from the sun and the rains; while the veterans in its ranks might recruit their strength, and the young among them learn discipline in the season of forced repose that awaited them. There was, however, no respite for the commander-in-chief or for his staff, whose watchful care was required in every direction, in organising arrangements for the distribution and accommodation of the troops, as well as in precautionary measures for the repression of any attempts that the enemy might be induced to make against the various outlying stations and lines of communication during the rains, to say nothing of the labour necessarily devoted to the arrangement of plans for an ensuing campaign, should circumstances render it inevitable. We have already shown that much had been accomplished; still, much remained to be done before the sword could be sheathed. The state of Oude was still not satisfactory; its chiefs and population were yet hostile, and had rejected the offers of reconciliation and forgiveness. They had refused to accept either the terms offered by the governor-general in his original proclamation,* or the more liberal conditions the commissioner had been empowered to grant them; and were resolved to risk the chances of a guerilla war, and to try the effect of an armed opposition to the introduction of civil power into their territories; and the gage being thus thrown down, no course was left to the British government but to crush and politically exterminate those who had defied its power and scorned its mercy. Oude had not only now to be conquered, but to be occupied militarily—its forts to be laid in ruins—its chiefs brought to utter and acknowledged subjection—its population disarmed, and its social state entirely reconstituted. The task yet reserved for the army might be arduous and tedious; but it could now scarcely be called dangerous; for, from the enemy in the open field, there was no longer anything to dread; but in the multifarious operations in which the troops, split into numerous small columns, were likely to be engaged—each depending for success upon the judgment of its individual leader—there were certainly grounds for apprehension. There was not, at this time, in Central India, in the North-West Provinces, or in Bengal, any assemblage of the enemy which had the slightest pretension to be called an army. In one short campaign, Sir Colin Campbell had tranquillised the Doab, crushed the Gwalior contingent, taken Lucknow, overrun Oude for a time with movable columns, wrested Rohilcund from the rebels, and re-established the civil rule of the Company in many of its old sites of power; while his lieutenants had restored the *prestige* of the British name in Central India, had pacified large provinces, laid waste the strongholds and haunts of numerous hostile chieftains, and had broken up every band which met them in arms—seizing their guns, and dispersing them in helpless flight. Between the beginning of the mutiny in May, 1857, and the close of June, 1858, not less than 30,000 of the rebellious soldiers of the native army had been slain in the field, had died of their wounds, or had perished of diseases incident to the war. From 8,000 to 10,000 armed men, and refractory inhabitants of the towns and villages, had also perished in encounters with the troops; and of those shot, blown away from guns, or hanged, pursuant to the sentences of civil or military courts, the number had been frightfully great. The result of this wholesale weeding-out had, however, established the fact, that the sepoy rebels had disappeared as organised bodies; and the principal enemies which our troops had thenceforth to contend with, were simply matchlockmen and irregular horse, without a single leader of note to command them.

* See *ante*, p. 276.

CHAPTER XIII.

COMMENCEMENT OF THE RAINY SEASON; TEMPER OF THE PEOPLE; COMPARATIVE QUIET OF THE COUNTRY; MILITARY OPERATIONS; ATTACK ON KIRWEE; ATTEMPTED OUTBREAK AT ALLYGURH; STATE OF OUDE; LUCKNOW AND ITS VICINITY; THE OUDE PRINCES AND JUNG BAHADOOR OF NEPAUL; SIR HOPE GRANT AT FYZABAD; THE PUNJAB; PROJECTED REVOLT AT DERA ISMAEL KHAN AND MOOLTAN; AFFAIR AT DEHREE; THE DOAB AND ROHILCUND; DELHI; VISIT TO THE PALACE; THE DEWAN KHASS; THE EX-KING; THE PRINCE JUMMA BUKHT; PAST POLICY OF THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT; THE CITY AND ITS PROBABLE FUTURE; THE LUCKNOW VICTIMS; MAUN SING; HIS CHIVALROUS CONDUCT; HIS SERVICES AND TREATMENT; DOUBTFUL MOVEMENTS EXPLAINED; STRENGTH OF THE REBELS IN OUDE; CONFIDENCE IN THE FUTURE POLICY OF GOVERNMENT.

We are now about to enter upon a new phase in the history of this deplorable war of extermination, which henceforth, for a short period, might be looked upon rather as a succession of conflicts with wandering and disorganised bands of armed rebels, scattered over the country, than as engagements with regular armies in the tented field, or before the walls of beleaguered cities. The rainy season, which sets in about the latter end of June, and lasts until October, had commenced, and, in a great degree, necessitated a cessation from active operations by either party. There was, nevertheless, much yet to be done before the fires of rebellion could be effectually trampled out. In many districts, even the periodical rains allowed of little cessation from the labour of the troops; and the correspondence from various parts of the Anglo-Indian provinces was indicative of anything rather than a prospect of speedy return to tranquillity.

A letter from Deesa, of the 1st July, indicated the general tone of feeling that had spread over the country, thus:—"The villagers are very uncivil in these districts, and I wish myself back in Scinde. The night I entered Deesa I lost my road. It was raining hard, with lightning and thunder, and I went into a village near the town, and begged for a guide, but could not get one. After some trouble, I found a man, who, on the pretence of showing me the way, led me to a place, gave a whistle, and about eighty men came out with naked tulwars, and surrounded me. It was rather an awkward fix to be in; but I carried on by sheer bounce—threatened all sorts of things—had a strong detachment of military coming up in my rear, &c., &c., and at length got away with a guide." In the Behar district, a party of rebels entered the station of Arrah during the night of the 6th of July, and fired some bungalows. A squadron of cavalry was sent out to repulse them, but had to retire back to the station, followed by the rebels, who, however, in their turn, retired before the regular troops. A telegram of the 9th, from Patna, reported as follows:—"The 60th marched this afternoon for Arrah; but the rebels have already left the vicinity. Brigadier Douglas has been placed in military charge of the part of Behar extending from Dinapore to Ghazeepore, and including the whole of the disturbed portions of the Behar and Shahabad districts. He is to exercise entire control over this territory till the rebels have been completely subdued; and all troops passing through, or stationed near those localities, are placed at his disposal. Strong forts are to be established at moderate distances in all directions. With all these means and appliances, it can hardly be doubted that Brigadier Douglas will be able to restore order to this part of the country." Again, on the 11th, the commissioner of Patna says by a telegram—"Behar now appears to be entirely clear of rebels, and is perfectly quiet. This is the case also with Patna and Chuprah. There are still about 3,000 rebels in Shahabad, of whom 1,000 or 1,200 may be armed sepoys. They principally occupy the portion of the district around the Jugdespore jungle. We have considerable bodies of troops at Arrah and on the Trunk road. Brigadier Douglas is about to establish a chain of posts round the enemy's position. They have no guns, and have proved themselves a very contemptible foe; and their expulsion is merely retarded by the state of the weather and the road." On the 9th of July, the Etawah district, in the Doab, was menaced by a large band of Dacoits and armed rebels,

who, after a sharp skirmish with a police force under Lieutenant Graham and Mr. Machonochie, were driven into the ravines with some loss. Among the bodies left on the ground was one which, from the bottles and packets of medicine found upon it, was evidently a native doctor. From Gwalior, a letter of the 17th of July says—"The troops are getting under cover as quickly as possible, the maharajah rendering every assistance; and there is no time to be lost, as the monsoon commenced on the 12th. The 95th have been ordered to Sepree, in consequence of disturbances expected thereabouts, and were to have marched this morning, but did not. Our general is very careful of the health of the troops, and won't have them exposed if he can help it; and in this all agree with him. Sir Robert Hamilton is still here arranging treaties. Scindia is in high spirits at having recovered his throne, and wanted to evince his gratitude to the troops by giving them six months' batta; but he was advised to give a star. We all wish his advisers had been in a region where there are no stars at all. We expect to return to Bombay immediately after the rains." In Rajpootana, the movements of the troops about this time are described in the following telegram:—"Allahabad, 9th July.—General Roberts was at Sangheer, south of Jeypore, on the 5th. The rebels, who left Lalsoont for Tongha on the 3rd, suddenly returned to the former place, and are now said to have moved for Dholepore. The Kotah rebels, who went to Gwalior, have come back, reduced in number, and in much disorder, and are now at Karier, near Madhopore, in the Jeypore territory. The rebel rajah of Shahagunge has given himself up to Mr. Thornton at Moororra. The rebels had moved south before General Roberts' force, and the latter was about to send detachments in pursuit ahead of his main force." Again, on the 12th of July, a telegram from Agra announced that, on the 9th, a body of rebels had taken possession of Tonk (a town about forty-eight miles south of Jeypore), and surrounded the Bhoomghur, in which the nawab resided. They had plundered the town, and obtained three brass guns, with which they assailed the Bhoomghur; but the nawab and his people remained faithful, and held out; and the following day, on hearing of the approach of Captain Holmes with a force for the relief of the nawab, they suddenly broke up their camp, and fled without halting to Buneta, whither they were followed by the British troops; but the chase was fruitless, as the latter could never get within sight even of the active enemy; and the troops found, to their chagrin, that their harassing march across the country had in reality led to no useful result.

In Rohilcund, it was apparent that, although the country was slowly returning to a dogged obedience, the feeling of the people was as hostile as ever. The Hindoos hated their Christian rulers, who had treated them with comparative kindness, even more than they did the Mussulmans—tyrants who, during their brief reign, had plundered and insulted them in every possible way. Upon the resumption of British authority, martial law had been removed from the province, and the Company's regulations restored in full force. But the change was not congenial to the habits or wishes of the people. They preferred to live under the military law of their native chiefs; and when Khan Bahadoor Khan, and his allies, held Rohilcund, the populace showed their partiality for native customs, by witnessing the abolition of the civil courts with the utmost indifference. They were a simple people, and preferred to be ruled by the direct blow of the sword, rather than by the tortuous subtlety of the pen, and the sophistries of a code of laws to which their fathers were strangers. Perhaps they were right in their predilection for the more summary, if not the best, system of government.

The following communication from Central India, furnishes some details of an expedition, in which a force, under General Whitlock, was successful in an attack upon a fortified town belonging to Narrayun Rao, of the family of the Peishwa. According to the writer (an officer of the force engaged), this affair was productive of important results, as no less than forty-one guns, 150 rounds of powder, 1,500 stand of arms, and two crores of rupees and jewels, fell into the hands of the victors. The letter, under date of July 17th, says—"The force marched from Banda, for Kirwee, in two brigades, one following the other; and the rabble army of Narrayun Rao made preparations to obstruct our approach, by placing strong outposts on the different roads leading to Kirwee; but, as our imposing force gradually neared them, their courage rapidly oozed away. Various messengers met us

on the road, intimating that the heirs of the great Peishwa were coming to surrender; and daily were we expecting to see them; but, as day after day passed, and no one made his appearance, we began to think that the craftiness of the Mahratta was at work, and that their intimations of surrender were made merely with the hope of delaying our advance; and the hopes of many rose high, that we should yet have to fight our way into Kirwee. They were, however, doomed to disappointment; for no sooner had we arrived within two marches of Kirwee, than the rabble army began to disperse; and Radha Govind, the head man of Narrayun Rao, the scoundrel who had worked all the mischief, thinking discretion the better part of valour, with all his satellites, and the greater part of the rabble army, taking a large quantity of cash and jewels, bolted to a hill fort near Menikpoor, some twenty miles south of Kirwee. Fortunately, they were able to take no guns with them; and Narrayun Rao and Madho Rao, withdrawing the guns into the courtyard of their palace, prepared to surrender themselves to the British government, and to answer for their misdeeds of the past twelve months. On our reaching our encamping-ground the next morning, within eight miles of Kirwee, a small band of horsemen appeared in the distance, escorting three palanquins. The troops were halted, and the cavalry skirmished to the front, and we awaited the approach of the enemy. Presently one man of the party preceded his companions, and, in a state of the greatest alarm, rushed up to the general, exclaiming in English, 'Sir, I am a faithful servant of the British government; Narrayun Rao and Madho Rao beg permission to throw themselves at your feet.' This turned out to be the agent of the British government; who, for some time past, with infinite peril to himself, had been residing at Kirwee, trying to persuade the Raos to surrender. His efforts, backed by the approach of the force, had now met with success. Permission was given to the penitent rebel chiefs to approach; and the general and the magistrate went to the front to meet them. Leaving their escort some distance off, Narrayun Rao and Madho Rao then approached on foot; and giving up their swords to the general, in token of submission, were immediately placed under a European guard of the 3rd Madras regiment, and escorted into camp. The next day, the general, with a detachment of horse artillery, cavalry, and infantry, entered Kirwee, and the magistrate took possession of the town and palace, the main portion of the force encamping on the left bank of the river Pynsunee, opposite to the town of Kirwee.

"These gentlemen evidently did not expect a force to march to Kirwee in the hot winds of Bundelcund, and have, without a doubt, been taken by surprise; for we found their gun-foundries and powder manufactories in full swing. They were casting guns and preparing ammunition up to within two days of our entering Kirwee, and the enlistment of men was still going on.

"We found in the palace upwards of forty pieces of cannon, 18, 12, 9, 6, and 3-pounders; an immense quantity of shot and powder, 2,000 stand of arms, complete, with their accoutrements and ball cartridge, besides no end of matchlocks and swords; and what is more fatal than anything to the Raos, we found in the palace a heap of sepoys' kits containing accoutrements of mutineers of several of our worst regiments, thereby clearly proving that these men had been entertained at Kirwee. Narrayun Rao and Madho Rao are confined in a room inside the palace, and guards have been placed over their immense wealth, valued at upwards of a crore of rupees. We also found here two guns with bullocks complete, six elephants and sixty-four horses belonging to Nawab Ally Bahadar, which had been brought here after the fight at Banda, on the 19th of April. The Raos will be tried in a few days, and if convicted, their property should be presented to the troops as prize-money, as although there has been no fight, still, the submission caused by the approach of the force is of incalculable importance and gain to us, and the troops have had a most harassing march in the height of the hot winds of Bundelcund, and have lost as many men from sun-stroke as they would probably have lost in open fight.

"Yesterday, the main body of the force, including both brigades, moved over to the Kirwee side of the river, and are halted till further orders. Fortunately, but with some difficulty, cover has been found for all the sick, of whom we have a large proportion.

"Radha Govind, the scoundrel who bolted to the hills, has been marked down, and, I trust, in a day or two, we shall beat up his quarters. Our bloodless victory at Kirwee

is all the more fortunate since the temporary success of the rebels at Gwalior, for there is not a doubt that the Mahratta chiefs have been in close correspondence with the Calpee Tantia Topee; and had the Kirwee rebels been allowed much more time, they would assuredly have acted in concert with the Mahratta faction in the western presidency. This district will soon settle down, for the people are very tired of their native rulers."

An occurrence, which excited much alarm, and called for energetic interference, took place towards the end of July at Allygurh, under the following circumstances:—A few weeks previous to the events described, the officer in command of the station (Colonel Shuldham) directed that the men of the new levy, concentrated at that place, should be formed into messes, according to caste, and that each caste should choose its own cook. This arrangement did not suit the prejudices, or, probably, accord with the privileges assumed by these soldiers of *caste;* and with a forbearance scarcely justifiable under the circumstances of the time, the orders of the commanding officer were allowed to be disregarded with impunity. Some days after the promulgation of the order, a naik and a private of the corps strolled into the lines occupied by the Jat horse; and, while there, asked the men if they would like to "use" the same rations as a European soldier, stating, at the same time, that they themselves were compelled to do so. Much conversation passed, and the naik exercised his persuasive powers to incite the horsemen to mutiny. Finding, however, that he could produce no decided impression upon his hearers, he withdrew from the lines before they had made up their minds whether to send him back to the fort a prisoner or not. The Jats, however, reported the circumstance to their commanding officer, Lieutenant Murray, who set on foot an investigation; but as nothing was elicited which could serve to criminate any particular individual, he paraded his men, and reproved them in somewhat indignant terms for making a false report to him. The men reiterated their statements, and offered to point out the naik and his companion if a parade were formed to enable them to do so. On the following day the men of the new levy were paraded accordingly, and the guilty parties were identified: the offenders were heavily ironed upon the spot, and placed under a strong guard of the 64th regiment. A court-martial was then assembled, before which they were brought for trial. The charge against the private was first disposed of; and, being established, the offender was sentenced to a few dozen lashes, and discharged with ignominy; but the naik, whose guilt was of a more positive quality, being clearly convicted of an attempt to incite to mutiny, was sentenced to death by the hangman. A letter from Allygurh, of the 25th of July, gave the following account of the execution:—

"On the evening of the 23rd, our detachment (64th), the artillery (the European and Golundauze), and the new levy, were drawn up under arms on the square, close by the lines of the last-named corps, opposite to which the gallows was erected; and with loaded muskets, and guns charged with grape to the muzzles, prepared to carry out the sentence. The arms of the men of the new levy were not loaded, and could not have done much mischief if they had been, as only about eighty of the men carried arms. The prisoner was brought out, and the proceedings of the court-martial were read to the troops in the language they could understand. As soon as his fate was announced, the man coolly ascended the scaffold, and only uttering the words 'good-bye, comrades,' stood calmly awaiting his doom. The order was given, and the drop fell; but what afterwards took place between the soul and its Creator, the day of general judgment can alone be able to reveal. He deserved his fate, but he met it like a soldier and a man. Was it a feeling of patriotism that sustained him, or what?" Several other men who became implicated during the proceedings before the court, were flogged, and the affair died away.

The state of Oude at this time, afforded ample employment for abillties of the highest order, both civil and military. The capital itself was tranquil; but, with the exception of some lines of communication still open, the country was wholly in the hands of the rebels.

At Lucknow, the great military works designed by Colonel Napier, of the Bengal engineers, were rapidly progressing under the superintendence of Major Crommelin, chief engineer of Oude. The nature and extent of these defences were well described in the following letter from Lucknow, of the 28th of June, and might be readily traced by referring to a plan of the city. The names of the various posts vividly recall to

memory the desperate struggles of the imprisoned garrison, of the relieving forces, and of the final all-conquering army:—

"The city of Lucknow, from its vast extent, and from the absence of any very prominent features of the ground on which it stands, must always remain difficult to control, except by a large body of troops. That difficulty may be greatly diminished by establishing a sufficient number of military posts, by clearing such spaces round the posts on their lines of communication with the open country, as will render them at all times accessible by opening broad streets through the city, and practicable roads through and round the suburbs, so that troops may move rapidly in any direction. The city is situated on an incline, descending towards the Goomtee; the sides of the residency and of the old fort, called the Muchee Bowun, are more elevated than the other parts surrounding them, and are spurs from the high edge of the incline which stretches round the south side of the city. The drainage between them falls into the Goomtee near the iron bridge. The height of the buildings is so great, compared with the natural features of the ground, that the latter are only discernible on close examination. The point which gives the nearest approach to a command over the city, is the old fort, or Muchee Bowun, in close proximity to which is the great Imaumbarra, which affords most excellent shelter for troops. It is here our principal post will be maintained, for it commands completely the stone bridge, and greatly influences the communication with the iron bridge. Our second post is at the iron bridge; and the third will be built on the site of the late residency. These are to be connected by outposts at Allee Meckee Khan's house and the Moosabagh, to connect the Muchee Bowun and iron bridge by strong pickets. The Juminia Bagh appears to offer no military position, though the shelter of a few buildings there is convenient for the present; but it will be found expedient to clear away the whole of them, leaving merely the highly ornamental gateways, and laying out the ground surrounding the great masonry tank in walks and gardens, for the use of the garrison in the Muchee Bowun, avoiding to construct or leave any cover that would be injurious to it. All suburbs and cover lying on the banks of the river, which would intercept the free march of troops from the Muchee Bowun to the Moosabagh, is now being swept away. The second post, as already mentioned, has been formed at the iron bridge, which is connected with the Muchee Bowun by strong pickets—a little labour converting an existing hollow into a covered way for a considerable part of the distance. The post at the residency, which is not yet completed, will maintain the communication between the bridges and the Kaiserbagh. An esplanade round the Muchee Bowun is now being cleared 500 yards all round it; and the following roads are being constructed, radiating from it through the city:—

"No. 1. To the Chaibagh bridge. 2. To the Tal-ka-Tora bridge. 3. To the Moosabagh, to join the road to Sundeelah. 4. Iron bridge runs into No. 1. 5. Stone bridge to cantonment at Murriaon. 6. The old cantonment road from the iron bridge. 7. From the Chaibagh to the Tal-ka-Tora, thence *viâ* Boulee Hussein to the Moosabagh.

"These will form the grand military lines of road, perfecting the communication to, from, through, and with our system of fortified posts.

"The palaces of Ferrud Bux, the Chutter Munzil, and the Kaiserbagh, together with the range of palaces stretching from the Kaiserbagh to Banks' house, now form the barracks for our troops. The part of the city lying immediately south of them, and almost in ruins, will be cleared away. Every building and garden enclosure not required for the use of our troops, which exists between the Martinière road and the Goomtee, will also be cleared away. All bridges over the canal, destroyed and damaged by the enemy, are being rebuilt and repaired.

"The following, already made or in course of construction, will form our civil lines of roads, all communicating directly or indirectly with the military:—

"No. 1. From the Kaiserbagh to the Chaibagh. 2. Ditto, to the Tal-ka-Tora. 3. Ditto, to Seetapore bridge. 4. From a point south of the Kaiserbagh to Sufrazegunge and Sundeelah. 5. From Civil Bunj along to the Seetapore bridge. 6. From the Muchee Bowun in the rear of the residency, to the Kaiserbagh, continued to Banks' house. This last to form the boundary between the civil and military lines.

"The Martinière and Dilkoosha are also

used as outposts on the east side. Thus our troops will occupy cantonments altogether seven miles in extent, from the entrance outposts from east to west, in the centre of which are the three permanent fortified posts, which will require a garrison aggregating 1,000 men, and will hold the roads between the city and the north bank of the Goomtee. The position of the troops is one entirely forced by circumstances—the greatest of all forces, I may remark by the way—by the necessity of holding the line which controls the city, and its communications with the north bank of the Goomtee and northern districts of Oude; otherwise it would be a large garrison we should have to maintain, to be entirely independent of the movable columns."

The country districts were, as we have observed, in no sense subdued, and yet neither could they be said to be held by the rebels in force. There were, in fact, at this time, three great parties in the country; two antagonistic, and the third utterly indifferent to their rivalry. The rebels, in considerable numbers, were banded together under their leaders, in a dozen places, but all at a distance from the capital. The cultivators pursued their ordinary occupation; and, wherever sufficiently strong, resisted by force the exactions of the rebel chiefs, their system being to pay the regular revenue to the party that first came for it, and to resist any demand for it from other quarters; while so deadly was the hostile feeling with which the European authorities were regarded throughout the province, that even the popularity of Maun Sing did not save him from an attack, in requital for the very slight assistance he had rendered to the Ghoorkas on their return from the British territory. Rumour had, towards the end of June, ascribed the existence of a more hopeful feeling on the part of the begum and her followers at Bundee, in consequence of an understanding alleged to exist between herself and the Jung Bahadoor of Nepaul. Throughout the city it was confidently asserted, that the begum had applied for assistance to the Nepaulese chief, and that the aid she required had been promised, and would certainly be forthcoming; and that, strengthened by this new and powerful auxiliary, the ex-queen would make one last and desperate struggle to recover her kingdom. So much only of this rumour was true as related to the fact of applications being made from the late moulvie of Fyzabad and from Birjiz Kudr, the prince of Oude, then with the begum. By these individuals letters had certainly been addressed to the Jung, urging him to desert the infidels, and to range himself on the side of those who had risen against their oppression; and the following are translations of the correspondence which passed upon the occasion:—

Translation of a Letter from Moulvie Mahomed Surfraz Alee, the Ambassador of the King of Oude, to the Maharajah Jung Bahadoor (without date), received 6th June, 1858.

"After compliments—Friendship has subsisted for a very long period between the kingdom of Oude and that of Nepaul, and nothing has been done on our part to interrupt it. It is therefore astonishing you have sided with the impure infidels, who are tyrants and enemies of the religion both of Hindoos and Mohammedans, and have fought against the army of the faithful. The chiefs of every tribe should fight for their religion as long as they live. These execrated people have become the destroyers of the Hindoo and Mohammedan religion, and your friendship for them is unbecoming the dignity of princes and kings. There is a proverb, that 'When infidelity springs from Mecca, where can Islamism exist?' If you in person are prepared to destroy religion, how can it stand? I hope that, having allowed the eyes of justice and kindness to rest on both creeds, you will make your arrangements so that these enemies of the faith may abandon their present purpose, and meet with punishment; and that for thousands of Hindoos and Mohammedans whom they have slain without cause, you will leave nothing undone in the way of retaliation. By this means you will, in the first place, obtain renown in this world and in the next; secondly, you will give satisfaction to our government, and it will be the means of increasing friendship. From your kindness I am in hopes you will favour me with an answer to this letter, with your seal attached, that I may be enabled to report it to the king. For the express purpose of communicating with you I have been appointed ambassador, and am now in Toolseepore. I enclose a copy of my credentials (*sunnud*). In return for your friendship and good wishes it will be easy for the king to reward you. I have had an interview with Dummun Khan, and have told him all that is necessary; no doubt he will write and inform you. Moulvie Ahmed Oola Shah, a very celebrated and brave man, is in the neighbourhood of Lucknow, and is ready to fight with and destroy the infidels (Kafirs). I am one of his confidential servants, and have been deputed by him to negotiate with you. Neither I nor the servants of our government are acquainted with your titles, or those of your authorities; so we cannot address you properly. I am in hopes that you will send me word how we should address you, and pray forgive any mistakes or omissions in this letter. I hope for the future you will look upon me as your sincere friend, and will not forget me. Seven Persian letters accompany this, addressed by Mahomed Khan Bahadoor, viceroy of Oude, to different Nepaul authorities—among them one for yourself; and two Hindee letters under the seal of the king of Oude—one for the king of Nepaul, the other for yourself—

will reach you. I am in hopes you will favour me with a reply, and that you will pay such kind attention to the condition of the Hindoos and Mohammedans that their religion may be preserved, and the infidels destroyed."

Abstract Translation of a Letter from Ramzan Alee Khan Mirza Birjiz Kudr Bahadoor, to His Highness the Maharajah of Nepaul, dated the 7th of Jeth Sumvut, 1915, *corresponding with 19th May,* 1858.

"After compliments—It is known to every one that my ancestors brought the British into Hindostan; but Bulvunt Sing, the rajah of Benares, was a cause of much annoyance to them, and therefore the province of Benares was given to them. A treaty was then signed by the British, in which they wrote that they would never act treacherously as long as the sun and moon should exist. But they have broken that treaty, and, dethroning my father, Wajid Ali Shah, have sequestered his state, palaces, and everything he had. Every one is acquainted with this event, as it took place only in Sumvut, 1912.

"After taking Lucknow they intended to make war with you, for which purpose they collected a large force and magazine at Colonelgunge, which is situate below the hills; perhaps you are aware of this event.

"In former years great intimacy existed between our houses, insomuch that your forefathers built a bungalow for my ancestors for shooting and hunting purposes in Bhootwal.

"The British, some time ago, attempted to interfere with the faith of both the Hindoos and Mohammedans, by preparing cartridges with cow's grease for the Hindoos, and that of pigs for the Mohammedans, and ordering them to bite them with their teeth. The sepoys refused, and were ordered by the British to be blown away from guns on the parade-ground. This is the cause of the war breaking out, and probably you are acquainted with it.

"But I am ignorant as to how they managed to get your troops, which they brought here, and began to commit every sort of violence, and to pull down temples, mosques, imaumbarras, and the sacred places.

"You are well aware of the treachery of the British, and it is proper you should preserve the standard of religion, and make the tree of friendship between you and me fresh.

"Therefore it is proper we should join in killing the British, which is the only way to save the religions of both the Hindoos and Mohammedans.

"I have written briefly, but you can comprehend it largely. It is right that you should send me a reply quickly."

Translation of a Letter from Birjiz Kudr to his Excellency Maharajah Jung Bahadoor, of 11th May, 1858.

"After aseer (blessing)—I am well convinced that you pay great attention to religion and faith, and that it is very likely you have been informed that temples and imaumbarras have been broken down.

"You are also aware that the British do not care either for the religion or life of the Hindoos or Mohammedans, and their cunningness and treachery, as well as their forgetfulness of favours, is not unknown to you.

"You are also aware that my forefathers showed favour to the British, such as no one else would do; and they have, without any offence on my part, deprived me of everything.

"Let bygones be bygones. I now write to you that it is proper for us to band together in the cause of religion, and act with reflection.

"To you both parties are the same; what shall I write more? My brief writing comprehends a great deal.

"Let me inform you that the moulvie, Sahib, is proceeding towards you on my part."

Translation of a Letter from Alee Mahomed Khan, Viceroy of Lucknow, to his Excellency Maharajah Jung Bahadoor, dated May 19th.

"After compliments—Great intimacy existing between the two governments, it is unnecessary for the members of either to attempt to increase it. Therefore I, Alee Mahomed Khan Bahadoor, a viceroy of the state, remind you of it, and disclose my object in this friendly letter—informing you, that a friendly letter has been addressed by this state to his highness the manarajah of Nepaul, the purport of which will be known.

"As the strengthening of the old friendship existing between the two states depends on the managers of both governments, who are bound in duty to do so (and the sages and clever men of past ages have excelled in such matters), and especially at this period, when the British nation is bent on depriving the inhabitants of this country of their religion, faith, dominions, and lives; and as no hope is left to any prince by this cursed nation; therefore, on the strength of our old friendship, and considering the vicinity of our frontier, I am led to believe that it would not be wise in any chief to allow these enemies, who are in their grasp, to escape.

"Therefore it is proper for, and binding on chiefs, to enter into agreements to kill and get rid of these infidels.

"It is hoped you will keep the object of this proposed matter in view, and renew the rites of friendship.

"Believing me anxious to hear of your health, I hope you will always favour me with your correspondence.

"May the days of prosperity befriend friends."

Translation of a Letter from his Excellency Maharajah Jung Bahadoor, to Birjiz Kudr Bahadoor, of Lucknow.

"Your letter of the 7th Jeth Soode (Wednesday, corresponding to the 19th of May, 1858), to the address of his highness the maharajah of Nepaul, and that of 13th Jeth Vudee of the present year (Tuesday, corresponding to the 11th of May, 1858), to my address, have reached their respective destinations, and their contents are fully understood. In it is written that the British are bent on the destruction of the society, religion, and faith of both Hindoos and Mohammedans.

"Be it known that, for upwards of a century, the British have reigned in Hindostan; but up to the present moment, neither the Hindoos nor the Mohammedans have ever complained that their religion has been interfered with.

"As the Hindoos and Mohammedans have been guilty of ingratitude and perfidy, neither the Nepaul government nor I can side with them.

"Since the star of faith and integrity, sincerity in words as well as in acts, and the wisdom and com-

prehension of the British, are shining as bright as the sun in every quarter of the globe, be assured that my government will never disunite itself from the friendship of the exalted British government, or be instigated to join with any monarch against it, be he as high as heaven. What grounds can we have for connecting ourselves with the Hindoos and Mohammedans of Hindostan?

"Be it also known, that had I in any way been inclined to cultivate the friendship and intimacy of the Hindoo and Mohammedan tribes, should I have massacred 5,000 or 6,000 of them in my way to Lucknow?

"Now, as you have sent me a friendly letter, let me persuade you, that if any person, Hindoo or Mohammedan, who has not murdered a British lady or child, goes immediately to Mr. Montgomery, the chief commissioner of Lucknow, and surrenders his arms and makes submission, he will be permitted to retain his honour, and his crimes will be pardoned.

"If you still be inclined to make war on the British, no rajah or king in the world will give you an asylum, and death will be the end of it.

"I have written whatever has come into my plain mind, and it will be proper and better for you to act in accordance with what I have said."

From the above correspondence, it is evident that, whatever doubts might have existed of the good faith of the Nepaulese chief after his retirement from Lucknow, he had acted with perfect loyalty to his engagement with the Anglo-Indian government, and was entitled to its confidence.

On the 21st of July, a force, under Sir Hope Grant, marched from Lucknow to take possession of Fyzabad—relieving Maun Sing, who was shut up in his fort at Shahgunge, on their way. At this time, the territorial possessions of the British in Oude, exclusive of the capital itself, were limited to the military road between Cawnpore and Lucknow, the route on to Nuwabgunge beyond that city, and a strip of country a few miles broad, along the north of that line of route. It was expected that General Grant's advance on Fyzabad would probably result in the command of that road also; and that nothing more would be done until the cold weather enabled the troops to enter upon another campaign. On the part of the rebels, it was now reported that the begum, since her repulse by Jung Bahadoor, was no longer able to keep together the force she had endeavoured to organise at Boondee, under Tantia Topee—the men deserting in large numbers, and leaving their arms behind them. The rebel treasury being nearly exhausted, it was also currently reported that extreme pressure for means to satisfy his followers, had compelled Nana Sahib to part with a ruby of immense value, to a native banker, for 10,000 rupees. Meanwhile, the right to participate in the treasures of the late moulvie of Fyzabad, had opened a field of dispute between the rebel leaders; the begum having dispatched Khan Ali Khan with some troops, to bring the rich booty to her for disposal—an arrangement that did not coincide with the views of Khan Bahadoor Ismael Khan and Feroze Shah; who, being in possession of it, considered they had the best right to share it among themselves, and were disposed to fight for it if necessary.

Some time towards the end of June, an effort was made to estimate the number of talookdars, and other petty chieftains, who were yet in arms against British rule in the province of Oude, together with the amount of force at their disposal. The list that appeared to offer the nearest attainable approach to accuracy, gave the names of about thirty-five talookdars, rajahs, and chuckledars, holding among them about twenty-five mud forts, of various capacity and strength, with nearly a hundred guns; and altogether mustering about 40,000 armed retainers, distributed over the country; but the greater part of them in the district around Roy Bareilly, south-east of the capital. Notwithstanding these formidable chieftains, and their men at arms, the cause of regular government in Oude gradually advanced. The rebels, vast as their numbers were in the aggregate, being split into sections, could not seriously retard the complete pacification of the country; and Mr. Montgomery at Lucknow, entrusted, as we have seen, with large discretionary powers by the governor-general, was slowly but surely feeling his way to that desirable end. The immediate defences of the city had been entrusted to the superintendence of Major Crommelin; and while Sir Hope Grant was rushing from point to point, and trampling down rebellion in the open field, the chief commissioner was assiduously employed in re-establishing the network of judicial and fiscal organisation, as opportunity arose at the heel of the conquerors. One of the greatest obstacles to the immediate success of his policy, arose from the fact, that the rebel leaders made instant and unrelenting war against such of their countrymen as gave in their submission to the government, and thereby deterred the more timid from seeking its forgiveness.

The Punjab at this time was not wholly free from the taint of disaffection, and, on

the 20th of July, it was accidentally discovered that a portion of the 18th regiment of Punjab infantry, stationed at Dera Ismael Khan, had been told-off for the murder of all the officers, after which the fort was to have been seized, and the 39th regiment, which had some time previously been disarmed, was to have been re-equipped from the magazine and stores. Taking with them the guns and treasure, the mutineers were then to embark in boats for Dera Ghazee Khan, on the Indus, where they expected the troops there stationed would join them. With this accession of force they were then to cross the Indus, hasten to Mooltan, and, with the two regiments there, march upon and take possession of Lahore: the 6th police battalion and the Punjab battery were in the plot; and the conspirators reckoned upon being joined by the other troops in garrison, as soon as the revolt should break out. Providentially, on the evening of the 19th of July, information was by some means or other conveyed to Captain Gardiner, commanding the 10th Punjab infantry, and Captain Smith, of the artillery, that an outbreak was likely to occur that night. The intelligence was at once reported to Colonel Macdonald, in command of the station; who desired all commanding officers to repair to their respective lines, to watch events, and act as their judgment should dictate. Captain Gardiner, on reaching his quarter-guard, called for a sepoy and jemadar, who had been named by his informant. The sepoy came, and on hearing the words *kynd kur* ("secure him"), turned and fled, pursued by a native officer of the guard and some sepoys. When near the lines, the jemadar implicated rushed forward to his rescue, and wounded the subahdar and one of the sepoys, and then fled with the man he had thus aided to escape. A court of inquiry was immediately summoned; and the 39th native infantry were, by order of Sir John Lawrence, dispatched to Sealkote, whither they marched very quietly, after giving up their side-arms. Three native officers, five non-commissioned officers, and a number of sepoys, were placed under arrest; and, happily, the meditated mischief was strangled a few moments before its development. In connection with this abortive attempt to revolt, another of more serious result occurred on the 31st of August, at Mooltan, where the 62nd and 69th native infantry, with a troop of native horse artillery, broke into mutiny, and tried to seize the guns and arms of the royal artillery and fusiliers. In the attack four gunners were killed, and three wounded; Lieutenant Mules, the adjutant of the fusiliers, being also killed. The outbreak of the mutiny was marked by singular daring, as the men had no other weapons than side-pieces of wood taken from their charpoys; and with these they charged in wings of regiments. The 62nd went at the artillery stables, and part of the fusilier barracks; the 69th at the guns, the artillery barracks, and a part of the fusilier barracks. When charging, the 62nd advanced close up to the irregular cavalry, evidently expecting them to join in the outbreak; but the latter, on the contrary, charged upon and cut them down without mercy, following them as they fled, and, with the 11th Punjab infantry, inflicting terrible punishment upon the fugitives. The strength of the two regiments immediately before the outbreak, numbered 1,431 rank and file, who were thus accounted for on the 3rd of September, but three days after that event:—Killed in the mutiny, 300; tried and executed, 70; in prison, 500; killed by villagers, 50; and 125 did not join the disturbance: making a total of 1,045. 185 were afterwards captured at Srojabad, and about 100 others at a thannah on the Lahore road; thus leaving but 100 men, out of nearly 1,500, unaccounted for. Upon investigating the circumstances connected with this affair, it transpired that an order for the gradual disbandment of the two corps had been read to the men on parade, and was heard by them with apparent satisfaction; but that shortly after, a report was circulated, to the effect that government had chosen the plan of sending them to their homes in drafts of twenty at a time, with the object of getting the men dispatched in small parties, and cutting them up on their way to Lahore. A great effect was immediately produced on the sepoys by this rumour; and on the morning of the outbreak, when the process of disbanding was to have commenced, they not only refused to quit the station, but resolved to attack the Europeans, and supply themselves with arms for their protection—the signal for action being the firing of the mid-day gun. The project was, as we have seen, timely frustrated; but the alarm occasioned to the European residents at the fort was intense. The inquiry also elicited the fact, that a plot to kill all the officers,

including some of the native, had been in agitation for some months previously amongst a knot of Malwaie Sikhs, about 100 in number; who assumed that, if the officers were destroyed, the whole of the men would join in the movement without hesitation.

Some further details of this terribly avenged attempt at revolt, are furnished by the following extract from a letter dated September 23rd:—"You may not have heard all the details of the destruction of the mutinous regiments at Mooltan. Two regiments there stationed—the 62nd and 69th—were among the first disarmed in the Punjab. The 69th was known to be rotten to the core; but the 62nd has, till within these last few weeks, committed no act calculated to excite suspicion. Accordingly it was resolved to rearm the regiment while discharging the 69th. The order was accordingly sent out to the men, and received in ominous silence. According to the only probable account yet received, the sepoys took the order to be an indication of kindness so inconceivable that it must conceal some treachery. They imagined, it is said, that they were to be destroyed, and that the order to discharge them in detail was intended to facilitate that process. To prevent the execution of the plan they determined to escape. Escape without horses was, however, nearly impossible; and the only horses obtainable were those belonging to the European artillery. The artillery stables, therefore, were the point of attack; and the two regiments, joined by the native artillerymen (disarmed), marched by wings on the European artillerymen. They had no muskets, and but few swords; but the mass had extemporised formidable clubs out of the side-posts of their bedsteads. A few reached the stables, where they killed four Europeans; but were speedily driven out by a gallant young fellow, a lieutenant, who flung himself among them sword in hand. The remainder were beaten back by the artillerymen, according to the printed accounts, with their side-arms. This, however, I am informed is a mistake. An officer, Captain Green, I think, had received information of the movement, and got out his guns so rapidly as to be able to pour case into the mutineers at fifty yards. At all events, 300 were killed on the spot, and the remainder, about 1,100, broke and fled. The Bombay fusiliers came up a few minutes afterwards; and their adjutant, Lieutenant Mules, who was riding in advance, was seized by a few sepoys, torn from his horse, and brained on the spot. The sepoys then divided, part flying towards the Sutlej—the boats upon which river had, however, been seized—and part towards Lahore. The former party again divided, one portion making for an island in the Gheera, and another for the Chenab. They were all arrested or slain. The second division was pursued by a native gentleman, Gholam Mustafa Khan, aided by his tenantry and the police. The sepoys fought desperately, and compelled a retreat; but Mustafa Khan advanced again, and every sepoy was killed. By this time the country was up. Punjab officials know how to ride; the country folk hate the Hindostanee soldiery with a most healthy hatred; and by the 15th instant, the entire force, both the regiments and the artillery, had been 'accounted for.' All who had not been shot, or drowned, or hanged, had been taken prisoners. The intelligence made the sepoys at Meean Meer 'restless;' but the watch kept there is most vigilant, and, though there are rumours of a rising, they are not authenticated. The catastrophe will put a stop to the rearming mania, which for a few days threatened to place some 15,000 traitors under arms in the northern stations. The truth, that the fighting classes to a man detest the British, and that those who remained faithful only waited their opportunity, begins at last to be admitted. The 69th native infantry, one of the 'best dispositioned' of the disarmed, is now on its march from Peshawur to Umballah; and Sir J. Lawrence has, I perceive, ordered all the police *en route* to keep their arms in readiness for action. The discharges are proceeding rapidly, forty men a-day crossing the frontier under the surveillance of the police. Beyond that point they subside into the population, and, if they join the marauders, can do little harm. Four or five thousand, more or less, of them do not make the difference of a European regiment."

One of the most spirited affairs in which the troops were engaged at the commencement of the guerilla-like system of warfare, occurred near Dehree on the 17th of July. Captain Rattray, in command of a Sikh regiment at that station, being desirous to secure the person of Sirnam Sing, a rebel of some notoriety, on account of the murders and outrages in which he had been concerned, selected eight of his men, whom

he disguised as mutinous sepoys, and sent into the place occupied by the rebel chief and his adherents. The Sikhs more than followed their instructions; for, by well-sustaining the characters they had assumed, they gradually worked themselves into the confidence of the whole band; and then, at a convenient opportunity, made an onslaught upon the chief and his family, taking the first prisoner, and murdering his brother, sons, nephews, and grandsons—in all, nine persons—whose heads they brought with them to the tent of their commander.

Looking from hence towards the Doab and Rohilcund, it became at once apparent that organisation and systematic government had already made great advances. The Doab no longer contained any large body of armed rebels: there were numerous small bands in motion; but those chiefly made use of the Doab as a route of passage. The hopes, such as they were, of the rebel leaders, were now directed mainly towards two regions—Oude, on the north of the Ganges, and Central India, on the south of the Jumna. According as the chances of war fluctuated in one direction or other, so did groups of armed rebels cross, or attempt to cross, those rivers by means of the ghâts or ferries. If the prospect of success appeared brighter in the direction of Lucknow or Fyzabad, Bareilly or Shahjehanpore, the current tended northward; if Calpee or Jhansie offered more favourable chances, the stream flowed in an opposite direction; but the Doab, in either case, was regarded rather as a line of transit than as a field of contest. The commander-in-chief, who was well acquainted with this fact, devoted a portion of his attention to the ghâts on the two great rivers, since it became very important to check, if possible, the marching and counter-marching of the armed banditti across the Doab; and, for that purpose, a considerable portion of the available troops were employed in this special service.

It has been observed, that the commander-in-chief, after participating in the reconquest and pacification of Rohilcund, had returned to his old quarters at Futteghur, where he remained until the middle of June; but, though not individually engaged in hostilities, he was actively occupied either in devising means to find shelter and repose to his heat-worn soldiers, or in arranging plans for the most advantageous employment of those whose services in the field were still indispensable. For some time past the governor-general had been holding his court at Allahabad, where he much desired the arrival of Sir Colin Campbell, that he might confer with him personally on the military arrangements for the ensuing season; but, owing to the scattered position of the British troops, there were no soldiers that could be spared from duty to escort the chief from Futteghur to the temporary seat of government; and his attendance upon the governor-general had necessarily to be delayed until a sufficient force came in from the outlying station to form an escort, without which he could not move, since, quiet as the Doab was, compared with its condition earlier in the year, there were still rebel bands occasionally traversing it; and those bands would have risked much for the chance of capturing a prize so important as the commander-in-chief of the English army. During this interval of comparative repose, much interest will be added to these pages by referring to the graphic details of a visit to Delhi, by Mr. Russell, the special correspondent of the *Times* newspaper; who being unable to follow the field force, through an accident which restrained him from violent exertion, determined to seek the restoration of his health among the hills, visiting on his way the late city of the Moguls, instead of going down in the train of the commander-in-chief to Allahabad, "the city of God." Under the searching eye and descriptive pen of this facile writer, Delhi and its accessories, its palaces and its ruins, stand out before us as if a masterpiece of the painter's art was unveiled to view. We shall commence the extracts with the arrival of the traveller at the Jumna, which is represented as rather low at the season, and spread into several channels over a wide expanse of sandy bed, which it had formed into distinct islands. Over this river the passage was by a bridge of boats, protected at each end by a European sentry, who suffered no native to pass without an authority to do so. "The bridge leads to the Calcutta gate of the city; but, before one reaches it, the grand feudal-looking keep of Selimghur rises on the left, out of the waters of the river by which it is surrounded. This fort, built of solid stone-work, with massive walls and deep-set small windows, still retains an appearance of real strength, and is only accessible by a very lofty bridge thrown on high arches from the city wall, across the branch of the river that insulates the castle;

and it was then occupied by a detachment of English troops. At this point the wall of Delhi sweeps round by the curve of the river; and in front of us is the Calcutta gate. The masonry here dates from the time of Shah Jehan, the Great Mogul, to whom Delhi owes its grandest monuments and works. It bears marks of time here and there; but very little outlay and labour would renovate the fine face, which rises to the height of thirty-five or forty feet, pierced with loopholes, and castellated at intervals for its defenders. Passing by the draw-bridge, and through the Calcutta gate, we enter at once into the streets of an Eastern town, rather cleaner and wider than usual. * * * Our course lay for a short time by the city wall; then through a silent street—the houses closed, but pitted all over with bullet-marks; then through a wider street, with public buildings shattered and half ruinous; English guards and English children looking from the doorless halls. Here the magazines were open, and native shopkeepers sat in their open stalls; but the marks of bullet and cannon-shot became thicker and thicker at every step; the trees by the side of the way were split and rent; doors and windows were splintered; the gables were torn out of houses; and walls let in the light at jagged holes, through which shot and shell had heralded its advent long ago. At last all is ruin; house and wall and gate alike crumbled under a tremendous bombardment. Then comes a spot over which the storm had passed more lightly; and, in an open space, there stands —clean, fresh, and radiant in the morning sun—the restored church of Delhi, not destitute of architectural attractions, surmounted by a cupola and ball and cross. It was pleasant to see this Christian type amid the desolation and destruction around, the intensity of which increased as we approached the Cashmere gate. Through this immortal portal we passed, and were once more outside the city wall."—Mr. Russell's destination was the residence of the commissioner, Mr. Saunders, with whom, in the evening, he drove out to visit the most interesting features of the captured city, re-entering it by the Cashmere gate, and proceeding by the Chandnee Chouk, the main street; they presently diverged to the left, and were in front of the wall of the palace of the Mogul, of which we have the following description:—"A grand face of rich red sandstone, darkened by time, crenellated in two rows, rises to a height of fifty or sixty feet above us, and sweeps to the right and left in melancholy grandeur, slightly broken in outline by turrets and flanking towers; the portal is worthy of the enclosure: except the Victoria gate of the new palace of Westminster, I have seen no gateway so fine in proportion, and of such lofty elevation. The massive iron and brass embossed doors open into a magnificent vestibule in a great tower, which rises high above the level of the walls, and is surmounted by turrets and four cupolas of elegant design. On passing the gates we find ourselves in a sort of arcade, vaulted, and running for the length of the tower, in the midst of which there is a very small court richly ornamented with sculptured stone-work. * * * * The arcade conducts us to an open courtyard surrounded by houses of excessively poor aspect. At one side there, in the turreted gateway, Mr. Saunders points out to us the room, below a cupola, where two of our countrymen were brutally murdered. But, in the courtyard before us, a more terrible scene was enacted. A dry stone well, in which there once played a fountain, is in the centre of the court: above it a venerable and decaying tree casts an imperfect shadow over the stone seats, on which, in former times, those who came hither to enjoy the play of the waters and their refreshing music, were wont to repose. It was at this spot, beneath this tree, and round the fountain, that the Christian captives, women and children, after several days of painful respite and anxiety worse than the fate they dreaded, were hacked to pieces by the swords of the ferocious and cowardly miscreants, who, in their bloody work, forgot that even Mohammed has ordered women and children to be saved from death."—Around this court the guns taken from the enemy were now ranged; but the mouldering walls of the palace buildings, broken lattices, crumbling stone-work and doors, and wood-work split, decayed, and paintless—the silence only broken by the subdued voices of the visitors, or the tread of the sentry—rendered the whole place inexpressibly sad and desolate.

From this court the party proceeded towards another grand gateway, leading by a long vaulted arcade, paved like the former, but kept in better order, and surrounded by continuous edifices, some in white marble, all of rich decorations in arabesque; the most conspicuous of which, notwithstanding

the attractions of a beautiful mosque, was the Hall of Audience—the Dewan Khass of the imperial palace of Delhi, which, with its then accessories, cannot be more graphically presented to the reader than in Mr. Russell's own words:—"We drove from the outer square under a high-arched gateway, piercing one side of the huge block of buildings, into a smaller square surrounded by fine edifices, connected by corridors and colonnades. The gates of this passage are remarkable for massive construction, and for rich ornamentation in brass and metal. The walls on each side of it have been selected by our soldiery for the exercise of their graphic talents; and portraits of the ex-king, with a prodigious nose and beard, ornament more than one of the compartments. On emerging into the square, we saw, facing us, a long low building, white and clean-looking, flat-roofed, and raised above the level of the court, on an esplanade or terrace of the same material as the building itself, which we discovered to be marble. This is the Dewan Khass. It is 150 feet long, and 40 in breadth. At each angle there is a graceful cupola, which, in some degree, relieves the impression of meanness, caused by the flatness of the building. There was a babble of voices in the English tongue resounding from the inside. On ascending by a flight of steps four or five feet in height, to the terrace on which the Dewan Khass is built, and looking in through the wide, arched doorways, or rather between the rows of pillars on which the roof rests, we saw anything but the dazzling magnificence for which our reading had prepared us. In fact, the hall was filled, not with turbaned and jewelled rajahs, Mogul guards, and Oriental splendour; but with British infantry in its least imposing and prepossessing aspect—namely, in its undress, and in its washing and purely domestic hours. From pillar to pillar, and column to column, extended the graceful curves of the clothes-line; and shirts, and socks, and drawers flaunted in the air in lieu of silken banners. Long lines of charpoys, or bedsteads, stretched from one end of the hall to the other; arms were piled against the columns; pouches, belts, and bayonets depended from the walls; and in the place where once blazed the fabulous glories of the peacock throne, reclined a private of her majesty's 61st, who, with brawny arms bared to the shoulders, as if he were engaged in a matter requiring no ordinary exertion of muscular strength, was occupied in writing a letter. The hall was so obscure, that the richness of the decorations and the great beauty of the interior were not visible, until the eye became accustomed to the darkness, and penetrated through the accidents of the place to its permanent and more pleasing characteristics. The magnificent pavement has indeed been taken up and destroyed, and the hand of the spoiler has been busy on the columns and walls of the divan; but still, above and around, one sees the solid marble worked as though it had been wax, and its surface inlaid with the richest, most profuse and fanciful, and exquisite designs in foliage and arabesque—the fruits and flowers being represented by sections of gems, such as amethysts, cornelian, bloodstone, garnet, topaz, and various coloured crystals, set in the brass-work of the decorations. Every one of the columns are thus decorated, and covered with inscriptions from the Koran; and the walls have the appearance of some rich work from the loom, in which a brilliant pattern is woven on a pure white ground, the tracery of rare and cunning artists. When the hall was clean and lighted up, and when its greatest ornament, the Takt Taous, or Peacock Throne, and the great crystal chair of state were in the midst, the *coup d'œil* must have been exceedingly rich and beautiful. The crystal chair is still in existence; but I know not whether the peacock throne, which cost one million and a quarter sterling, fell into the hands of Nadir Shah or of some smaller robber. I do not know, however, what became of the bath cut out of a single block of agate, and beautifully carved, which was talked of all over Hindostan. Our soldiers broke it into pieces. They were also very clever in poking out the stones from the embellishments of the Dewan Khass with their bayonets; but that exercise of their talents is now forbidden."

From this part of the ruined palace of the Moguls, Mr. Russell was conducted, by his friendly guide, to the apartments now appropriated to the use of the ex-king and his attendants; the visit to whom is thus described:—"We drove out of the court, and turned into a long parallelogram surrounded by mean houses, in various stages of ruin. Nearly all of them were shut up and deserted. The lower stories of others were open, and used as magazines of corn and shops, for the encouragement of a sickly

traffic with the few miserable men and women who found shelter within the walls of the palace. At one end of the court there is a fine tower, surmounted by cupolas. In the apartments which were formerly occupied by officers of the royal household, are now lodged some of our officers, who do not find them very comfortable quarters. Sentries of the Ghoorka rifles, or of her majesty's 61st regiment, are on duty in every court. Within the walls of this palace there was a population of more than 5,000 souls, of which no less than 3,000 were of the blood-royal, and descendants of Timour-lung, who had sunk into a state of abject debasement, and of poverty unredeemed by self-respect or by usefulness. We turned out of this court near the tower by a breach made in the wall of some houses, and, passing over the bricks, came to a large garden in a state of utter neglect, and overrun with weeds; in which were a crazy kiosk and some tottering outhouses or offices. Several soldiers, some on duty, others lounging about their piled arms, were stationed close to the breach in the wall, at the foot of a rude stone staircase, some twelve or fifteen feet in height, which led from the garden to the top of one of the houses of the court, or enclosed space of the palace, through which we had just passed. The staircase was intended to form a communication between the rear of the house and the garden; and, ascending it, we found ourselves in a small open court at the top, which was formed by the flat roof of the house, and which might have been designed for another story, as the side walls were left standing. Two sentries were on duty at the doorway of this little court at the top of the stairs, and several native servants were in attendance inside.

"In a dingy, dark passage, leading from the open court or terrace in which we stood, to a darker room beyond, there sat crouched on his haunches, a diminutive, attenuated old man, dressed in an ordinary and rather dirty muslin tunic, his small lean feet bare, and his head covered by a small thin cambric skull cap." This individual was the actual descendant of the mighty Timour, into whose presence, little more than a year previous, no one dared penetrate until many forms had been observed, and upon petition addressed to his majesty the king of the world, by the resident, through a great officer of state. At the moment a sentiment of delicacy for the infirmity under which the ex-king was labouring, induced the visitors to turn into an adjacent court, where another scion of the royal house met their view. "In one corner, stretched on a charpoy, lay a young man of slight figure and small stature, who sat up at the sound of our voices, and salaamed respectfully. He was dressed in fine white muslin, and had a gay yellow and blue silk sash round his waist; his head was bare, exhibiting the curious tonsure from the forehead to the top of the head, usual among many classes in the east; his face, oval and well shaped, was disfigured by a very coarse mouth and chin; but his eyes were quick and bright, if not very pleasant in expression. By the side of his charpoy, stood four white-tunicked and turbaned attendants, with folded arms, watching every motion of the young gentleman with obsequious anxiety. One of them said, 'He is sick;' and the commissioner gave directions that he should lie down again; and so, with another salaam, Jumma Bukht—for it was in the presence of that princely offshoot of the house of Delhi that we stood—threw himself on his back with a sigh, and turning his head towards us, drew up the chudder or sheet of his bed, to his face, as if to relieve himself of our presence. * * * The indisposition of the king at length abated, and we went into the passage. He was still gasping for breath; and replied by a wave of the hand and a monosyllable to the commissioner. That dim-wandering-eyed, dreamy old man, with feeble hanging nether lip, and toothless gums, was he indeed one who had conceived that vast plan of restoring a great empire—who had fomented the most gigantic mutiny in the history of the world; and who, from the walls of his ancient palace, had hurled defiance, and shot ridicule upon the race that held every throne in India in the hollow of their palms? Who could look upon him without pity?—yes, for one instant, pity, till the rush of blood in *that* pitiless courtyard swept it from the heart! The passage in which he sat contained nothing that I could see but a charpoy, such as those used by the poorest Indians: the old man cowered on the floor on his crossed legs, with his back against a mat, which was suspended from doorway to doorway, so as to form a passage about twelve feet wide by twenty-four in length. Inside the mat we heard whispering, and some curious eyes glinted through the mat at the strangers, informed us that the king was not quite

alone. He seemed but little inclined for conversation; and when Brigadier Stisted, who was with us, asked him how it was he had not saved the lives of our women, he made an impatient gesture with his hand, as if commanding silence; and said, 'I know nothing of it. I had nothing to say to it.' His grandchild, an infant a few months old, was presented to us; and some one or two women of the zenana showed themselves at the end of the passage; while the commissioner was engaged in conversation with one of the begums, who remained inside the curtain, and did not let us see her face."

The portrait of the fallen majesty of Delhi, as drawn by Mr. Russell, may have been at the time scrupulously life-like, but it is far from prepossessing. That gentleman observes—"I tried in vain to let my imagination find out Timour in him. Had it been assisted by diamond and cloth of gold, and officers of state, music and cannon, and herald and glittering cavalcade, and embroidered elephantry, perhaps I might have succeeded; but as it was, I found—I say it with regret, but with honesty and truth—I found only Holywell-street! The forehead is very broad indeed, and comes out sharply over the brows; but it recedes at once into an ignoble Thersites-like skull; in the eyes were only visible the weakness of extreme old age—the dim, hazy, filmy light which seems about to guide to the great darkness; the nose, a noble Judaic aquiline, was deprived of dignity and power by the loose-lipped, nerveless, quivering and gasping mouth, filled with a flacid tongue; but from chin and upper lip, there streamed a venerable, long, wavy, intermingling mustache and beard of white, which again all but retrieved his aspect. His hands and feet were delicate and fine, his garments scanty and foul. Recalling youth to that decrepit frame, restoring its freshness to that sunken cheek, one might see the king glowing with all the beauty of the warrior David; but as he sat before us, I was only reminded of the poorest form of the Israelitish type, as exhibited in decay and penurious greed in its poorest haunts among us." In the following sentences, which occur towards the end of Mr. Russell's most interesting narrative, there is food for reflection, and it may be, also, just cause for regret:—"I could not help thinking, as I looked on the old man, that our rulers were somewhat to blame for the crimes he had committed, in so far as their conduct may have led him to imagine that success in his designs was feasible. In what way did the majesty of Britain present itself before the last of the house of Timour? With all the grandeur of a protecting power, and the dignity of a conquering state? No. At least with the honest independence of an honourable equality? No. Our representative, with 'bated breath and whispering humbleness,' aye, with bare feet and bowed head, came into the presence of our puppet king. More than that, the English captain of the palace guard, if summoned to the presence of the king, as he frequently was, had not only to uncover his feet, but was not permitted to have an umbrella carried over his head, or to bear one in his own hand, while proceeding through the court-yards—a privilege permitted to every officer of the royal staff. This was the case in the time of the last resident, up to the moment of the revolt, and in the time of the last captain of the guard, up to the time of his assassination!" Surely if we contrast this abject submission within the walls of the palace, with the haughty and irritating assumption of superiority that pervaded European society without those walls, proclaiming hourly a living lie to the astute people of India, we have little cause to feel surprise at the consequences of our own conduct, characterised as it had been by duplicity and arrogance.

Of the actual condition of the once imperial city at the time of Mr. Russell's visit, and its probable future, the following remarks by him are pertinent, and may be referred to when the history of its pristine magnificence shall be contrasted with the desolation that, at no distant period, is likely to succeed it:—"Although, in the very environs of Delhi, there are striking evidences of the power of man over the work of his hands, and of the possibility of completely destroying vast cities, it remains to be seen if such strength lies in the hands of civilisation, and whether it did not pass away with the race of barbaric conquerors. Delhi is, or was, famous for its gold and silver embroidery, and its worked shawls and laces; but that trade is already withering. The mechanics, it is true, rescued their quarter by a ransom, some of which has been remitted to them, but only some half-dozen of these skilled artisans are now permitted to remain in the town; and thus the trade will die out, or seek shelter

elsewhere. The Delhi jewellers have become pedlars and packmen. One of these people, a famous engraver, who has the names of crowned heads in Europe, and many great Indians, in his book of customers, showed us the impression of a seal made for the ex-king of Delhi; and added, that he had to summon him to the court of law before he was paid for his labour. An itinerant jeweller, who displayed as part of his valuables certain worthless bits of paper, in the shape of promissory notes from English officers and ladies, to pay certain sums of rupees and interest which he assured us he never received, was one of the greatest sufferers by the revolt. 'What could I do?' said he; 'the sepoys rushed in at once, and guarded the gates. Had I tried to get out, I should have been robbed and killed. So I had to remain, and the sepoys came and took all my jewels. Then the siege began; and then the English took the city, and your soldiers broke in, and cleared off what the sepoys had left.' The people say that Delhi will never recover the siege, do what we like; and that it will not be much affected, one way or other, by any effort of ours to make it prosperous, or the reverse. 'You will not act,' they say, 'like the Mahrattas or the Persians. You will not destroy holy places which they spared, or waste the people with universal massacres; but the thousands who depended on the court of Delhi are gone for ever. You close the city gates against all but a few; and there are none now who care for Delhi, except those to whom it would be a sacred place, if all its buildings were razed to the ground.' "*

However this may have been as it concerns the native population, it is quite clear that the policy which recommended the demolition of the fortifications of the city, the divergence of the intended railway, the levelling of the city gates, and the abandonment to decay of its palaces and temples, had been overruled; and that, instead of utter neglect, the prospect of a more cheerful future had already dawned upon the once imperial city. Thus, by the beginning of October, the old fort of Selimghur had been effectually repaired, the magazine removed into the palace, and two heavy batteries were in progress of erection near the latter, to command the Chandnee Chouk. The railway, which was to have been diverted from the city, had been again marked out upon the plan to follow its original track; and, on the whole, it became doubtful whether, instead of demolition and abandonment, there was not to be restoration and aggrandisement for Delhi.

Before resuming the narrative of current events in the progress of the war, from July to the close of the year, it may be permitted to refer to a most interesting letter respecting the final disposition of the Europeans murdered at Lucknow on the 19th of the previous November. The communication was dated from Lucknow, August 23rd, 1858, and was as follows:—

"As anything tending to throw light on the fate of some of our helpless countrymen is always interesting, I give you the following particulars of the disposal of the remains of Sir C. M. Jackson, Captain Orr, and Sergeant-major Norton,† as related by a Madrassee who came with Havelock's force to the relief, and was one of the few with General Neill when that officer was killed—himself escaping by rushing into a house held by the sepoys, and declaring he was of the Sweeper caste, and faithful to the begum. This man states, that the unfortunate gentlemen were killed on the 19th of November, the day Sir Colin Campbell relieved the garrison; and that their bodies were left lying about one hundred yards outside the gateway of the Kaiserbagh. After the chief had retired, the Madrassee, with other-

* In closing the remarks connected with Delhi, Mr. Russell says—"I shall not attempt a description of the city—of its grand canal—of the mosques—of the historical spots sacred to Mussulmans—of the ruins of the ancient city some miles away—of the fantastic grandeur of the Kootub, or of the great mausoleums, where, as a small stone in a huge setting, repose some famed members of the imperial house of the Mogul;—among which, the investigations of the inquiring traveller may sometimes receive very peremptory and characteristic interruption. The morning I visited the Kootub, I had a great wish to climb the interior of the fantastic and extraordinary monumental pillar which stands in the midst of the ruins—a tapering cylinder of sculptured stone, as high as St. Paul's, and engraved like a fine gem from the base to the summit. My infirmities, however, prohibited the attempt, very fortunately for myself; for it appeared that a leopard had taken up his residence in a recess in the dark interior staircase, and that he had, on the very previous day, attacked and nearly killed a native at the foot of the pillar. Safta Jung's tomb was also the residence, at this time, of a tiger or leopard, which carried off several goats and sheep, and had eaten some bullocks; but none of our party were in a condition for hunting, and the tiger (or ourselves) escaped."—*Vide* Letter of special correspondent of the *Times*, Sept. 3rd, 1858.

† See *ante*, pp. 93, 94.

prisoners, was brought out to bury the remains. They were tied arm to arm; and in the waistcoat pocket of one of them, described as a short person, a prayerbook was found. Another had a jingal bullet sticking in the left side. All the bodies were dressed in European clothes, excepting one, who wore native shoes. A leathern helmet-shaped hat lay near another. All three were in a row, lying on their backs: their faces and hands were so black from decomposition, that at first the Madrassee thought they must be natives. A trench was near; and, according to orders, he helped to untie their arms, and assisted to place them in it. They were interred one above the other, and the hat and book placed on the body of the uppermost. The sepoys looking on were indulging in jests; addressing each other, they inquired who these great men were. One said they were new governors; when the others shouted, 'Oh yes—this is the governor of Madras; that of Bombay; and the other of Bengal!' This was the burden of their song till mother-earth took its own unto herself again; but the bright spirits that once dwelt within those perishable tenements, were for ever beyond any earthly requirement. On receiving the above information, Captain Hutchinson, the military secretary to the chief commissioner, determined to find, if possible, the last resting-place of the brave men thus mercilessly sacrificed to sepoy vengeance; and taking with him the Madrassee, they started on the search from a gateway of the Kaiserbagh, which the man recognised as the one near which the gentlemen were murdered. After a long search, and much conversation with native carpenters and masons, who had apparently seen the last fortifications constructed, he ascertained the spot where a house had stood, under cover of which the Madrassee remembered crouching on his way to inter the bodies, and from which point he hoped to trace his next landmark—a kutcha wall. After digging and clearing away much rubbish, everything was found as described by the Madrassee. Then came the difficulty of tracing a mud wall, along which he had gone, until he reached a trench, in which the bodies were interred. The carpenters remembered the existence of a wall; but not the least trace of it now remained. At length a point was decided on to which it ran, when the Madrassee declared that the sought-for trench lay about thirty feet in the direction of the Chuttur Munzil; but here Captain Hutchinson was completely foiled. The first day the carpenters maintained no trench had existed there at all; and, on the second, imagined they recollected a trench, but that it had been completely swallowed up, and dug out in the vast canal the mutineers dug round the Kaiserbagh, in their last fortifications thrown up. The ground was examined very carefully; but the bones of our murdered countrymen were not found. It was certain, however, that the locality was within fifty yards either way. As they then stood at the junction of two or three newly-formed roads, it has now been decided to raise a monument on the spot, with an inscription recording the names, and the words, 'Victims of 1857.' The last rites could not be performed; but the prayerbook on the uppermost body silently whispered the Christian burial-service for the dead."

It will be remembered, that a force, under Sir Hope Grant, marched from Lucknow on the 21st of July, for the purpose of occupying Fyzabad, and also of relieving Maun Sing, who was then beleaguered in his fortress of Shahgunge by a large rebel force. Both these objects were accomplished; but while the English troops were yet fourteen miles from Fyzabad, the rebel commanders broke up their army into three divisions, and decamped with such haste, that the troops had no chance whatever of coming up with them. The first and second of those divisions, it was ascertained, had taken the direction of Sultanpore, on the Goomtee; and a column was forthwith dispatched, under Brigadier Horsford, in pursuit. The force arrived before Sultanpore on the 12th of August, and, on the following day, after a strong resistance, it occupied the town; and, having driven the rebels across the river, shelled them on the opposite bank. As they were not pursued by the brigadier, they regained courage, and returning to the bank of the Goomtee, their opened a severe fire on the town; their main body, under the command of the Amaithee rajah, and said to be 16,000 strong, being at Hosseinpore, four miles west of the English position at Sultanpore. At this place, a chief of importance, named Beni Madho, joined the rebel army, and called upon the talookdars of Bunswara to oppose the Sultanpore column.

On the 29th of July, General Grant entered Fyzabad, and, on the 30th, Maun

Sing, who had been relieved at Shahgunge, came into the camp. Of this individual, who occupied an important position throughout the progress of the revolt, the following details may be considered interesting. A few years previous, two brothers, Bucktawar Sing and Dursun Sing, were in the military service of the nawab, Saadut Ali Khan, of Oude—the second-named holding a command under the chuckledar of the Fyzabad district. He there married the daughter of a Brahmin, Gunga Misar; and his first act was to eject his father-in-law, and seize upon his village, which thus became the foundation of the "Bainamah," or purchased estate, as Maun Sing's dominions are generally styled, in reference to the supposed mode of acquisition, and as contrasted with territory passing by adoption or descent. From this small beginning, Dursun advanced till he reached the dignity of chuckledar; and, after adding one by one to his villages, left at his death a vast territorial property to his son, Maun Sing, who, at the period of the outbreak, was the recognised owner of 761 villages. An individual possessing the influence that so large a property naturally invested him with, was not one to be rashly irritated, and certainly not to be wantonly injured; and yet, in 1856, a year preceding the outbreak, this man was chased out of his estates by a regiment of the Company's cavalry, upon a plea of default in payment of a head-rent or assessment to government, which he objected to as enormous and unjust. This affront was in some way or other condoned, and he returned to one of his residences near Fyzabad, where he continued until symptoms of disaffection among the troops at that station became apparent. At that time he was upon the most amicable terms with the English authorities, and had offered to secure the safety of the women and children of the station, in the event of their being imperilled. Unfortunately this moment was chosen by the chief commissioner at Lucknow to renew the insult of the previous year, by placing him under arrest, as "a suspicious person, likely to be troublesome in the then state of the country." From this indignity, he was, after much difficulty, released, at the earnest solicitation, and upon the protest, of the superintendent commissioner at Fyzabad, who appreciated the value of his friendship at the crisis too evidently approaching. Maun Sing's revenge for the unprovoked wrongs was indeed magnanimous; he had no sooner been released from captivity, than he exerted himself to provide for the safety of English fugitives from Fyzabad, twenty-seven of whom he conveyed to his fortress at Shahgunge, and there protected them until the taint of rebellion infected his own people; when he informed the officers under his roof, that the troops were clamorous for *their* lives, and he could no longer protect *them*, though he would answer for the safety of the women and children.* Ultimately the whole of the fugitives were put on board some boats secured by him for the purpose, and were conveyed down the river to Gopalpore, where they continued in safety until they could be forwarded to Allahabad. In September, the importance of his friendship appeared manifest to the government; and, on the 12th of that month, the governor-general in council, by a telegram to General Outram, referred to the chief in the following terms:—

"Maun Sing may be assured, that if he continues to give the governor-general effective proof of his fidelity and good-will, his position in Oude will be at least as good as it was before the British government assumed the administration of the country; while the proprietors in Oude, who have deserted the government, will lose their possessions.

"Whatever promises may have been made to Maun Sing, or to others, by Sir Henry Lawrence, are confirmed, and shall be fully redeemed. None, however, have been reported to me."

Almost immediately after this communication, it seems that Maun Sing, instigated by a report no doubt purposely spread to entrap him into hostilities with the government, collected a large body of troops, and, placing himself at their head, was said to have joined the forces of the begum at Lucknow. There is no proof that he actually joined, or that he personally took an active part in, any operations of the rebel army, although it was rumoured that a portion of his followers manned a battery against the Baille guard, until its relief by General Outram on the 25th of September. This conduct of the rajah was afterwards explained, as appears by the following communication from Captain Bruce, for Major-general Outram, to the governor-general:—

(Telegraphic.) "Cawnpore, October 21st, 1857.

"Rajah Maun Sing has written to me, with inclosure for General Outram. The purport of these is as follows:—Says he never intended to go to Lucknow at all, had not the ranee of the late

* See vol. i., p. 393.

Rajah Buktawar Sing, been seized there by the rebels.* He went with Mr. Gubbins' (of Benares) sanction to rescue her; he could not get away until all the rebels opposed the British at Alumbagh; he seized this opportunity of rescuing her, making every arrangement to move back twenty coss from Lucknow. He swears on his oath, up to this time, he did not connect himself with the rebels. It was willed his name now should be connected with the rebels, and himself fall under displeasure of government thus. He suddenly heard the rebels were defeated, and the British, attacking the place, were about to disgrace his majesty's seraglio. He at once marched to protect it, for he had eaten the king's salt. If the general views with justice his actions, he will see that he did not join the rebels. He protected the British authorities in his district, and could not keep himself aloof from protecting the king's honour. Now he is ready to obey all government orders; and if his vakeel's life be spared, he will submit the whole facts: he hopes the general will let him know his design, that he may carry it out.

"To this letter I sent the following reply:—'I have received your letter and inclosure for General Outram. The British do no injury to helpless women and children, however humble their rank; and you ought to have known that those of the king would not have been dishonoured. I have written to-day to General Outram, who is now in the Lucknow residency; and in the meantime, if you are really friendly to the British government, you are desired at once to withdraw all your men from Lucknow, and communicate with the chief commissioner. I have sent to tell your vakeel, that if he likes to come in and see me, he will meet with no injury.'—The vakeel has since come, and having expressed his master's willingness to comply with the terms of my letter, departed for Lucknow."

That Maun Sing was truthful in his avowal of motives, and non-participation in the objects of the rebels, may be fairly inferred from the following passage in a telegram from the lieutenant-governor of the Central Provinces, to the governor-general, dated on the 13th of the month:—"Nana Sahib has returned from Lucknow to Futtehpore Chowrassie, opposite Bithoor, *having had a turn-up with Maun Sing before he left.*"

At any rate, it cannot be denied that there was, throughout the entire conduct of this chief, a glow of chivalric disinterestedness and recklessness of personal safety that eminently distinguished him from others of his influential countrymen. He had rendered to the Company's government benefits for insults offered and unatoned for: he had protected its fugitive subjects; and he now advanced in arms towards Lucknow, to rescue a female relative from the hands of the rebels, and had then withdrawn; but learning that the honour of his sovereign (for such the king of Oude still was, until his allegiance had been formally transferred to the English government) was likely to be imperilled by the wild license of a conquering army, he again came forward to protect the inviolability of the zenana. In none of these acts can we trace any fair indication of hostility to the British. According to the testimony of Mr. Rees,† Maun Sing stood in the first rank among the most distinguished of the "*insurgent*" (?) rajahs, and the most powerful landed barons of the kingdom of Oude; and the testimony of that author, which is certainly not marked by any strong bias in favour of the chief, exonerates him from the charge of active co-operation in the rebellion. He says—"During the whole of the siege, I believe his troops (10,000 in number) never aided the other insurgents in their operations against us; but preserved a sort of armed neutrality." Mr. Rees further states, that, "shortly after Sir James Outram's assumption of the command of the Oude field force, Maun Sing sent a messenger to him, offering to mediate with the rebel government for the safety of the prisoners in its hands, and stipulating for a guarantee, as the price of his doing so, and fighting on the side of the British, that his own life would be spared, and all his estates be restored. He was told to withdraw his troops and return to his estate. Government was generous, and would no doubt act well towards him; but he must trust to that generosity alone. After this," observes Mr. Rees, "Maun Sing had the *insolence* to offer to escort our women, children, and wounded to Cawnpore, with his 10,000 men! This would have been like entrusting the safety of a flock to a wolf. We had learned to distrust natives now." So much for opinion on the spot. To a distant observer it might appear possible, that whatever seemed doubtful or unfriendly on the part of this powerful chief, could have fairly been attributed to the distrust of him unworthily manifested at the early stage of the revolt, and never entirely concealed even in the face of his most generous and disinterested services.

By the middle of September, the general aspect of affairs in Oude was considered satisfactory; and with the exception of the military operations then progressing in the

* The lady referred to was a widow of the uncle of Maun Sing. See preceding page.

† *Personal Narrative of the Siege of Lucknow*, p. 265.

neighbourhood of Sultanpore, matters looked hopeful. The districts then in the hands of the British were represented as lying in an ellipse, of which Lucknow and Durriabad were foci—the ends of one diameter being Cawnpore and Fyzabad, which cities were situated almost due east and west of each other. The civil jurisdiction of the government extended, on an average, to about twenty-five miles round Lucknow, and nearly the same distance round Durriabad; and the line of communication was uninterrupted from Cawnpore to Fyzabad, bordering upon the Goruckpore district in the North-West Province. To the south of this region, the rebels, under different leaders, and in various districts, numbered in the aggregate about 45,000 men and 30 guns; and to the north were the forces of the begum and her partisans, the sum of whose power was represented by about 60,000 men and 50 guns. These numbers were exclusive of about 6,000 men under Balla Rao, at Bareitch, and such gathering as might still adhere to the Nana Sahib, who had esconced himself in the fort of Churda, in the north-east of Oude. It was therefore evident that some heavy work was still before the British troops, when the arrival of cold weather should enable them to resume operations of magnitude in the open field. Among the villagers and towns-people matters were quietly settling down, and many of the chief zemindars appeared desirous to send in offers of submission and allegiance; but were prevented doing so with safety by the numerous bands of rebels that were scattered over the country. The great event, however, to which all eyes were now directed, was the approaching campaign in Oude. It was naturally assumed, that the plan of that campaign had been formed by the commander-in-chief upon principles that would lead to the most successful results; but it was also remembered that the tactics of the enemy were to avoid any grand operations, and to harass and wear out the European troops by an incessant repetition of forced marches and tedious and desultory engagements in a country difficult of passage; a plan which would necessarily render the forthcoming campaign one of extreme embarrassment. The great problem to be solved was, not how to defeat the enemy, but how to reach them, spread as they were over a vast extent of country, interspersed with wide and interminable jungles and intricate passes, and studded with fortresses in every direction—under circumstances, also, that rendered it next to impossible to bring the rebels to bay, and at the same time to preserve the European soldiers from the decimating effects of exposure to the sun. Wisdom and energy were, however, paramount both in the council-chamber and the camp; and the hearts of the loyal in India and in Europe, were calmed by the assurance that the direction of affairs was in the hands of men whose past achievements indisputably entitled them to all confidence as to the future.

CHAPTER XIV.

CALCUTTA; UNPOPULARITY OF LORD CANNING; PETITION FOR HIS RECALL; POLICY OF HIS GOVERNMENT; TRIBUTE TO SIR HENRY LAWRENCE; ARRIVAL OF TROOPS FROM ENGLAND; FINANCIAL DIFFICULTIES OF THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT; THE PUBLIC DEBT; GROWING DEFICIENCIES; PROPOSED REDEMPTION OF THE LAND-TAX; POSITION OF THE EX-KING OF OUDE; THE ARMS ACT; PRESENTATION OF COLOURS TO THE CALCUTTA VOLUNTEER GUARDS; CORRESPONDENCE; THE BRANDING ACT; GRAND REVIEW OF BRITISH TROOPS BY THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL; LORD CANNING'S EXPLANATION OF HIS POLICY; MR. GRANT AT CAWNPORE; RECEPTION OF THE LUCKNOW FUGITIVES; DEATH OF THE BISHOP OF CALCUTTA; THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL AT ALLAHABAD; A PANIC AT CALCUTTA; PROCEEDINGS OF THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

To preserve the continuity of our narrative, it will be necessary to take advantage of the opportunity afforded by a cessation of important military operations in the revolted districts, to revert to the state of public affairs at the seat of the Anglo-Indian government.

The extreme unpopularity of Viscount

Canning at an early stage of the insurrectionary movement, has already been noticed; and the feeling adverse to his general policy was greatly extended by the measures introduced by him for restricting the press, as well as by the tone of discouragement with which all suggestions for the maintenance of tranquillity in the home presidency were met by his lordship in council. One consequence of the feeling thus engendered was shown in a petition to the queen from the inhabitants of Calcutta, which prayed for the immediate recall of the governor-general;* and in another petition to the parliament of the United Kingdom, in which the British inhabitants of Calcutta prayed that measures might be adopted for substituting the direct government of the crown in place of that of the East India Company,† in reference to whose mismanagement the following strong allegations were submitted:—"Your petitioners can look for no redress to the powers to whom the government of this great country is delegated, they having shown themselves unequal to the task. The government of the East India Company have neither men, money, nor credit; what credit they had was destroyed by their conduct in the last financial operations. The army has dissolved itself; the treasuries have either been plundered by the rebels, or exhausted by the public service, and a loan even at six per cent. would scarcely find subscribers." The petitioners further said—"The system under which the country has been hitherto governed—utterly antagonistic as it has ever been to the encouragement of British settlement and enterprise in India, has entirely failed to preserve the power of the queen, to win the affections of the natives, or to secure the confidence of the British in India."

These weighty charges had certainly, to a great extent, been warranted by the effects of the policy adopted by Lord Canning and his immediate predecessors; and, as we have already observed, "there were truths enunciated in the petitions that it was impossible to deny, and that it had now become hazardous to neglect the serious consideration of." Even among the most cautious observers of Lord Canning's administrative policy, who at the moment thought it but just to abstain from avowed censure, there were many who did not deny that, in the midst of the unprecedented difficulties with which the governor-general had to contend, errors of action or of judgment might have been committed; and the pertinacious incredulity with which the early rumours of the gathering storm were received at Calcutta, and thence officially transmitted to the home government, certainly did not tend to encourage confidence on the part of the European community of Bengal in the wisdom of the government. Possibly, much of the irritation that existed in the popular mind during the early stages of the revolt, might have been accounted for by the want of tact on the part of those to whom the government had delegated responsible duties at a perilous crisis, and some of whom had shown themselves utterly incompetent to deal with the circumstances around them; while the odium of their inefficiency fell with redoubled weight upon the individual by whom they had been entrusted with authority.

At the first outbreak of the revolt, it is quite obvious that the Indian government could not have used any language, or adopted any general line of action, that would, at the same time, have satisfied the European and the native populations. While every Englishman was filled with alarm and with just indignation, professions of impartiality and of confidence in the good-will of the natives, jarred against the prevalent desire for vengeance, and the irritated pride of race. On the other hand, the loyal feeling of every yet faithful Hindoo and Mussulman might have been destroyed, if official proclamations had echoed the language adopted by the press and in private society. Lord Canning might perhaps have been more careful to soothe the susceptibilities of his alarmed and enraged countrymen; but it was his most pressing duty to take care that a mere military mutiny, which at the outset it appeared to be, was not goaded on, by injudicious treatment, to a great national revolt. With this object before him, the governor-general, in the case of the doubtful regiments, affected to hope even against hope; and, in some degree, it was afterwards found that, by this appearance of confidence, he succeeded in giving the Company's government a fresh hold on the loyalty of a large portion of the people of India. There was a purpose in the public and almost ostentatious display of his determination that, in the midst of the anarchy which raged over the country, all subjects of the Company's government should be equal before the law. If by this he offended

* See vol. i., p. 592.

† *Ibid.*, p. 597.

the English residents of the capital, the consequences were likely to fall on himself personally; while the advantages derivable from the gratitude and confidence of the native community, would be secured by his act to the government and the country. It has been truly observed, "that politicians trained under a free constitution, seldom desire that their rulers should be found in advance of a popular movement; public feeling supplies the force which is required for great achievements; and it is the business of high functionaries, by regulating the impulse, to take care that it is not wasted in a wrong direction." In the present instance, the nation was unanimous in the determination, at whatever cost, to effect the restoration of its supremacy, and the punishment of the guilty; but its best efforts might have been thrown away, if the supreme government had, from deference to wild clamour and reckless indignation, given occasion for general disaffection among the millions of its Indian subjects. The Calcutta malcontents were, however, able to console themselves by the reflection, that the neglect of compliance with their wishes for the establishment of martial law, implied, in a certain sense, absolute confidence in their own loyalty. It was probably anticipated by the governor-general, that the disappointed would become agitators; but he had no fear that any contingency would convert them into rebels. At the worst, even if the results of his policy had confirmed their gloomiest predictions, he knew that he could have commanded their wealth, and even their lives, to ward off the dangers they had denounced, and to the suppression of which they had pledged themselves; and, in the meanwhile, he felt that he would be justified in disarming a more possible enemy by generous forbearance and undisguised confidence, than by confining himself to merely strengthening the attachment of natural and tried friends, from among whom no possible chance of danger could arise.

As time progressed, the fact became daily more apparent, that the governor-general had deserved well of his country, and was entitled to its most generous interpretation of his conduct. He had prosecuted the war with vigour to the utmost limit of his means, and had also preserved the loyalty of the great bulk of the native populations. The capture of Delhi, the relief of Lucknow, the victory at Cawnpore, alike reflected a portion of the honour acquired by each on the administrative head at Calcutta; while the unbroken tranquillity of the province under his immediate care, and the good feeling manifested by many of the native princes, might fairly be attributed to the calm and thoughtful policy which, with a generous disregard of his own personal feelings, he consistently pursued through the hurricane of opinions that raged around his path.

At length, the more influential portions of the community—the gentry, landowners, and capitalists of Bengal and the neighbouring provinces—showed they had not been insensible to the prudent impartiality of Lord Canning's language and conduct. In two energetic and well-written addresses, they thanked him for his resistance to the clamour against the native populations, and congratulated him on the success of the British arms at Delhi. More than 2,000 memorialists reminded the government of the fact, that "natives of Bengal—men, women, and children—have, in every part of the scene of the mutinies, been exposed to the same rancour, and treated with the same cruelty, which the mutineers and their misguided countrymen have displayed to the British within their reach." The memorialists recognised as equal merits, the determination to crush the disaffected and rebellious, and the resolution to protect and reassure the loyal and obedient. Every civil and military official, every soldier, and almost every European upon the soil of India, might have claimed to share the credit of the vigour that had been displayed; but the honour of steadily discriminating between the rebels and the peaceful community, was assigned, by the common voice of enemies and friends, principally to the governor-general. A second memorial, bearing 5,000 signatures, more directly referred to the demands put forth in the Calcutta petition to which we have already referred.* "It has become notorious," said the memorialists, "throughout this land, that your lordship's administration has been assailed by faction, and assailed because your lordship in council has refused compliance with capricious demands, and to treat the loyal portion of the Indian population as rebels; because your lordship has directed that punishment for offences against the state should be dealt out with discrimination; because your

* See vol. i., p. 592.

lordship, having regard for the future, has not pursued a policy of universal irritation and unreasoning violence; and finally, because your lordship has confined coercion and punishment within necessary and politic limits."

The importance of such declarations as the above. did not so much rest upon the soundness of the reasoning, or the accuracy of the statements, contained in them, as upon the position and influence of the individuals from whom they emanated, and the effect they were likely to produce upon native opinion. The Calcutta opponents to Lord Canning's administration, complained that the wishes and opinions of aliens were placed in competition with their own, and that the policy eulogised by the former, had been adopted in preference to that recommended by themselves; but, fortunately, the government of India remembered that its subjects were principally Indians; and that although rajahs and zemindars, talookdars and merchants, might possibly be perfidious, yet it would have been exceedingly inconvenient if their unquestioned influence over their countrymen had been employed to embarrass the government. Lord Canning happily discerned the true policy to be adopted; and if, in pursuing it, he occasionally seemed to incline too much to a system of conciliation, it must be remembered, also, that his error was on the side of prudence, since he had not only to suppress and extinguish the fires of a wide-spreading rebellion, but to be careful that, in doing so, he did not render British rule in India impossible for the time to come.

During the months of September and October, 1857, the proceedings of the supreme council of India appeared to find little favour in the eyes of the journalists of Calcutta; and rumours circulated upon the alleged authority of advices from London, by which, on one day, the immediate recall of Viscount Canning, and the appointment of Earl Granville as governor-general, were confidently affirmed. On another, the Earl of Ellenborough was declared to be the sage to whose wisdom and moderation the future destinies of India were again to be entrusted; this *canard* being succeeded by another, giving the date of the cabinet council at which the recall of Lord Canning was determined upon, and the promotion of Lord Elphinstone from the government of Bombay, to the exalted position of governor-general of India. It is superfluous to observe, that the foundation for these various rumours were simply based upon the imagination of the authors of them, and that the only point, but one, upon which the Calcutta journals were agreed at this particular juncture, was the utter ignorance of each in respect to the intention of the home government and the Court of Directors. The exceptional point had reference to the government notification of the 19th of September, which paid a just tribute to the merits of the late Sir Henry Lawrence and Mr. J. R. Colvin.* The reappointment of General Outram to the chief commissionership of Oude, in place of Sir Henry Lawrence, and to the command of the troops in the Dinapore and Cawnpore divisions, was also received with unanimous satisfaction and approval. The private minute of the governor-general, on the death of Sir Henry Lawrence, has already been given;† and the following is the government notification:—

"Fort William, Foreign Department, 19th Sept., 1857.

"*Notification.*—The right honourable the governor-general in council having appointed a successor to the late Sir Henry Lawrence, K.C.B., in the post of chief commissioner of Oude, desires to take the opportunity of testifying publicly in this form, as he has already testified in addressing the Hon. Court of Directors, the deep sorrow with which he laments the loss of that eminent man. In the course of a service extending over thirty-five years in Burmah, in Affghanistan, in Nepaul, in the Punjab, and in Rajpootana, Sir Henry Lawrence was distinguished for high ability, devoted zeal, and generous and self-denying exertions for the welfare of those around him. As a soldier, an administrator, and a statesman, he has earned a reputation amongst the foremost. Impressed with a sense of his great qualifications, the governor-general in council selected him to be chief commissioner in Oude. In that position, from the first appearance of disaffection amongst the troops quartered in the province, his conduct was marked by foresight, calm judgment, and courage; and if anything could have averted the calamitous outbreak, which has been followed by the temporary subversion of British authority in Oude, the measures which were taken by Sir Henry Lawrence, and the confidence which all men, high and low, European and native, felt in his energy, his wisdom, and his spirit of justice and kindliness, would have accomplished that end. As long as there was any hope of restraining the wavering soldiery by appeals to their sense of duty and honour, he left no becoming means untried to conciliate them. When violent and open mutiny called for stern retribution, he did not shrink from the (to him) uncongenial task of inflicting severe punishment. When general disorder and armed rebellion threatened, he was undaunted; and the precautionary preparations which from the beginning he had had in view, were carried out rapidly and

* See *ante*, pp. 7; 56. † See *ante*, p. 68.

effectually. He has been prematurely removed from the scene; but it is due mainly to his exertions, judgment, and skill, that the garrison of Lucknow has been able to defy the assaults of its assailants, and still maintains its ground. The loss of such a man in the present circumstances of India is indeed a heavy public calamity. The governor-general in council deplores it deeply, and desires to place on record his appreciation of the eminent services, his admiration of the high character, and his affectionate respect for the memory of Sir Henry Lawrence.

"By order of the governor-general of India in council.

"G. F. EDMONSTONE, Secretary to the Government of India."

The native feeling in Calcutta was naturally influenced by the mild and equable policy of the governor-general; and to manifest their appreciation of the efforts of his government for the maintenance of tranquillity at the capital, the chief Hindoo families in Calcutta resolved to dispense with the usual *nauches*, and other entertainments at the Puga festival, in consequence of the troubled state of the country; and the leading Mohammedans also presented an address to the lieutenant-governor of Bengal, expressive of their satisfaction at the measures taken to prevent disturbances during the Mohurrum. Meantime, reinforcements of troops from England began to arrive in the Hooghly, and the dawn of a brighter future for India was gradually developed in the revival of the military *prestige* and uncompromising supremacy of its English rulers.*

By the middle of October the reinforcements from England began to arrive in India, and public attention, in Calcutta, was principally directed to the reception and dispatch of troops to the various points of disturbance, and to the monetary operations of the government, which were rendered extremely embarrassing by the financial difficulties that had arisen from the disordered state of the country, and the consequent inability of the bank of Bengal to make further advances on government securities. In some instances it was found impracticable to raise money for immediate purposes on the deposit of state paper; and the heavy sacrifices necessitated in consequence by the holders of such securities, had the effect of still further depressing the money-market, and thereby complicating the difficulties under which the government already laboured. The refusal of the bank came upon the public by surprise, and added considerably to the state of alarm and excitement occasioned by the insurrectionary proceedings in the North-Western Provinces; while the eagerness with which the occasion was seized by a large number of indigo planters and railway contractors, to press their claims to compensation for losses sustained through the mutiny, upon the notice of the government at the earliest possible moment, by no means tended to mitigate the anxieties of the governor-general and his council, or to encourage a general feeling of confidence in the policy which had to develop itself amidst daily accumulating difficulties.

With regard to the financial state of the Indian government at the time, it is to be observed, that at the close of 1856, five months only before the outbreak at Meerut, the balance-sheet of revenue and expenditure exhibited a deficiency of £972,791, to be provided for from the income of the ensuing year. The number of men in the Indian army, including all her majesty's and the Company's troops, with the various contingents and irregular corps, officered

* The *Calcutta Englishman*, of September 22nd, 1857, noticed these arrivals in the following passage:—"Fresh European regiments are arriving. In particular, on Sunday, September the 20th, H.M.'s 93rd highlanders arrived in H.M.'s ship *Belle Isle*. As the ship arrived off Garden Reach, where were a party of ladies and gentlemen, enjoying a day's pleasure in the botanical gardens, the latter saluted them with the waving of handkerchiefs, and the usual demonstrations of welcome. On this, the men on board, who swarmed like bees along the ship's side, set up a cheer, which appeared 'to make the welkin ring again:' this was several times repeated, and followed by the martial sound of the highland pibroch playing some of Scotland's national airs. Much to the disappointment of the men, they have not as yet been able to land, in consequence of the temporary difficulty experienced in obtaining suitable accommodation for the number of troops daily expected from England, China, and elsewhere; but they have expressed a strong desire, we are told, to disembark as speedily as possible, to be off without delay. 'Up and at them!' is their cry. It was in allusion to this gallant regiment, of which both officers and men so highly distinguished themselves during the late Crimean campaign, that the Parisian *Charivari* hit off a happy sketch, representing a highlander keeping sentry upon the brink of a precipice, with his back turned towards a Crimean Tartar and a French Zouave. Upon the former expressing his dread lest the highlander should take a step to the rear and be lost, he is reassured by the Zouave, who significantly enough replies:—'Ne craignez rien, mon ami, ces Gaillards là ne réculent jamais.' Neither do we think they will; if ever men were eager for the fray, it is they. The *Teignmouth* and the *Himalaya*, which were among the arrivals on September the 10th, both contained troops. The former we believe is the first of the ships sent from England with reinforcements."

from the line, amounted, before the rebellion, to 323,823 men. The annual expense of maintaining this force was estimated at £10,417,369, or nearly ten millions and a-half sterling. At the end of 1857, not more than 100,000 of the native army were in mutiny; and the expenses of the force, it was calculated, would be reduced, by consequent forfeiture, some three millions and a-half; but, on the other hand, recruiting was progressing in the Punjab and in Scinde; so that the actual saving upon the estimates from the revolt, could not be taken at more than two millions. There were also, up to the beginning of October, about 30,000 troops on their way from England, the passage-money to be paid for each man being £49. The cost of the maintenance of these reinforcements could not be calculated in India at less than £2,000,000; and thus, in one item alone, the estimated saving from the pay and maintenance of the native army, was certain to be absorbed. There was then to be provided the one million and a-half required to cover the expense of the passage, which was placed against the probable saving derived from the stoppage of public works. So far, therefore, the military expenses of the government appeared to be brought within the limits of the previous year's expenditure; but a difficulty then arose, from the fact that not half the usual revenue was likely to be collected from the north-west, and from some parts of Bengal; that vast expenses must be incurred in transmitting the European reinforcements to various parts of the country, and to meet the enhanced charges in the Punjab: it was, consequently, deemed impossible, by Indian financiers, that any government could conduct the affairs of the presidencies, and bring them to a successful issue, without large funds, which, as they could not be obtained from the resources of British India, had necessarily to be sought for in England. The disinclination of the Company to raise money by a European loan, of course added to the difficulties of its servants in India; until at length, it was confidently asserted, that unless assistance was obtained from Europe, the government must come to a dead-lock. "We are not now," said one of the most influential of the European community at Calcutta, "living in the times of Ochterlony and Malcolm; when the native army trusted so implicitly to British honour, that they submitted to be kept twelve, and, in some instances, twenty months in arrears without a murmur. The *prestige* of the British government has been sadly shaken; and it will only be by the most prompt and energetic measures, and by the speediest and severest justice, that we shall return once more to those days when, to be an Englishman in India, was to be respected and honoured, instead of to be hunted down and reviled."

The gross debt of the Anglo-Indian government, at the commencement of 1857, amounted to £62,095,175—equal to three times the ordinary revenue of the country; and involving an annual net charge of £2,924,577 for interest. To meet the actual cost of government, taxation had been already strained to the utmost possibility of tension; and every shilling that could be wrung from the people, by the ingenuity of the tax-collector, was grasped for the exigencies of the state. By the close of the year the liabilities of the Company's government had increased to an enormous amount; while the resources, from which they should have been met, were by the same time frightfully diminished.

It was calculated that the increased charges upon revenue, arising from the rebellion, would amount, for the year 1857, to six millions sterling; and that including the losses by plunder of the public treasuries, the destruction of public property, and the non-collection of revenue, the deficit for the year would amount to between ten and fifteen millions of pounds; to meet which it was believed there were no other resources available than a heavy loan in the English market, or a vastly increased and oppressive system of taxation over a country already impoverished and fainting under the struggle to which it had been exposed, and the inexorable grasp of the tax-gatherer. That under such circumstances the administration of Lord Canning should become unpopular, was but a natural consequence of his position, and of the tremendous responsibilities that had suddenly devolved upon himself and his colleagues.

In the midst of the difficulty thus created, a scheme was at length devised by which it might be overcome, and the incubus of hopeless debt be removed from the shoulders of the government. The main source of revenue in India being derived from the land-tax, and it being notorious that in such provinces as were exposed to an excessive

or even fluctuating scale of the impost, great distress prevailed, from lands going out of culture, or perpetually changing hands, as one tenant after another was sold-up to pay the balances due to government; while among the opulent owners scarcely any would invest money in improvements which would be sure to bring with them a proportionate increase in the government demand:—the consequence of this very natural disinclination to expend money upon the land was, that funds which, under a different state of things, would be spent in works of irrigation, or other beneficial enterprise, were hoarded, invested in personal ornaments, or squandered on marriage festivals and pilgrimages. A system of settlements for long terms of years had already been substituted in many places for yearly renewals of revenue bonds; but, after the expiration of thirty years, the door was again opened for fresh and increased demands; and none could be assured what those might be, since, in all the fiscal machinery of government, there existed an abundance of vexatious interference and extortion on the part of its subordinate officers.

To counteract the growing evil, a Mr. George Norton proposed a scheme for the gradual extinction of it by the progressive redemption of the land-tax throughout India, and by suffering the ryots to become holders of land in fee-simple. He estimated the land revenue of India at twenty millions, which, at twenty years' purchase, would be worth four hundred millions—a sum that would enable government to pay the expenses of the war, clear off the Indian debt, and invest money in improvements so advantageously as to maintain the revenue at its then amount, until the reclaimed jungle lands could supply all that was at present raised. He assumed that the landholders who would thus become owners of the soil, would be inalienably attached to a government under which their rights would be safe, and that they would naturally be averse to a change of rulers, by which their freeholds might be endangered. The projector of this scheme admitted that it would take a number of years, perhaps a century, to carry out his measure; but he contended that at least four millions a-year might at once be raised, and that, in the meantime, a revised scale of taxation could be introduced, so as to prevent the possibility of loss to government.

Taking for granted that the scheme would be favourably appreciated by the ryots, its practicability then became a question, since it was far from certain that, as a class, they would be able to avail themselves of it by the requisite purchases. It, however, carried upon the face of it a degree of feasibility; and, as a similar experiment had been in operation in Ceylon, from the year 1813, with beneficial results to all parties—a vast extent of land having been altogether enfranchised, and other portions, from paying one-half of their yearly produce, had had their burdens reduced to one-tenth of the original amount—the plan of Mr. Norton was not thought inapplicable to the then existing exigencies of the Indian government.

Among other sources of personal anxiety that exercised a depressing influence on the councils of the governor-general towards the end of the year, the policy that had been adopted in reference to the ex-king of Oude by the Indian government, was not one of the least embarrassing. That personage had now, for some months, been detained a state prisoner in Fort William,* and, as yet, was ignorant of the actual charge upon which he had been deprived of his liberty, and of the indulgences pertaining to his rank as sovereign. His mother and immediate friends were in England, seeking, at the foot of the throne, for the restoration of his kingdom, and the recognition of his rights. Whatever suspicion might have existed of his complicity in the designs of the mutinous armies of Bengal and of Oude, five months had now elapsed without any definite charge against him, personally; and it was not unreasonable that he should become impatient of the restraint to which he was subjected. Under this feeling, the ex-king, in November, 1857, petitioned the governor-general in council, that he might be apprised of the nature of the offence alleged to have been committed by him, and that the probable limit of his captivity might be defined. Either from a difficulty in framing a charge against the captive monarch, or from a certainty of the impracticability of substantiating one if made, no official reply was vouchsafed to the application; but his majesty was curtly informed, that "he would know all about the affair in a very little time." How far this treatment might accord with a sense of justice towards a state prisoner, was, doubtless, for the con-

* See vol. i., p. 586.

sideration of the authorities by whom the arrest had been deemed justifiable; but, taking an English view of the transaction, it certainly did not agree with our notions of equity, to arbitrarily place an individual in confinement for an unlimited period, and refuse to enlighten him as to the charges he might be called upon to answer. To any man, the loss of liberty would be doubly irksome under such circumstances; and it might be imagined that, in the case of one who had from his birth been surrounded by the pomp and indulgences of sovereignty, such a privation would be intensely irksome. The sins of a race were, however, to be expiated in his person; and Wajid Ali Shah, ex-king of Oude, separated from his family and adherents, remained a captive in the hands of those who had overturned his throne, and wrenched the sceptre from his feeble grasp.

The odium attached to the administration of Lord Canning, again became sensibly increased by the introduction of an act to the legislative council, for regulating the possession of arms, which received the assent of the governor-general in October, 1857, and met with the universal disapprobation of the Christian inhabitants of Calcutta, who embodied their objections to the measure in the following memorial to the governor-general in council:—

"The respectful petition of the undersigned Christian inhabitants of Calcutta, on behalf of themselves and of all the other Christian inhabitants of this presidency, showeth,—That your petitioners have read the act which passed the legislative council on the 5th of September, and received the assent of the governor-general on the 12th instant; and have observed, with alarm and regret, that the said act is framed so as to apply to all the unofficial classes alike without distinction, within the districts to which it shall be extended, by order of the governor-general in council, or of the executive government of any place. The object and justification of such an act being, as your petitioners conceive, to enable the government to take arms out of the hands of disaffected and dangerous persons, your petitioners had hoped that the said act would have been confined, in express terms, to those classes from whom alone danger could be apprehended.

"Your petitioners feel strongly, that to apply the act to them equally with the rest of India, is to confound the loyal with murderers, mutineers, and rebels, and to cast an unwarranted reflection on a body who, having the same interest with the government of India, have in every way supported it, and exhibited their loyal feeling since the commencement of the present outbreak.

"Your petitioners are further of opinion, that to give the proposed power to a magistrate or commissioner of police, of disarming all persons within his district who, in his judgment, may endanger the public peace, is to give to one official who may be acting under the influence of panic, prejudice, or error, the power to leave all Christians within his district wholly defenceless, or to force them into opposition to government if they shall resist being placed in such a position; and your petitioners are led strongly by certain recent proceedings in this town of Calcutta, to the conviction that this is no idle or speculative apprehension, and that such powers cannot be safely entrusted to all officials of the proposed classes.

"Your petitioners believe that the only result of extending such an act to the Christian population of India, will be to oppress and irritate the loyal; while it will be wholly ineffectual as regards the disaffected, who will neither register or expose their arms till the moment for using them shall have arrived.

"Your petitioners submit that the Christian inhabitants of this presidency are entitled of right, as loyal men, between whom and the rest of the population of the presidency there is a broad and unmistakable line drawn, to have that distinction acknowledged by the government at this time, and in the like manner as was done with regard to Europeans at the disarming of the Punjab, to be exempted from the operation of a law which is wholly inapplicable, and therefore highly offensive to them.

"Your petitioners, therefore, respectfully pray, that the governor-general in council would be pleased to make a declaration, such as is contemplated by the exemption clauses of the said act, for the exemption of all Christian inhabitants of this presidency from the application of the said law.

"And your petitioners, &c."

This appeal was acknowledged in due course by the secretary to the government of India; who, on the 15th of October, informed the petitioners, that "the governor-general was unable to comply with the prayer of the petition;" but, at the same time, he was directed to state, that all exemptions which might be just and reasonable, would be made by the local governments, wherever the act, or any part of it, should be put in execution. The reply then proceeded as follows:—

"The governor-general in council cordially appreciates the loyal feelings of the petitioners, and of those in whose name they speak, as also the support which they have given to the government; but he cannot admit that the fact of the Arms Act being general in its terms, is any reflection upon their body.

"The governor-general in council does not share in the apprehension of the petitioners, that any powers which under the act may be entrusted to magistrates or to the commissioner of police will be abused in the manner supposed by them.

"Neither does his lordship in council agree in viewing the case of the Punjab as parallel to that of Bengal. The Punjab, when the disarming took place, was a newly conquered country, peopled with a hostile race; and it was reasonable to draw a broad line of demarcation between its whole native population and all Europeans who might become resident there. In Bengal, on the contrary, a large portion of the population is loyal and well-affected

to the British government; and many have given proofs of this, by exercising influence and risking property and life in support of the government.

"If, then, the law should undertake to lay down a line of distinction, and should class these men with those who are not to be trusted, it would do a great injustice. If, on the contrary, it draws no distinction, but leaves all exemptions to be made according to circumstances by the government which administers the law, no such injustice is committed; and it appears to the governor-general in council scarcely possible that any Englishman, or any Christian viewing the case dispassionately, should find offence to himself in such law. Most assuredly no such offence is intended; and the governor-general in council has directed me to furnish this explanation to the petitioners, in proof that such is the case."

This effort to conciliate where only an imaginary wrong existed, failed of course; and a current of public opinion adverse to government, ran for a time, with increased virulence, through the capital of British India.

On the 20th of October, the Calcutta volunteer guard, consisting of artillery, cavalry, and infantry, and numbering, together, about 900 men, were presented with colours and standards by Viscountess Canning, at the request of the governor-general, who sought, by this mark of attention to those of the inhabitants of the city who had stepped forward at a moment of supposed danger, to soften, in some degree, the prejudice that existed against himself and every act of his administration. The military display upon the occasion was imposing and effective. Her ladyship arrived on the ground on horseback, at 5 P.M., accompanied by the governor-general, the commander-in-chief, and Generals Wyndham and Beatson, with a numerous and brilliant staff. A guard of honour had previously been dispatched to government-house to receive the colours, and escort them to the ground, where they remained furled until the arrival of the official *cortège*, preceded by the viscountess, who rode along the line of troops, and took a position in front. Meanwhile, orders were given to close the ranks, and form three sides of a square, on the artillery and right wing of the infantry—the colours still remaining cased, and resting upon drums, about forty paces in front of the centre of the line. After a brief interval, Lady Canning and the staff moved forward to the spot where the colours were deposited; the guards of cavalry and infantry, as escorts, also moved forward, accompanied by the ensigns and colour-sergeants, who took post in rear of the colours; the cavalry escort being on the right, and the infantry on the left of them. Her ladyship then, with much grace, went through the ceremony of presenting the colours to the ensigns and cornets, who knelt to receive the honourable charge from her hands. Her address to the troops was as follows:—

"Calcutta Volunteers,—I have great pleasure in presenting you these colours.

"The readiness with which you came forward at a time of trouble and anxiety, and sacrificed your leisure, your ease, and the comforts of your homes on behalf of the safety of the public, and the zeal with which you have applied yourselves to the study and discharge of your self-imposed duties, assure me that these British colours will be confided to trustworthy hands.

"Take them, and remember that it behoves you to guard and defend them zealously; and by ready attention to your duties, by strict and unhesitating obedience to your commanding officers, and by cheerful submission to discipline, to raise and sustain the character of your corps, and keep unsullied the honour of your colours."

At the conclusion of this address, Major Turnbull, the commandant of the volunteer corps, stepped forward, and replied thus:—

"Lady Canning,—In the name of the volunteers I have to thank you for the honour you have conferred on us in presenting these colours, an honour fully appreciated by every member of the Calcutta volunteer guards.

"Although the tide of events has turned favourably, so that in all probability the volunteers may never be called upon for active service; yet, should they ever be, judging from the high tone and soldierly bearing pervading all ranks, I am convinced that they are not only ready, but capable and willing, to do good services.

"Every encouragement has been afforded to the volunteers by the governor-general graciously acceding to the requisitions that have been made for their improvement. We are now favoured with an additional and lasting one by these colours being presented by your ladyship, which, confided to their care, the volunteers will defend to the last, on all occasions, with true devotion and loyalty. Again I beg to repeat our thanks in the name of the Calcutta volunteer guards."

From 20,000 to 25,000 persons, including all the *elité* of the city, were present at the ceremonial, which had the effect, for a short time, of allaying the irritation that prevailed in the presidency; and the demand for the recall of the governor-general gradually began to lose much of its force and acrimonious tone.

As a specimen of the disposition to cavil at, and censure, every act of Lord Canning during the latter part of the summer of 1857, the following extract from a letter written in Calcutta may be adduced. The

writer says:—"Since I wrote you last, our affairs are getting in a bad state indeed; the rebellion is extending, and coming by inches nearer Calcutta, where I cannot any longer say we are secure. The imbecility of our government has so emboldened the natives, that openly, and without attempt at concealment, all sorts of things are plotting. An immense concourse of blackguards of all sorts has assembled in the town. The police magistrates coolly say there is no law which empowers them to deal with such people, and the legislative council declare the law to be quite sufficient for all our wants. Clever, sharp natives who are caught planning and sketching the fort, counting and measuring the guns, even taking their bearings from various points, if brought before a magistrate cannot be punished, but must be admonished and let go. In Fort William, all sorts of vagabonds are allowed to wander about, endeavouring to open communication with the king of Oude. Lord Canning does not like severity, nor does he like to do anything he should do, unless driven to it; thus he has been implored to proclaim martial law, because all Calcutta and the country around has been for some time openly disaffected; and of course he refuses. Man after man is brought to him, discovered in some treasonable correspondence; he is only to be reprimanded. His own private moonshee was to have stabbed him after breakfast one fine morning; and gets a severe reproof, but neither flogging nor hanging. Two men were caught in the act of hauling down the colours in Fort William, and hoisting the green flag of the holy prophet; this was to have been the signal for 13,000 nice young men to make a dash at the fort. Nothing but fears of a mutiny among the European troops, wrung from Lord Canning the order for their execution, which was done this blessed morning. We have (D.G.) escaped one very dangerous period—the Mohammedan festival of the Buckre Eed: but the Mohurrum is approaching; it lasts ten entire days; and such unusual masses of people are flocking here, I feel certain we must have not simply a row, but a fight for our very lives; and God alone knows how we shall get out of it. Already there is a talk of sending every woman and child aboard ship. But as for any useful measures of preparation, our authorities do not dream of them. Our militia was a measure forced down Lord Canning's throat; but government have thrown every discouragement they could in its way. The wealth and respectability of the community have formed a fine body of cavalry. The poorer class, after undergoing all sorts of snubbing as infantry, have got only some 550 bayonets left, the other 900 odd having resigned. Government now would most gladly coax us back and make much of us; but it is too late; we will fight for our own houses and neighbourhoods—not for them. As for turning out some 3,000 men fit to bear arms, that is not to be thought of: it would be far too energetic a measure."

Again, a letter of the 24th of September, says—"It is more than ninety days since the first of the transports for India left Portsmouth with troops for our protection; but they may as well have the benefit of the sea air a little longer, for nothing is ready for them here (Calcutta). The same incapacity, the same 'red-tape' imbecility that killed our soldiers in the Crimea, are rampant here. Thus, although these troops have been sighed for and expected these last two months—though every English soldier who can be added to the force in the field is equal to one hundred of the enemy, and though our poor beleaguered countrymen, in many places, are hourly praying for help, 2,000 of our noble soldiers—fusiliers and highlanders—are kept kicking their heels for days on board transports or in the fort, because there are no means ready for conveying them up the country; and those that are detained on board the transports, are kept there because there are no quarters ready for them on shore. The authorities well know, that a ship crowded with men, moored by the bank of a river in September (the worst month of the year), is about the best encouragement to cholera that can be devised. They know it so well, that, out of the crew of H.M.S. *Sansperiel*, they have sent 400 men into the fort. But highlanders and fusiliers, who come out to save India, our women and children from torture and death, are better on board ship, with malaria around them, than in wholesome quarters, or on the river on their way to the rescue. Sometimes English soldiers in Calcutta are forgotten altogether. Witness the case of the detachment of her majesty's 53rd foot, stationed at the Normal school during the Mohurrum, who were kept literally forty-eight hours without food. If English soldiers are thus forgotten when they are so few, what, in the name of good-

ness, will be the result when the reinforcements come pouring in, and are detained here? And now another difficulty has arisen in reference to these troops, and simply because (really it is the case) there is no one here connected with this government who knows his business. When H.M.S. *Belle Isle* was at Sandheads, the *Underwriter*, an American steam-tug, ran down to her to take her in tow, and demanded 2,500 rupees (£250). This sum was refused; and the *Underwriter* would not tow the ship to Calcutta for less, and steamed away from her. Now be it remarked, that the price demanded was the ruling price paid by large merchant vessels. But because the *Underwriter* refused to tow the *Belle Isle* to Calcutta for less, the marine authorities have, in consequence, interdicted all their pilots from bringing in any vessel towed in by the *Underwriter*. The consequence is, that, as every ship must have a government pilot on board, the *Underwriter's* occupation is gone. The American merchants in Calcutta are in such a state of excitement, that they have caused the English owners of steam-tugs to take the matter up; and I understand that the latter have given directions to the commanders of all their tugs, not to take any government vessel in tow, or any vessel having government troops on board. Thus the government interests, the public interests, must suffer from the imbecility of the marine authorities."

A letter from Bombay expresses the views entertained by the European community of that presidency, in the following strain:—

"The fatuity and blindness of the government officials continue to the present day; and they have, mail after mail, it is now discovered, been wilfully misleading the queen's ministers as to the real state of affairs in India. I fancy we have seen the last of the East India Company; and it is time. Excess and abuse of patronage—almost every member of the Company's service being nearly related to the directors, who promote according to stupidity, incapacity, and nearness of relationship, whenever the latter is combined with the former—maladministration of India, and misgovernment, will about sound their dying knell; and time it should. Last March, several fakirs (or religious mendicants), tattooed and besmeared, were observed to be travelling all over Bengal and the north-west on elephants, which excited general remark from every one but the government officials. They allowed these men to pass unquestioned; and it now turns out that they were the king of Delhi's sons and nephews, calling for the chupatty cakes, and settling arrangements for the mutiny. * * * The government is very anxious to tide over, if possible, the next four or five months without exhibiting their want of resources; and with this view, all public works' expenditure in every quarter has been stopped; while, in many districts, officers are kept in arrear of pay for three or four months. That a loan to a large amount, here or at home, must be resorted to before long, on terms such as to induce subscribers, is the very general impression; and if the money required for Indian purposes were to be borrowed in England, it is probable that government securities here will be beneficially influenced by it. The native hoarders of gold and silver are gradually showing their confidence in our supremacy, by reselling the gold at 16*s*., which they purchased some time ago, when things looked gloomy, at 17*s*. per sicca weight—a result to which the British bayonets which have been landing on the banks of the Hooghly during the past month, may have possibly contributed."

In November, a bill was introduced into the legislative council, for the purpose of enabling the government to order delinquent sepoys to be branded with the letters M, for mutiny, and D for desertion, in the same way that European soldiers were liable to those ignominious marks. The punishment had not hitherto been inflicted in the native army, from deference to the high-caste prejudices of the men of which it was chiefly composed. About the same time, a ship of war was dispatched to the Andaman Islands, for the purpose of surveying and selecting a site for a penal settlement, to which the defeated mutineers and rebels might be dispatched, with assurance of the impossibility of escape. On the 9th of December, a grand review of the British force at Calcutta and adjacent stations, which then amounted to about 8,000 men, was held by the commander-in-chief, in the presence of the governor-general, who had announced his intention to remove the seat of government for a short time to Allahabad, for the greater facility of communication with the commander-in-chief, and superintending the general movements

of the army. The commander-in-chief, as we have before mentioned, also left Calcutta to take the command of the army in the field, having, by this time, perfectly matured all his arrangements for the campaign, and for facilitating the transmission of troops as they should arrive from England, to the various points at which their services were required in the prosecution of the war.

Previous, however, to the departure of Lord Canning for a temporary sojourn in the Upper Province of Bengal, the following explanation of the policy and conduct of his government, which had been so vehemently assailed, was forwarded to the Court of Directors of the East India Company, by the governor-general and his colleagues in council:—

"Fort William, Dec. 11th, 1857.—(No. 144.—Public).

"It appears that very considerable misapprehension prevails as to the measures which have been taken for the punishment of those who have been guilty of mutiny, desertion, and rebellion, during the recent disturbances in India, and as to certain instructions which have been issued for the guidance of civil officers charged with carrying out those measures, and vested with extraordinary powers for the purpose. Therefore, although our proceedings have been regularly reported to your honourable court, and have as yet been honoured with your entire approval, we deem it right specially and briefly to recapitulate them, in order that the policy of the government of India may not be misunderstood, and that mistaken representations regarding it may be corrected.

"In the first place, it has been made a matter of complaint against the government of India, that the country was not put under martial law after the occurrence of the mutinies.

"The reply to this is, that the country was put under martial law wherever it was necessary, and as soon as it could answer any good purpose to do so.

"Martial law was proclaimed by the lieutenant-governor of the North-Western Provinces, as the mutiny broke out, in the Delhi,* Meerut,† Rohilcund,‡ and Agra§ divisions, and in the districts of Ajmere and Neemuch.‖

"It was proclaimed by the government of India, in the Allahabad and Benares divisions, on the 9th of June, 1857, as soon as the mutiny at Benares and Allahabad, and its consequences, became known.

"It was proclaimed by the lieutenant-governor of Bengal, in the Patna ¶ and Chota Nagpore ** divisions of the Lower Provinces, immediately after the mutiny of the Dinapore regiments and the Ramgurh battalion occurred.

"Lest it should be supposed by any, that in thus dealing with the country by divisions and districts, a hesitating and uncertain policy was pursued, it may be added, that of the above-named tracts of country, the smallest is equal to any English county, and the largest is as large as Ireland.

"In the Punjab and Oude (non-regulation provinces) there was no need to proclaim martial law. The authorities acted as if it had been proclaimed.

"But, in truth, measures of a far more stringent and effective character than the establishment of martial law, were taken for the suppression of mutiny and rebellion.

"Martial law, in the ordinary acceptation of the phrase, is no law at all, or, as it has been described, the will of the general. But martial law in India is proclaimed under special regulations applicable only to the regulation provinces in the three presidencies, whereby the government is empowered to suspend, either wholly or partially, the functions of the ordinary criminal courts, to establish martial law, and also to direct the immediate trial, by courts-martial, of all subjects who are taken—(1) in arms in open hostility to the British government; or (2) in the act of opposing, by force of arms, the authority of the same; or (3) in the actual commission of any overt act of rebellion against the state; or (4) in the act of openly aiding and abetting the enemies of the British government.

"Neither the effect of martial law, nor the mode in which courts-martial are to be constituted under the regulation, has ever been defined. But it seems clear that courts-martial cannot be composed of any but military officers, for there is nothing in the regulation so show that courts-martial, as therein described, can be otherwise constituted.

"Moreover, it should be borne in mind, that in Bengal, beyond the limits of the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, there was no regulation which provided for the punishment of treason or rebellion; and that the Mohammedan law, which in the absence of express regulation constitutes the criminal law of the country, does not provide any specific punishment for such crimes. Regulation X., of 1804, rendered a person guilty of treason or rebellion, liable to the punishment of death only in the event of his conviction before a court-martial; and even a court-martial under that regulation had no power to try for treason or rebellion, unless the offender was taken in arms in open hostility to the British government, or in the act of opposing by force of arms the authority of the same, or in the actual commission of an overt act of rebellion.

"The power of trial by court-martial did not extend to persons guilty of rebellion, unless taken in the actual commission of an overt act.

"Under these circumstances the government of India might have been much embarrassed had martial law alone been relied upon; and seeing that the number of military officers at the disposal of the government, was in many parts of the country wholly insufficient for the summary trial of mutineers and rebels, the government of India took a course much more effectual than the establishment of martial law. Having first, by Act No. VIII., of 1857, strengthened the hands of officers by giving them greater powers for the assembling of courts-martial, and by making the proceedings of those courts more summary, the government adopted measures which should give them the services not only of their own military and civil officers, but of independent English gentlemen not connected with the East India Company—indigo planters, and other persons of

* 16th and 25th of May.
† 16th of May and 1st of June. ‡ 28th of May.
§ 27th of May; 4th and 12th of June.
‖ 12th of June. ¶ 30th of June.
** 10th of August.

intelligence and influence. These measures were as follows:—

"On the 30th of May, when it was known that the mutiny of the sepoys had been followed in many places by rebellion of the populace, Act No. XI., of 1857, was passed. By this law persons guilty of rebellion, or of waging war against the queen or the government, or of aiding and abetting therein, were rendered liable to the punishment of death, and to the forfeiture of all their property; and the crime of harbouring rebels, &c., was made heavily punishable; the supreme and local executive governments were empowered to issue a commission in any district in a state of rebellion, for the trial of rebels or persons charged with any other crime against the state, or with any heinous crime against person or property: the commissioners were empowered to act singly, and were vested with absolute and final powers of judgment and execution, without the presence of law officers or assessors; and, finally, the possession of arms in any district in which it might be prohibited by the executive government, was made penal.

"By Act No. XIV., of 1857, passed on the 6th June, provision was made for the punishment of persons convicted of exciting mutiny or sedition in the army; the offender was rendered liable to the punishment of death, and the forfeiture of all his property; and persons guilty of harbouring such offenders, were made liable to heavy punishment. Power was also given to general courts-martial, to try all persons, whether amenable to the articles of war or not, charged with any offence punishable by this or the preceding act; and the supreme and local executive governments were authorised to issue commissions in any district for the trial, by single commissioners, without the assistance of law officers or assessors, and with absolute and final power of judgment and execution, of any crime against the state, or any heinous offence whatever; the term 'heinous offence' being declared to include every crime attended with great personal violence, or committed with the intention of forwarding the designs of those who are waging war against the state.

"By Act No. XVI., of 1857, all heinous offences committed in any district under martial law, or in any district to which this act might be extended, were made punishable by death, transportation, or imprisonment, and by forfeiture of all property and effects.

"These enormous powers have been largely exercised. They have been entrusted not to military officers only, but to civil officers and trustworthy persons not connected with the government, who, under martial law properly so called, would have had no authority; and the law has thereby been put in force in parts of the country where there were few troops, and no officers to spare for such purpose.

"In all the three above-mentioned acts, Nos. XI., XIV., and XVI., European British subjects are expressly exempted from their operation.

"By Act No. XVII., of 1857, power was given to sessions judges, and to any person or persons, civil or military, to whom the executive government might issue a commission for the purpose, to try for mutiny or desertion any person subject to the articles of war for the native army, with final powers of judgment and execution. Police officers were empowered to arrest, without warrant, persons suspected of being mutineers and deserters; and zemindars and others were made penally responsible for giving early intelligence of persons suspected of mutiny or desertion resorting to their estates.

"Lastly, by Act No. XXV., of 1857, the property and effects of all persons amenable to the articles of war for the native army, guilty of mutiny, were declared forfeit, and stringent means were provided for the seizure of such property or effects, and for the adjudication of forfeiture in all cases, whether the guilty person be convicted, or whether he die or escape before trial.

"Not only therefore is it not the case that martial law was not proclaimed in districts in which there was a necessity for it;. but the measures taken for the arrest, summary trial, and punishment of heinous offenders of every class, civil as well as military, were far more widely spread, and certainly not less stringent, than any that could have resulted from martial law.

"To an application of certain inhabitants of Calcutta for the proclamation of martial law in that city and in the rest of Bengal, where, notwithstanding the mutinous spirit of the native troops, not the smallest indication of disaffection on the part of the people had or has been manifested, an answer was given, setting forth at length the reasons which made the adoption of such a measure inexpedient.

"It may be affirmed with confidence, that no one useful object would have been attained by the proclamation of martial law throughout India, or in any part of India wherein it was not proclaimed, which has not been attained in a far more effectual way by special legislation adapted to the condition of a country throughout vast tracts of which military authority was altogether unrepresented, and by the executive measures consequent thereupon; while the mere proclamation of martial law, without such special legislation, though it might have sounded more imposingly, would have cramped the action of government, by debarring the government from the assistance of its civil officers in the suppression of mutiny and of the crimes which have accompanied it.

"We now advert to the resolution of the 31st of July, containing directions to civil officers respecting the punishment of mutineers, deserters, and rebels, and the burning of villages.

"It has been shown that, before this resolution was passed, civilians had been authorised to try for mutiny and desertion (offences previously cognizable only by courts-martial), and that enormous powers had been given by the legislature for the punishment of the crimes of rebellion, mutiny, and desertion, and others of less degree, to such individual civil officers as might be appointed special commissioners by government, or to such other officers as the government should invest with the power of issuing commissions; and gentlemen, both in and out of the regular service of government, had been appointed special commissioners under the acts. The appointment of special commissioners might have been restricted to the governor-general in council, or to the executive governments, had there not been any interruption to the free communication between the governments and their principal civil officers in the districts; but when communication was cut off, the working of the acts would have been very much impeded if a special commissioner could not be appointed except by government. It was therefore considered necessary in many cases, while the power of communicating existed, and before the telegraph wires were cut, to invest the

principal officers, such as the chief commissioners, the commissioner of Nagpore, commissioners of districts, &c., with the power of appointing special commissioners under the acts.

"It afterwards came to the knowledge of the government, both officially and through private channels, that in some instances the powers given to special commissioners were being abused, or at least used without proper discretion, and that capital punishment was inflicted for trivial offences committed during a period of anarchy, and on evidence which, under ordinary circumstances, would not have been received; and that in some quarters the fact of a man being a sepoy was enough, in the state of excited feeling which then prevailed, to insure his apprehension and immediate execution as a deserter.

"There were then many native officers and soldiers of the Bengal army, who, though absent from their regiments, were wholly innocent of the crime of desertion, and some who, so far from being guilty of mutiny, had used their best endeavours to prevent it, saving the lives of their European officers at the risk of their own.

"To punish these men indiscriminately with death, as deserters or mutineers, would have been a crime. To prevent their punishment was an imperative duty of the government.

"The instructions in question were issued for the guidance of civil, not military officers, and were of necessity in force only where civil power was exercised. They prescribed discrimination between the guilty and those who might reasonably be supposed to be innocent. They sanction no lenity to the guilty. They give to the civil authorities no power of finally releasing even the innocent. They do not exempt mutineer or deserter, or, in fact, any officer or soldier from trial by court-martial; but as regards military offenders, they lay down rules for the guidance of civilians in the exercise of the powers newly vested in them by Act XVII., of 1857, by which cognizance was for the first time given to them of offences of a purely military character.

"First, in regard to men belonging to regiments which have not mutinied, the civil authorities were directed to punish as deserters those only who were found with arms in their hands. If guilty of rebellion they could be punished as rebels apart from their military character; but if charged with or suspected of desertion alone, and not found with arms in their possession, they were to be sent back to their regiments, or detained in prison pending the orders of the government. If sent back to their regiments, they would of course be dealt with by the military authorities according to their guilt or innocence.

"Second, in regard to men belonging to regiments which have mutinied, but which have not killed their officers or committed any other sanguinary crime, or whose regiments cannot be ascertained, the civil officers were directed to punish as mutineers only those who were found with arms in their possession, or who were charged with a specific act of rebellion, or whom for special reasons it might be necessary to punish forthwith. All others were to be sent to Allahabad, or to such other place as the government might order, to be dealt with by the military authorities.

"Third, in regard to men belonging to regiments which have mutinied and killed any European, or committed any other sanguinary outrage, the civil authorities were directed to try and sentence as mutineers all such persons, and to punish forthwith all who could not show either that they were not present at the murder or other outrage, or that, if present, they did their utmost to prevent it. These exceptional cases were to be reported to the government.

"It has not been found that these orders are difficult of execution, or that they have tended in the least degree to weaken the hands of the civil power in dealing with those who have been really guilty of mutiny or desertion, to say nothing of graver crimes. If they have saved innocent men from unjust punishment, their object has been so far attained. Upon the action of courts-martial, or upon the proceedings of any military authority whatsoever, they neither were intended to have, nor have they had, any restrictive effect. Their tendency, on the contrary, so far as military tribunals are concerned, is to extend the jurisdiction of those tribunals, and to transfer to them cases which in ordinary course would have been dealt with by civil officers. They impose no labour upon the European troops, the transport of the arrested men to Allahabad or other military stations being assigned to the police or local guards.

"In regard to the treatment of rebels not being mutineers, we warned the civil authorities to whom the power of life and death had been intrusted, that though it is 'unquestionably necessary in the first attempt to restore order in a district in which the civil authority had been entirely overthrown, to administer the law with such promptitude and severity as will strike terror into the minds of the evil-disposed among the people, and will induce them by the fear of death to abstain from plunder, to restore stolen property, and to return to peaceful occupations;' yet, when this object was once in a great degree attained, that 'the punishment of crimes should be regulated with discrimination;' and in the tenth paragraph, after pointing out the difficulties that would probably be caused by the administration of the law in its extreme severity after the requisite impression had been made upon the rebellious and disorderly, and after order had been partially restored, we desired the civil authorities to encourage all persons to return to their occupations, postponing all minute inquiry into past political offences, but punishing the principal offenders, and making examples of those who, after the partial restoration of order, might be guilty of serious outrages, or of promoting the designs of the rebels.

"We cannot believe that these instructions need defence. They are addressed only to civil authorities; to men who, scattered far and wide through the country, are wielding terrible powers, but powers which in the actual condition of India we have not hesitated to confer. It is not conceivable that they should have hampered the action of a single soldier. Wherever troops have been available for the purpose, they have been employed without any practical restriction on their acts but the humanity and discretion of their commanding officers. In such cases, when forcible resistance has been met with, quarter has been rarely given; and prisoners, whether tried on the spot by the officer in command, or made over to the civil power, have been punished immediately with extreme, but just and necessary severity. If in such a lamentable condition of affairs errors have been committed, it is assuredly not on the side of undue leniency.

"Lastly, as regards the burning of villages, our instructions—still, be it remembered, only to civil officers—were that, though a severe measure of this sort might be necessary as an example in some cases, where the mass of the inhabitants have committed a grave outrage, and the individual perpetrators cannot be reached, anything like a wholesale or indiscriminate destruction of property, without due regard to the guilt or innocence of those affected by it, was to be strongly reprehended. Can there be a doubt of the justice of this order? To ourselves, not only the justice, but the necessity of it was manifest from unofficial but perfectly trustworthy accounts which reached us of the proceedings of some of the authorities, both in the Allahabad and Benares divisions, shortly after the outbreak, and of the deserted state of the country within reach of the principal stations at the commencement of seed-time for the autumn harvest. Its success is shown by the return of the villagers to their occupations, and by the fact that even in the most disturbed districts the breadth of cultivation has not been very seriously diminished.

"On the whole, we may observe, that the effect of the resolution, as regards the native public in the Bengal presidency (the vast majority of whom have shown no sympathy with the rebellion), has been to allay, in a great measure, the apprehension of a general and indiscriminate war against Hindoos and Mussulmans, guilty or not guilty, in revenge for the massacres of Delhi, Cawnpore, and Jhansie, which evil-disposed persons have industriously raised.—We have, &c.,

"CANNING, J. DORING,
"J. LOW, B. PEACOCK.
"CECIL BEADON, Secretary to the Government of India."

This important document was forwarded to the Court of Directors, with sundry enclosures, of which the following is a brief outline. The first was the "humble" petition of one Mr. C. Williams, and 252 other inhabitants of Calcutta and its suburbs, to the governor-general, urging his excellency to proclaim martial law at once throughout the presidency of Bengal. Mr. C. Beadon, the secretary to the government of India, replied to this address on the 21st of August, 1857, declining to accede to the request to proclaim martial law, on the ground that such a measure would not in any way be useful or expedient, and that the substitution of military courts in Calcutta for the ordinary courts of judicature, would infallibly be accompanied with much private uncertainty, inconvenience, and hardship, without any commensurate advantage to the community. In Calcutta, the petitioners were reminded that there were troops enough for the protection of the city and its suburbs against any disturbance, and that in the divisions of Behar and Chota Nagpore (under a very different condition of things), martial law had already been proclaimed by the lieutenant-governor.

A copy of the resolution of the Indian government, dated the 31st of July, 1857, issuing detailed instructions for the guidance of civil officers in the treatment of mutineers, deserters, and rebels, with the view of preventing the hasty resort to measures of extreme severity, was also forwarded.* By this, no native officer or soldier belonging to a regiment which had not mutinied was to be punished as a mere deserter, unless found or apprehended with arms in his possession. Such men were to be sent back to their regiments, to be dealt with by the military powers. Native officers and soldiers, being mutineers or deserters, taken by the civil power without arms in their hands, not charged with any specific act of rebellion, and belonging to regiments which had mutinied, but had not murdered their officers, or perpetrated any other sanguinary crime, were to be sent to Allahabad, and there made over to the commander, to be dealt with by the military power. Mutineers or deserters taken by the civil power, and found to belong to regiments which *had* killed European officers, or had committed other sanguinary crimes, might be tried and punished by the civil power. The minute continued thus:—

"The governor-general in council is anxious to prevent measures of extreme severity being unnecessarily resorted to, or carried to excess, or applied without due discrimination, in regard to acts of rebellion committed by persons not mutineers.

"It is unquestionably necessary, in the first attempt to restore order in a district in which the civil authority has been entirely overthown, to administer the law with such promptitude and severity as will strike terror into the minds of the evil-disposed among the people, and will induce them, by the fear of death, to abstain from plunder, to restore stolen property, and to return to peaceful occupations. But this object once in a great degree attained, the punishment of crimes should be regulated with discrimination.

"The continued administration of the law in its utmost severity, after the requisite impression has been made upon the rebellious and disorderly, and after order has been partially restored, would have the effect of exasperating the people, and would probably induce them to band together in large numbers for the protection of their lives, and with a view to retaliation—a result much to be deprecated. It would greatly add to the difficulties of settling the country hereafter, if a spirit of animosity against their rulers were engendered in the minds of the people, and if their feelings were embittered by the remembrance of needless bloodshed. The civil officers in every district should endeavour, without condoning any heinous offences, or making any promises of pardon for such offences, to encourage all persons to return to their usual occupations, and,

* See vol. i., p. 589.

punishing only such of the principal offenders as can be apprehended, to postpone as far as possible all minute inquiry into political offences, until such time as the government are in a position to deal with them in strength after thorough investigation. It may be necessary, however, even after a district is partially restored to order, to make examples from time to time of such persons, if any, who may be guilty of serious outrages against person or property, or who, by stopping the dawk, or injuring the electric telegraph, or otherwise, may endeavour to promote the designs of those who are waging war against the state."

In a despatch to the East India Company, of the 24th of December (No. 154, also inclosed), Lord Canning (in council) gave explanations of his reasons for the issue of the above orders, beyond and apart from the despatch No. 144. These reasons were to the effect, that great and excessive severity had been exercised in the punishment of persons supposed to be inculpated in the mutiny, to the exasperation of large communities not otherwise hostile to the government. The despatch proceeds—

"If we had refrained from taking measures to this end (the checking of undue severity)—if we had allowed the spirit of bitterness and hatred which was rapidly rising up and laying fast hold of the minds of men of every class and race, to develop itself unchecked—we should have miserably failed in our duty, and should have exposed ourselves to the charge of being nothing better than instruments of wild vengeance in the hands of an exasperated community.

"We have felt that we had a higher function to discharge.

"We have felt that neither the government of India, nor any government, can wisely punish in anger; that punishment so dealt may terrify and crush for a season, but that with time and returning calm the acts of authority are reviewed, and that the government which has punished blindly and revengefully, will have lost its chief title to the respect of its subjects.

"We have felt that the course which the government of India may pursue at this crisis, will mainly influence the feelings with which, in time to come, the supremacy of England will be viewed, and the character of their rulers estimated, by many millions of the queen's subjects; we have therefore avoided to weaken, by any impatience of deliberate justice, the claim which England has established to the respect and attachment of the well-affected natives of India.

"That numbers of these, of all classes, religions, and castes, have supported the government with true loyalty, is known to your honourable court. This loyalty it has been our study to confirm and encourage.

"That our motives should have been misunderstood and our acts misrepresented—that instructions issued for the guidance of civil officers in the performance of their duty, should have been described as a restriction on the free action of the military authorities, to whom they were not addressed—is not surprising. But we look with confidence to the time when, in a less excited condition of the public mind, and upon a calm view of the events which are now passing in India, the orders contained in our resolution of the 31st of July will be no longer misconstrued."

A series of reports from local authorities was also transmitted, with a long list of persons tried and punished under the acts of 1857, principally by hanging.

From these reports, it was manifest that the indiscriminate burning of villages had done much harm in India; and the practice was denounced in a letter (unofficial) from Allahabad, of the 6th of July, as "most suicidal and mischievous." Another letter, from the same place, of the 22nd of July, complained of "the dangers and difficulties created by lawless and reckless Europeans" there; and a third letter, also inclosed, dated "Benares, July 25th," says—

"The governor-general need not be afraid of our letting off mutineers. Our object is to pass over all the mutual plunderings of the village communities during the time of anarchy; and, now that matters are coming straight, and regular government is beginning to show its face over the troubled waters, to let bygones be bygones, wipe out all these 'dacoities,' as they might be termed, and induce all parties to return to their fields. In clear cases of plunder we are arranging for the restoration of stolen property, or its value; in short, we are acting as a sensible schoolmaster would act after a barring out, and trying to get our children into order again. There is really no vice in these Rajpoot communities; they were made to believe by the Mohammedans that it was all up with us, and each village began plundering on its own account; but as soon as regular government appeared, they subsided into their original position. I really believe that some of the very men who were ready to fight the Europeans, and, in fact, some of those who actually did stand against both Europeans and guns in our little battle here the other day, are now quite friendly, and willing to go and fight for government wherever desired. It would never do to have a servile war with our Hindoo peasantry."

A more triumphant refutation of the calumnies that had been showered upon the governor-general and his administration, could not have been placed upon record, than was contained in the first of the above documents. At the time it was dated, about a year had elapsed since the first discontent became

visible in the sepoy army; and the intervening period had been so completely filled with great events, and the necessities of action had left so little time for calm inquiry, that no one could be justified in saying how far the Company, or the Board of Control, or the Indian military discipline, or the civil government at Calcutta, were or were not to blame for the mutiny, or for the unprepared state in which it found the government. As regards the Anglo-Indian government itself, the only test to be used was the fact of success—not immediate, sweeping, unresisted success, but fair success, such as boldness, energy, and prudence might be expected to obtain in the midst of unexampled difficulties. Tried by that standard, the Calcutta government might well claim to have done its duty efficiently, and that Lord Canning and his advisers had proved themselves to be successful administrators at a most momentous crisis. A few months previous to the date of this important state paper, all India was expected to rise in arms against the domination of England. From Delhi to Lucknow the country was in a flame; and Central India, with its multitude of little sovereignties, was almost entirely out of our hands; while, in England, the public were dreading to hear by every mail that the armies of Bombay and Madras were in revolt, and that the Punjab was again a hostile province in the hands of the Sikhs. But in December, 1857, these prospects, or rather these evil forebodings, had undergone a vast change, and the great Indian mutiny was transformed into a mere provincial insurrection, requiring, instead of a gigantic scheme of operations against an enemy dispersed over a million and a-half of square miles, the comparatively minor exertions called for by a war that seemed to have dwindled into a local campaign.

By some means or other, never thoroughly understood, a report had obtained currency through the London newspapers, that, after the departure of General Neill from Cawnpore, in August, 1857, Mr. J. P. Grant, who had been sent up by the governor-general to fulfil the important functions of civil governor of the Central Provinces, had so far intermeddled with the retributory arrangements of the general, as to pardon and set at liberty upwards of a hundred of the rebels and mutineers of Cawnpore, whom General Neill had previously selected for extreme punishment. At the time, the popular cry throughout Europe was for justice, even to extermination, if necessary; and the rumour that such an interference as that charged upon Mr. Grant had been permitted, or afterwards sanctioned, by the governor-general, added much to the unfavourable opinion that prevailed in many quarters, of his lordship's policy. At length the report assumed so tangible a shape, that it attracted the attention of Lord Canning's friends, who lost no time in referring to him for the actual facts upon which so serious a charge rested. A correspondence with Mr. Grant naturally ensued; and the following official documents show his lordship's proceedings in the matter, and also contain an unqualified denial, as well as a complete refutation of the alleged imprudence, or even greater fault, said to have been committed by the lieutenant-governor of the Central Provinces:—

Service Message from Mr. Talbot, Private Secretary to the Governor-general, to Lieutenant-colonel R. Strachey, Secretary to the Lieutenant-governor of Benares, dated 19th December, 1857.

"The English newspapers, received by the last mail, contain articles condemning the lieutenant-governor for having pardoned and liberated 150 of the Cawnpore mutineers and rebels, who had been seized by General Neill; and in some papers it is said that the lieutenant-governor punished with death English soldiers who assaulted the mutineers.

"The governor-general is well aware that nothing like this can have taken place; but he requests Mr. Grant to write to him, stating whether there is any conceivable foundation, however slight, for such a story; and whether Mr. Grant at any time saw reason to find fault with any of General Neill's measures.

"The governor-general will be glad to receive Mr. Grant's letter by the 24th instant, in order that the truth may be known in England as soon as possible."

From the Hon. J. P. Grant, Lieutenant-governor of the Central Provinces, to the Right Hon. Viscount Canning, Governor-general of India, dated Benares, 20th December, 1857.

"My dear Lord,—I am greatly obliged by your lordship's telegraphic message received to-day through Mr. Talbot, mentioning that the English newspapers, just received, condemn me for having, as they allege, pardoned and liberated 150 of the Cawnpore mutineers and rebels who had been seized by General Neill; and that in some papers it is said that I punished with death English soldiers who assaulted the mutineers. One story is not true, and the other could not possibly be true; but your lordship asks me to say, in order that the truth may be known at home, if there is any conceivable foundation, however slight, for such stories, and whether I at any time saw reason to find fault with General Neill's measures.

"There is no conceivable foundation, however slight, for either story. I have not pardoned a single person, or commuted a single sentence, and I

have not released a single person, seized by General Neill or any one else, since I have been in these provinces. No case connected with any assault by European soldiers on mutineers, and no case of any similar nature, has come before me in any way whatsoever.

"I have never seen reason to find fault with any of General Neill's measures. As it has happened, I have never had any relations, direct or indirect, official or unofficial, with General Neill, or any concern of any sort with any act of his. I have never had any correspondence with or about General Neill, and I do not remember ever to have seen him. I am sure that in my private conversation I have never spoken of the character of this lamented officer but with the admiration of his noble, soldierly qualities, which I have always felt.

"I arrived here on the 28th of August, and General Neill left these provinces with Sir James Outram for Lucknow a few days afterwards. I am confident that no occurrences such as these stories describe, relative to released prisoners or condemned soldiers, happened at all within that period, and I never heard of any such occurrences having happened at any other time. For myself, since I have been here, I have not had the slightest approach to a difference, I do not say with General Neill at Cawnpore, but I say with any military officer in any such position as his anywhere. Neither I nor any one about me can guess what led to the fabrication of these stories.

"I will only add that the stories are in one sense badly invented, as they impute to me a tendency which all who have ever heard me speak on the subject know that I have not. I have the same feelings towards these perfidious murderers that other Englishmen have, and I am not chary of expressing them. No man is more strongly impressed with the necessity of executing, on this occasion, justice with the most extreme severity, than I am; and it is impossible that any one, who had the least reason for judging what my opinions are on this point, could have mistaken them.—Your lordship's very faithful servant,

(Signed) "J. P. GRANT."

Minute by the Right Hon. the Governor-general, dated 24th December, 1857.

"I wish to place on official record the telegraphic message, and the private letter, which accompany this minute.

"On the arrival, four days ago, of the mail which left England on the 10th of November, I became aware, for the first time, of a report having been transmitted about three months ago from India to England, to the effect that the lieutenant-governor of the Central Provinces had liberated 150 mutineers or rebels placed in confinement by Brigadier-general Neill. I learnt that this story, sometimes with amplifications, but always the same in the main, had not only been current in newspapers, and had created, as well it might create, a general feeling of indignation in England, but that it was not altogether disbelieved even by persons generally well-informed on Indian matters.

"I knew that nothing of the kind had happened; but I did not know that the story might not be traceable to some cause or source in fact; and I was at all events desirous of giving to one of the ablest servants of the government, placed in a post of heavy responsibility, and who has been the mark of malignant and unfounded attack, an opportunity of returning the speediest denial to the misrepresentations by which he has been assailed.

"The telegraph has enabled me to do this; and Mr. Grant's answer will go to the Hon. Court of Directors by the mail of this day.

"I leave the question and the answer to speak for themselves.

"It is probable that the tale will have run its course and died away before this contradiction of it can reach England; but I think it important that the honourable court should be made aware how very cautiously the most positive and unhesitating assertions regarding passing events in India are to be received at the present time.

"It seldom happens that a false charge assumes so plain and categorical a shape, and one which can be so completely grappled with, as that which has been levelled against the lieutenant-governor of the Central Provinces.

(Signed) "CANNING—J. DORIN—J. LOW."

It may be remembered, that in the month of August following the outbreak at Meerut, the British residents at Calcutta had presented a petition declaring their distrust of the existing precautions, and praying that martial law might be proclaimed at once. The refusal of the governor-general to assent to this was a principal cause of the excessive violence with which he was subsequently assailed by the Calcutta public and the press. Lord Canning's explanation of the course he adopted in the despatch quoted, completely exonerated his administration from the charge of imbecile and unpardonable lenity, so often brought against it. His defence was, that he had established a power which acted far more summarily, vigorously, and effectively than courts-martial could have done in so vast a country, where soldiers were few, and where martial law had always been considered as only applicable to the cases of rebels or enemies actually in arms. On the whole, the letter was looked upon as a substantial defence to the charges insisted upon against him; and it was at length considered that he who had exercised supreme power during the period of the outburst, was fairly entitled to credit for the success that had attended his efforts for the preservation of the Indian empire.

The progress of the ladies and children, and of the wounded soldiers of the garrison of Lucknow, from the scene of their suffering to Calcutta, was marked by a series of ovations. Their departure from Lucknow and from Cawnpore has already been noticed; and the following extract from a communication dated "Allahabad, Dec. 7th, 1857," marks the deep interest which their heroic endurance had excited at that

place also:—"For the last two or three days, the brigadier and all his staff have been making the best arrangements they could for the accommodation of the ladies, women, and children expected from Lucknow. The brigadier selected our brigade-major to proceed yesterday by rail to Chemee, to escort the ladies down, who were expected to arrive here at noon to-day. At that hour all the carriages in the place were assembled at the railway. About 2 P.M., a distant whistle announced the approach of the train, which was answered by a spontaneous shout of pent-up feeling from all assembled. The train arrived; and was received by such cheers as British soldiers and sailors only know how to give, that would have done your kind heart good to hear. When all were fairly out of the train, the fort-adjutant called out, 'One cheer more for our women, boys!' and I think it will be many a long year ere they forget the entire heartiness with which that call was responded to."

It should be observed, that the line of carts and conveyances, of various sorts, which had brought the wayfarers from Cawnpore to Allahabad (a distance of 143 miles), extended five miles in length; and when it is considered that the escort detached for its protection was limited to about 500 men only, and that a large body of insurgents was stationed in the neighbourhood of Cawnpore, while formidable parties hovered about the line of march for nearly the whole distance, the ultimate safe arrival of the convoy at Allahabad, may be looked upon as a special intervention of Divine Providence, which thus watched over the wounded and the most helpless of its people, and brought them, with grateful hearts, to a haven of safety.

A young officer of the rescued garrison, who had been severely wounded during the defence of Lucknow, in a letter dated from December 28th to January 5th, describes some incidents of the progress of the convoy towards Calcutta, as follows:—

"Dinapore, Dec. 28th.

"I think my last letter was from Allahabad, giving you some account of our troubles on the way from Cawnpore, after the relief of Lucknow, and defeat of the enemy at the latter place by the commander-in-chief. On the whole, I think the journey, although a rough one, has done me no harm. We found everything very comfortable, and every one most kind and attentive to us on our arrival at Allahabad, and we remained there ten days. Lieutenant H—— and I intended going down country by dâk; but the day we proposed to start, an order came up to stop any more officers travelling in this way; we were obliged, therefore, to wait for the steamer, and, even on board, could not manage to get a cabin; rather than wait for one in the next, we took deck passages, and started on the 18th. As yet, we have only got so far on our voyage. We remained one day at Benares; and, while there, I took a walk through that famous city, reputed to be the wealthiest in India, and noted at present for being the hotbed of conspiracy and treason, at the same time assuming to be the most religious. Every third or fourth house is a Hindoo temple, or a mosque dedicated to some unknown god. It was very ridiculous to see the wretched natives prostrate themselves before their images of wood and stone, and place garlands around their necks. This is also a great emporium for Brahmin bulls—sacred animals in the eyes of the Hindoos. In the narrow streets, where two persons can scarcely walk abreast, if you meet one of these bulls, you must give way. To attempt to strike the beast, or drive him before you, would immediately raise a mob, and you would run a good chance of being pelted out of the city, if not worse treated. Next to Benares we came to Ghazeepore, and there learned that, about twelve miles down the river, the water was so shallow, that nine steamers had stuck fast in the mud, and were unable to proceed. We remained three days at Ghazeepore, including Christmas-day. Most of our people went out to dine, but I did not leave the steamer; I had a bad dinner, and felt very miserable. All the passengers, chiefly poor widows of officers, and orphans, were in black; not even a bottle of wine to be had worth drinking to absent friends. Notwithstanding the fate of the nine steamers, we started to make trial of the dangerous position; and, strange to say, after sticking fast and getting off again two or three times, we passed all the steamers, and got over the difficulty right gallantly. We reached Buxar last night, and hope to arrive at Dinapore this evening. No change has taken place in the character of my wound since I last wrote, either for better or worse. I fear it will be necessary to undergo an operation; there is a large piece of loose bone in the interior of the wound, and the

aperture has closed up so much, that it will be difficult for it to work its way out to the surface without surgical aid. We have sixteen of the ladies of the garrison of Lucknow now on board, and thirty children; they are nearly all the widows or orphans of officers who fell in the defence of that place: the greater number of these poor things are without a second pair of shoes or stockings, or change of clothing of any kind.

"Dec. 29th.—Here we are at Dinapore, and intend going on again to-morrow morning. No news, except that the day before yesterday the troops here went out to Chuprah, about fourteen miles off; licked the rebels most delightfully, and took four large guns. No loss on our side.

"Jan. 5th.—I now write from Coolna: we have had a fair passage up to this time, considering the low water in the river; but we left the Ganges, I may say, two days ago, and are now in one of its small branches. I think three days will land us in Calcutta. I am now anxious to reach the end of our journey. My poor head has been constantly probed to get out that piece of bone, and also the musket-ball, without effect till yesterday, when the refractory bit of skull was at last extracted. The leaden mark of the ball is evident on the flat surface. It was a great matter to get it out; but I am thankful to say the surgeon also discovered the ball, and hopes, in a few days, to remove it also; then the wound will speedily heal up. But I must undergo an operation for this after I reach Calcutta."

At length the rescued band approached within sight of the capital of British India; and as the steamer *Madras* slowly glided along the bosom of the Hooghly with its honoured freight, the sympathies of the people who lined the banks and landing-places of the river, found expression in joyous congratulations and fervent thanksgiving. It will be remembered that, in anticipation of the arrival of the Lucknow fugitives, Lord Canning had, a few days previous, issued a government notification announcing the event, and suggesting the most decorous mode of reception for individuals so painfully circumstanced as were many of the party.* How well his lordship's thoughtful precautions were carried into effect, will be seen from the following extract from a communication dated "Calcutta, January 10th, 1857:"—

"On Friday, the 8th, at 5 P.M., two guns from the ramparts of Fort William announced that the *Madras* was passing Acheepore; and almost everybody that had horse or carriage rode down to Prinsep's Ghât, where it was intimated the passengers would land. The *Madras* having, however, a heavy up-country boat in tow, made, notwithstanding the tide in her favour, but slow progress; and, as it soon became evident that she could not come up ere the night set in, a telegraphic message was dispatched to the commander of the steamer to anchor below Garden-reach, and to come up next morning. At six o'clock on Saturday morning, a crowd of people assembled at Prinsep's Ghât; but a dense fog delayed the arrival of the *Madras*, and it was not until a quarter to eight that she could be sighted. A royal salute of twenty-one guns from the ramparts of Fort William announced her arrival, and other salutes followed from the men-of-war in the river. All vessels in the river, with the exception of the American ships close to Prinsep's Ghât, were dressed out with all their flags, and presented a very imposing sight. Along the steps from the ghât down to the water's edge was a sort of gangway, guarded by policemen; and, along the whole, red carpeting was laid out, such as it is customary to use on state occasions. At last the *Madras* arrived off the ghât; but owing to some cause or other, considerable delay took place before the passengers could be landed; the public, in the meantime, looking on in stern silence, as if afraid lest even now some accident might happen to those whose escape from the hands of a barbarous and bloodthirsty enemy was decreed by a merciful Providence. The whole scene partook of a solemnity rarely witness[illegible]d, indeed, the expression on the face of the bystanders betokened universal sympathy for those they were about to welcome to the hospitable City of Palaces. Mr. Beadon, the secretary of the home department, on behalf of government; the Hon. —— Talbot, private secretary to the governor-general, on behalf of Lord Canning; and Dr. Leckie, as secretary to the Relief Committee, went down to the water's edge to receive the ladies. A sudden rush towards the river, a thronging towards the gangway, and a slight whisper of voices, indicated that the landing had begun. Cheers were given at first, but only slowly responded to—people evidently being too much occupied with their

* See *ante*, p. 99.

own reflections to think of cheering; but as the ladies and children proceeded up, people doffed their hats almost mechanically, silently looking on as the heroines passed up. At this moment another ship in the harbour fired a salute; but it did not sound joyfully; it appeared rather like minute-guns in remembrance of those whose widows and orphans were now passing in solemn review before us.

"The black dresses of most of the ladies told the tale of their bereavement; whilst the pallid faces, the downcast looks, and the slow walk, bore evidence of the great sufferings they must have undergone both in mind and body. And yet how thankful should we be that they have been spared other trials, in comparison to which death itself would be relief. As they passed, a chaos of sad recollections forced itself upon our minds, and we asked—where are those who, for the sake of saving English women and children from dishonour and death, have willingly sacrificed their own lives? Where is the illustrious Havelock? where the heroic Neill? where so many others that have stretched forth the arm for the rescue of helpless women and innocent children? Alas! they are no more; but their names will live for ever in the heart of every true Briton. And, though there is no monument to mark the place where they sleep the everlasting sleep, their blood has marked in indelible ink, in the bosoms of their surviving brethren, the word 'retribution.' The solemn procession thus passed on, and was handed into carriages which conveyed them to their temporary home. Home, did we say? It sounds almost like mockery to call the solitary room of the widow and her orphan by that name. Though the government *Gazette* intimated that the governor-general's state barges and carriages would be in attendance, by some oversight none of them came up to the ghât; and we confess that, in our humble opinion, the presence of Lord and Lady Canning on such an occasion would have been as desirable as gratifying to all."

One more extract from a letter of the wounded officer already referred to,* expresses the gratification felt by the sufferers at their most considerate reception:—

"We arrived safely at Calcutta this morning, and were received by the authorities and all the European inhabitants with enthusiasm. A salute was fired from the fort; the men-of-war also saluted; and all the vessels in the harbour were dressed out in flags, according to a general order of the governor in council. A crimson carpet was laid from the steamer to the carriages which were in waiting to take us off to most comfortable quarters. The cheering, as we passed up the carpet, was vociferous: our reception was altogether of the most gratifying character."

Although not necessarily connected with the incidents of the revolt, it may here be noticed as an historical fact, that on the 2nd of January, 1857, the aged and much venerated Dr. D. Wilson, bishop of Calcutta, died at the episcopal residence in that city, in the eighty-second year of his age. This eminent divine, and worthy successor of the inspired Heber, was to the last in the full possession of his faculties, and in his personal movements was as active as most men at fifty. Bishop Wilson, although not popular, was greatly missed in society; for, in India, it had not been usual to expatiate on the errors of European society. In Burmah, he openly, from the pulpit, taxed the Europeans with their concubinage; and, in his diocese, he never hesitated one moment to reprehend any one who deserved it, however elevated might be his official or social rank. There was a keenness of perception about him that penetrated far below the glittering surface presented to the world. Liberal to the last degree, he upheld that which he believed to be right in the uncompromising spirit of John Knox. Of blameless purity of life, he was rigidly just in all his transactions with the world. He continued, to the end of his career, strongly attached to the evangelical section of the English church, and invariably displayed a preference for fellow-labourers in the vineyard of similar tendencies. His magnificent library, collected at a vast expense from all parts of the world, was bequeathed by him to the city of Calcutta.†

Early in 1857, the hostile feeling entertained by the people of the Bengal presidency against the governor-general, which

* See *ante*, p. 402.

† Among many graceful tributes to the worth of a prelate so eminently qualified to adorn the hierarchy of the Christian church in India, the following remarks of the *Bombay Gazette* are selected, as specially recording the claims of Dr. Wilson to the esteem and reverence of the flock committed to his charge. The writer says—"A fine old English gentleman has departed, full of years and honours; one that, in his time, was an able servant of that church of which, even to the end, he was an ornament. While the physical capability remained with him, Bishop

had in some degree abated for a short time, revived with a tone of increased virulence, of which the following extract from Calcutta correspondence, supplies ample proof. The writer, dating January 10th, says—"Lord Canning is still of opinion that the mutiny will speedily be put down. Public feeling and public judgment, among all classes, are very strong against him. Apparently nothing can or will open his eyes. At this moment the greatest insolence of demeanour is tolerated in the sepoys at Barrackpore. They salute no one; and General Hearsey has in vain endeavoured to obtain permission to bring to trial and condign punishment a havildar and two sepoys known to be most deeply implicated in some of the greatest atrocities. He cannot succeed. The answer is, 'The governor-general is averse to measures of severity.' Do not be misled by the excuse that Lord Canning is in the hands of bad advisers, and that his civilian councillors are the persons to blame for his absurd apathy, obstinacy, and weak-minded attempts at conciliation and clemency. They are incompetent enough; and their measures have been sufficiently pernicious to justify the conviction that the curse of India has been the preposterous interference of civilians in military affairs. But Lord Canning is alone answerable for his own acts. He began by professing that he would act independently of council and secretaries, and thereby enlisted public sympathy strongly in his favour; but he has proved himself thoroughly incompetent. Nothing but the support of Lord Palmerston can keep him in India; and on this he relies. Even Calcutta civilians have had their eyes opened by facts. Even Mr. John Peter Grant—whose mission to Benares at such a crisis, when soldiers and not members of council were required, was the signal for a unanimous shout of derision—even he has come to the conclusion that swift, sharp justice is now indispensable; but Lord Canning cannot be stung into patriotism or roused into righteous indignation. The feeling against him is well-nigh unanimous; and civilians of real talent, who know something of India beyond the Calcutta ditch, condemn him as strongly as the sternest and most fiery soldiers. Much of the blame of his inane proceedings has been thrown upon the military secretary, Colonel Birch; but most unjustly, since he is far from holding his lordship's views, or having that influence to which his high position and experience entitle him."

Another writer says—"Lord Canning has been so frightened by the accusation of missionary zeal, that he is ready to do anything to clear himself from it. The old policy of protecting Mohammedanism and Hindooism is in greater force than ever. It cannot be too often repeated, that our duty, both as a just government and as a

Wilson was a watchful and diligent overseer of the establishment committed to his charge. As bishop and metropolitan, he went about, by land and by water, from the Sutlej to Singapore, from the Irrawaddy to Kurrachee. We have heard of his travelling in a native 'gig;' and it is on record, that the pilot-brig in which he was voyaging was brought-to by a shot from a royal man-of-war, for having presumed on his presence to hoist the union-jack. But his days of active duty had long been past; and we should gladly have seen the octogenarian prelate retire, to make room for an overseer of greater physical competence. His continuance in an office the duties of which he was unable to perform, was, however, induced by no sordid motive. He had shown, if only by his magnificent contribution—at least a lac of rupees—to the building of the new Calcutta cathedral, that he had no inordinate regard for filthy lucre. But the old man, ever ready to magnify his office, determined long ago to cling to it to the last—to die Bishop of Calcutta and metropolitan of India, and to be buried in the sepulchre which he prepared for himself under the altar of [illegible] new cathedral. His remains will have been attended to this resting-place by an unusual gathering of very sincere mourners; for, with all the eccentricities of his character and his age, he was much liked and respected in Calcutta. One of the worst results of Bishop Wilson's retention of office was, that it offered a pretext, such as it was, for demanding 'more bishops for India!' The Bishop of Calcutta could not possibly supervise his see, although it was only coincident with that of the governor-general and the commander-in-chief; so the necessity for a Bishop of Agra, at least, was apparent. The old man's death, and the appointment of a more physically able and active successor—say Dr. Dealtry, of Madras, who last year performed the visitation tour for the metropolitan—will abolish this poor excuse for a further appropriation of the revenue to sectional religious purposes. Bishop Wilson, as many of our readers are aware, was a gentleman of handsome and aristocratic countenance. He was for a long time the most popular preacher in his diocese, and retained his place so long as he could be heard. His sermons were liked as much for their intellectual character and wholesome doctrine, as for an originality, bordering on eccentricity, which often distinguished them, and which spiced them with personal and social allusions often of a very pungent flavour. Formerly there were few public meetings at Calcutta at which a bishop could properly attend, whence Dr. Wilson was missing. At one held after our Affghan disasters, he closed his speech with the exclamation, 'Only let us get at them!' and the energy and enthusiasm of this burst of natural feeling caused it long to be remembered."

Christian one, is to tolerate all false religions, but not to protect them. Hitherto we have fostered and encouraged them, and we have especially patronised Mohammedanism as being the most dangerous. During the Mohurrum this year, the governor-general and Mr. Halliday gave the strongest assurance of protection to the Mohammedan community—exhorted them not to fear any interference, and actually sent European policemen to keep the roads, and to walk at the head of the processions. So completely did the Mohammedans take possession of the road, that gentlemen wishing to pass to another part of the town were turned back. I am at a loss to conceive on what principle the disaffected Mohammedans of Calcutta are to receive a degree of protection, and to be allowed exclusive privileges, which would not be accorded to any class of religious procession at home. The business of the police should be to keep Europeans or Hindoos from breaking the heads either of Mussulmans or of each other; and, on the other hand, to keep any procession from interfering with the rights or convenience of the remainder of the inhabitants. But, unless the strongest pressure from home is applied, the 'old Indian' system of pampering and cockering the most disaffected of our subjects, will be pursued as of old, and with the same sort of ruinous results. Even the lamented Sir H. Lawrence was so far infected with this mania as seriously to damage his plan of defence at Lucknow, by requiring the engineer to 'spare the holy places,' *i.e.*, Mohammedan mosques, where prayers are daily offered for our destruction, and thanks returned for the slaughter of our wives and children, 'and private property.' This undue softness was the one blemish in his noble character. In such a case, neither Westminster Abbey nor St. Peter's should have been spared. To save the life of any one woman or child killed within the residency, would have been a sufficient reason for laying the whole of Lucknow in ashes. But such is the effect of a long residence in India, that few even of our best public men escape being Mohammedanised or Brahminised, with what results has been seen during the last six months. Red tape still reigns triumphant. Will it be believed at home, that the first British troops who arrived, instead of being received with open arms as deliverers, were actually suffered to stand for hours on the Maidân, or plain, not knowing where to go! because, as the officials expressed it, 'they had not reported themselves,' and therefore they had no official knowledge of their arrival. The consequence was, that when at last shelter was found for the men, many of the officers having none provided for them, and in utter ignorance where to go or what to do, they actually passed the night in the open air."

How far the statement in the last paragraph was, or was not, warranted by facts, might have been easy of proof; but as the alleged neglect does not appear to have called forth the indignant remonstrance of a commander so watchful for the comfort and accommodation of his troops as Sir Colin Campbell was well known to be, it is likely that the charge against the government-house officials in this instance, rested upon no better foundation than did the accusation against Mr. Grant, which had already been stripped of every pretension to truthfulness.*

On the 31st of January, the governor-general, for the greater facility of communication with the commander-in-chief, proceeded with his immediate staff to Allahabad, where he arrived on the 7th of February, and, on the following day, had an interview with the commander-in-chief, who came down from the camp at Cawnpore for the purpose. At this meeting, arrangements for the campaign in Oude were finally agreed upon, and an order was issued for raising a native force, composed wholly of *low-caste* men, who, being without the prejudices that influenced the Brahmin class of the old native army, were less accessible to the temptations offered by their disaffected countrymen, and were also naturally better adapted for the exigencies of the seasons, and for police and local purposes, than the European troops, whose strength might thereby be husbanded for occasions when it could be beneficially exerted.

Calcutta, during the spring months of 1858, was shorn of much of its splendour, as the capital of British India, by the absence of the governor-general; and was, moreover, subjected to occasional alarms, that produced considerable excitement among the inhabitants. On the 3rd of March, a telegraphic message was received from Barrackpore, announcing that the sepoys of two native regiments at that station—namely, the 2nd and 23rd Bengal

* See *ante*, p. 400.

native infantry, were deserting from their lines in parties of ten and twelve together, and were believed to be on their way to Calcutta, for the purpose of plundering the inhabitants. The volunteer guards were at once called out, and pickets were stationed at the posts selected, on occasions of the Bukre Eed and the Mohurrum. The various rendezvous appointed for the corps were occupied by companies of infantry and artillery, and detachments of cavalry patrolled the thoroughfares of the city. In connection with this report, it was also asserted, that a native of high rank in Calcutta had engaged to supply the deserters with arms on their arrival. Some arrests consequent upon the discovery of the proposed visit of the sepoys, were made; and among them, that of the individual charged with offering arms to the deserters; but nothing serious resulted from the proceedings either way, nor did it appear, upon investigation, that any real cause for alarm had actually existed.

The continuous arrivals of European troops at Calcutta during the preceding winter, and the obvious necessity that had arisen for permanently increasing the British force in India, induced the government to greatly enlarge the accommodation hitherto provided for them. Barrackpore, the military station of the capital, from which it was distant about sixteen miles, although abundantly furnished with lines for the accommodation of native troops, had little capabilities for quartering Europeans; and it was resolved, instead of constructing new European barracks at that place, to increase those at Chinsurah—a town about twenty miles from Calcutta, in a more healthy situation, on the banks of the Hooghly, and which already possessed a fine European barrack and military hospital. Preparations were accordingly made for the necessary additions; and several hundred native workmen were for some time occupied in increasing the barrack accommodation to an extent equal to the requirements for 5,000 men, and in destroying and removing buildings, &c., within 500 yards on each side, to obtain space for the parade-grounds.

The temporary residence of the governor-general was not without its occasional disquietudes, shortly after his lordship had arrived there. Towards the end of March, owing to some defective information concerning the movements and strength of the enemy, a small European force, consisting of two companies of H.M.'s 54th regiment, and a hundred Sikhs, with some Madras cavalry and two guns, was dispatched for the purpose of dispersing a body of rebels, who, it was reported, had appeared at Suraon, a village situated between Allahabad and Gopeegunge. By accident or by design, the force was misdirected as regarded the locality in which the enemy were stationed; and, upon approaching a spot in the route, surrounded by a dense jungle, it was suddenly attacked by a large body of rebels, who with six guns were there concealed. They at once opened fire upon the little force thus taken by surprise, and a hasty retreat became inevitable. The loss was, however, but small, and the affair itself trifling, except as it tended to give encouragement to the rebels, by whom it was magnified into a splendid triumph; and the circumstance had also the effect of rendering the authorities uneasy, since it showed that, within a few miles of the provincial capital, in which the governor-general had taken up his quarters, there were not only rebels prepared for mischief, but that the intelligence, upon which much depended for success in military operations, could not safely be relied on.

Amidst the serious anxieties inseparable from his exalted position, the governor-general did not lose sight of those claims upon his attention which were connected with works for the improvement of the country over which he presided; and thus, on the 24th of March, his lordship, with much ceremony, opened an extension of the great Indian railway between Allahabad and Futtehpore. The state trip to the new station at the latter place was, under the circumstances, somewhat remarkable; for, as the line throughout nearly its whole extent traversed an enemy's country, it was considered prudent first to burn down the villages on either side of it, and to post a strong body of troops, with guns, at every station. "The affair," says the *Calcutta Englishman*, "went off very well; as the guard at the several stations prevented the rebels from attempting to carry off the governor-general, or obstructing the line."

The question of compensation for losses sustained by the proceedings of the rebels, was warmly agitated at Calcutta in the early part of the year; and, on the 20th of April, a meeting of parties interested was held, to take into consideration measures to be adopted for obtaining redress from

government. Upon this occasion, it was resolved—"1. That, in the opinion of the meeting, all *Christian* subjects of the British government, whose property in the disturbed districts has suffered loss in consequence of the recent rebellion, are undoubtedly entitled to compensation from government for their losses. 2. That the time has now come when it is expedient to take steps to press such cases on the notice of the government, and that a committee be appointed to communicate with the authorities, and take such steps as may appear advisable in substantiation of those claims." The consequence of this movement was shortly apparent in a government order, which applied to the cases of civilians only, and did not extend beyond the presidency of Bengal. By this notification, it was declared that the compensation to be afforded would be for loss of property and effects *only*, leaving questions affecting loss of life or health to be otherwise disposed of. A commissioner (Mr. E. Jackson) was appointed at Calcutta to inquire into claims, and a limit was fixed for the reception of them—namely, the 25th of August following; after which, no claim was to be received from persons resident in India; but an extension of time was allowed for those absent from the country. In all cases where the amount claimed did not exceed 50,000 rupees, the application to the commissioner was to be accompanied by a detailed statement of the particulars of the claim, and of the evidence adducible in support of it; but where the property was of higher amount, the regulation required only a general estimate to accompany the application—a further period of three months being allowed for the preparation and submission of the detailed statement of losses. It was at the same time declared, that the preliminary operations described were not to be understood as constituting an actual claim upon the Company *for any compensation whatever;* nor did the registry of applicants required, imply any recognition of claims to compensation; the Court of Directors "having expressly reserved their final decision upon the question whether or not compensation for losses sustained by the mutiny shall be awarded." A similar notification appeared also at Allahabad, applicable to the North-West Provinces; and Messrs. C. Grant and E. H. Longden were there named commissioners, to receive and register claims. The conditions were generally the same as those in Bengal; but an announcement was added, that "applications will be received, subject to the same rules, from *natives of the country*, for compensation on account of loss of property, caused by their known loyalty and attachment to the British government." A similar announcement, some time afterwards, extended the boon to the loyal sufferers of Oude.

Besides the above regulations for the benefit of those who had sustained loss of property by the mutiny, a government order of the 25th of May, announced that provision would be made for the relief of the destitute families of persons who had died after the loss of their property, even though the death was not directly consequent upon the rebellion; and it was determined that grants of money, to be regulated on the same principle as those allowed to European and native officers of the government, should be given to such families as were impoverished by the double visitation of plunder and of death.

Another resolution of the Indian government, in connection with the revolt, gave very general satisfaction; although some few of the "old Indian" class affected much alarm at the "encroachment," as they termed it, upon the exclusive privileges of the army. The resolution, which, whether it originated in England or in India, was an excellent one, declared that *civilians* who had distinguished themselves in the field since the commencement of the mutiny, or who should so distinguish themselves before the mutiny ended, should be allowed to participate in the honours which had hitherto been considered peculiar to the military service. The civil servants of the Company, as a body, had greatly raised themselves in the estimation of their countrymen at home, by the gallantry which many of them displayed under circumstances of great peril, not only in defending their posts against large bodies of insurgents, but in sharing those field and siege operations which were more especially the sources of honour to military men. What those honours were to be, depended upon the will of the crown and of the Company; but the intent of the resolution was to declare, that the civil position of a gallant man should no longer necessarily be a bar to his participation in the honours upon hitherto conferred by the country upon military men only.

An affair with a body of insurgents between Allahabad and Gopeegunge in March, has already been noticed as productive of some uneasiness to the government; and towards the end of May, another occurrence took place which considerably increased the local disquietude. The circumstances are detailed by a correspondent in the following extract from a letter dated "Allahabad, May 24th:"—"It seems that there is some kind of a fatality hanging over this unfortunate place. Yesterday, between 1 and 2 P.M., a fire broke out in the new barracks erected on the parade-ground, near what is at present government-house. Five ranges were completely destroyed, the officers and men losing everything they had. The fire fortunately did not reach the hospital, in which were a great number of sick; but one poor fellow was burned to death, and others were severely wounded. It is evidently the work of an incendiary, as a man was found lurking in an empty barrack; who, it is suspected, can give some clue to the origin of the fire. Since the affair occurred, the governor-general has had all his valuables sent into the fort, and will probably take up his residence there, as the neighbourhood is anything but safe; and part of the road between Futtehpore and Cawnpore is entirely commanded by a rebel force, consisting of some 1,500 men and two guns, under one Maharaj Sing. Passengers, *en route* to Cawnpore, have been obliged to return to Futtehpore; and our state of anxiety here is certainly not diminished by the fact of an incendiary fire under the very eyes of the governor-general! We are, however, told that the commander-in-chief is coming to take up his quarters here, while awaiting for the resumption of operations in next cold weather; and as his name is already 'a tower of strength,' we suppose we shall be tolerably safe for some time to come."

Another letter from the same station, which had acquired much additional importance by being selected for the temporary residence of the governor-general, says—"The country about Allahabad is considered more unsafe now than it ever has been during the worst part of the rebellion, if we are not now passing through that phase of it. In fact, though systematically organised resistance in masses has ceased, the opposition to our rule has assumed a guerilla character, which may be as well, if not better, conducted than when operations were on a large scale. The rebels, though in arms much worse, are decidedly in foresight more advanced; and they seem resolved to bring to the unequal contest all their resources in knowledge of the country, and the sympathy of the population. Their movement is evidently downwards; so that Lower Bengal may, ere long, become the scene of their last struggle."

Among other indications of returning tranquillity, the disbandment of the corps of volunteer cavalry, which was composed almost wholly of officers from the revolted regiments, and civilians of property, and which had rendered eminent service at a time when European troops were scarce, was a measure that in its operation caused some degree of regret. It was, however, considered imperative at the time; and, on the 19th of June, the following notification directed the breaking up of the gallant band:—

"(General Order). Calcutta, June 19th.

"The services of the volunteer cavalry being no longer required, the right honourable the governor-general is pleased to direct, that the infantry soldiers now attached to it shall rejoin their respective regiments, and that the corps shall be finally broken up from the date of receipt of this order at Lucknow.

"In testimony of the governor-general's appreciation of the services of the volunteer cavalry, his lordship authorises the bestowal of a gratuity of three hundred rupees each, on all members of the corps not being officers or soldiers.

"The volunteer cavalry took a prominent part in all the successes which marked the advance of the late Major-general Sir H. Havelock from Allahabad to Lucknow; and on every occasion of its employment against the rebels, whether on the advance to Lucknow or as part of the force with which Major-general Sir J. Outram held Alumbagh, this corps greatly distinguished itself by its gallantry in action, and by its fortitude and endurance under great exposure and fatigue.

"The governor-general offers to Major Barrow, who ably commanded the volunteer cavalry, and boldly led them in all the operations in which they were engaged, his most cordial acknowledgments for his very valuable services; and to Captain Lynch, and all the officers and men who composed this corps, his lordship tenders his best thanks for the eminent good conduct and exemplary courage which they displayed during the whole time that the corps was embodied."

This formal announcement was communicated to Major Barrow, with the following gratifying testimonial from Major-general Sir James Outram—a mark of esteem that, in some measure, compensated for the disappointment felt by the members of the corps upon their dispersion:—

"My dear Barrow,—We are about to separate, perhaps for ever; but, believe me, I shall ever retain

you in affectionate remembrance, and ever speak with that intense admiration which I feel for the glorious volunteers whom you have commanded with such distinction. It would afford me much pleasure to shake every one of them by the hand, and tell them how warmly I feel towards them. But this is impossible; my pressing duties will not allow me even to write a few farewell lines to each of your officers; but I trust to your communicating to them individually my affectionate adieu, and sincerest wishes for their prosperity. May God bless you and them."

A tribute like the above, from an officer so capable of appreciating the merits of the corps to whose commander it was addressed, became doubly valuable at the moment of separation.

A project for the exaltation of the city of Allahabad into the capital of a presidency, which had been for some time under the consideration of government, became now a subject of serious attention. The peculiar features of this important station have already been noticed.* Occupying the point of a peninsula formed by the junction of the Ganges and the Jumna, Allahabad could scarcely be paralleled for advantageous position by any other city in India; the one river bringing down to it a stream of traffic from Kumaon, Rohilcund, Furruckabad, Cawnpore, Futtehpore, and the south-western districts of Oude; while the other conveyed to it that from Kurnaul, Meerut, Delhi, Agra, Calpee, and a wide extent of country in Rajpootana, Bundelcund, and the Doab. Besides these commercial advantages, Allahabad was nearly surrounded by an extraordinary number of large military and trading stations, all within easy reach of it, and of each other. At one time it was in contemplation to have elevated Agra to the position of a presidential city; but for some reason the intention was not carried out; and, in lieu of it, the North-West Provinces were formed into a lieutenant-governorship, with Agra as the seat of its local government. As the mutiny progressed, events of growing importance showed the necessity for holding the position of Allahabad as a centre of influence, which, from the important facilities surrounding it, there could be little difficulty of establishing. Bounded, as we have seen, by two fine rivers on the north, south, and east sides, it was susceptible, on the west, of any degree of enlargement desired, simply by inclosing additional ground; and could also be made, at the same time, one of the strongest forts in India; while its rivers, aided by the railway then in progress, unite to make it the great centre of trade from Peshawur to Calcutta. By the plan submitted to the government for the proposed improvement, it was seen that the river frontages could be rendered defensible against any possible attacks that Orientals could bring against them. On the west, or land side, it was proposed to construct a line of intrenchment four miles in length, from river to river. This fortification would consist mainly of two great redoubts on the river-banks, each capable of holding an entire regiment of Europeans. With these redoubts, another midway between them, and an earthen embankment to connect the three, it was considered the city would be rendered impregnable to any hostile force that could be brought against it. Within the space between the embankment, the city, and the river, was included an encampment, a European town, and a native town. The cantonment, which was designed to embrace a complete military establishment for half-a-dozen regiments, was to be near the western boundary, on the Jumna side. Eastward of this was arranged the new English town, to be built on plots of ground leased for the purpose to builders, native or European, who were to be bound to conform to a general plan, having reference to the railway station as a centre of trade. Nearer the Ganges was to be built a native town; while, at the point of junction of the two rivers, the existing fort would be strengthened and enlarged, so as to form, if needed, a last stronghold for all the Europeans in Allahabad and its vicinity. Such were the general features of a scheme for the improvement of the proposed capital of a new presidency; and, on the 5th of May, 1858, a notification by government specified the terms upon which building leases were to be granted.

On the 14th of August, the first division of the naval brigade—composed of the men of the *Shannon;* who, under their lamented commander, Sir William Peel, had eminently distinguished themselves in the war of the mutinies—returned to Calcutta from the scenes of their heroic daring. These brave men were deservedly honoured with a public reception by the president in council and all the officers of government at the presidency. The troops in garrison were paraded; the ships of the port were dressed upon the occasion; and about 20,000 of the native and European inhabitants assembled to give them welcome. The brigade had

* See vol. i., p. 249.

been reduced, by the vicissitudes of service, far below its original strength; but the greater part of the survivors had all the vivacity of lads of twenty years of age.

Before closing the present chapter, it may be well to remind the reader, that throughout the greater portion of the period embraced by the events of this volume, the position of Lord Canning, as governor-general of India, had been one of great anxiety, and occasionally of serious embarrassment, owing to the extreme virulence with which popular feeling, both in India and in Europe, found expression upon the subject of punishment due to mutineers and rebels. At first, when the outbreak was in its earlier stage, the friends and relatives of the victims of sepoy cruelties, vented their grief and indignation in a wild demand for vengeance, that could only have perpetuated the horrors which had already moistened the soil of India with blood and tears, and which it would have been impossible for any government professing to be guided by the precepts of Christianity, to have sanctioned. This feeling, after the first excitement had subsided, was deplored by all moderate people, and its repression became an object of policy. By not lending himself to this cry for blood, Lord Canning became unpopular with the unthinking public, and with that portion of the press which is ever ready to lend its aid to a popular cry, whether right or wrong, for the purpose of a transient success over its rival contemporaries. This unprincipled section of the press in India and in England, unhesitatingly joined in the cry, and provided stimulants for the popular frenzy by its terrible representations, the bulk of which had little foundation but in the imagination of the writers.

The following specimen from a Calcutta journal, affords a moderate sample of the tone which became popular during the three consecutive months beginning with May, 1857:*—"Not the least among the many evils which will follow in the steps of this rebellion, is the permanent effect it will have upon the feelings of the European community hereafter. As to our countrywomen, whose feelings have been tortured by the horrible details of atrocities perpetrated around them, we know that among them are many hundreds of English ladies, who lie down nightly to dream of terrors too agonising for utterance, who are scarcely able to converse but upon one dreadful subject, and who, if opportunity presented itself, would now be found almost as willing as their husbands and fathers, to go out and wage battle with the murderers of their sisters, if they could only thereby insure the infliction of a deep and bloody vengeance. They feel that it is a contest with murderers, who are not satisfied with blood alone—that they must live in daily expectation of. They suspect that the very servants around them are in league to betray and destroy them; and thus they suffer, almost hourly, worse than the pangs of death. Many have already died by homicidal hands, more from the pangs of starvation and terror, the agonies of mental torture, and the slower process of exposure and exhaustion; and, while all this is going on, friends and relations *sigh vainly for the coming day of vengeance*, and are prated to about moderation, when nothing short of exemplary and unsparing retribution, can possibly atone for the villanies of the accursed race we have pampered to our undoing."

It has already been shown, that orders and proclamations were issued from time to time by the governor-general in council, and by his lieutenants in the provinces, declaratory of the line of conduct to be pursued in relation to punishments to be inflicted upon mutineers and deserters, and the treatment to be accorded to non-military natives who should exhibit signs of disaffection. Upon these topics, the line of policy contested between the lieutenant-governor of the North-West Provinces (Mr. John Russell Colvin) and the governor-general in council, has been already adverted to.† The former, it will be recollected, had issued a proclamation to the mutineers of the provinces under his superintendence; in which, among other things, he promised that "soldiers engaged in the late disturbances, who were desirous of going to their own homes, and who gave up their arms at the nearest government civil or military post, and retired quietly, should be permitted to do so unmolested:" whereas Lord Canning insisted, that this indulgence or leniency should not be extended to the men of any regiments which had murdered or ill-used their officers, or committed cruel outrages on other persons. There were, in addition to these orders, others—proclaiming martial law in particular districts; appointing commissioners to try mutineers by a very summary process; authority to military officers to deal with offending civilians, as well as

* See also vol. i., pp. 142, 143. † *Ibid.*, p. 137.

with the revolted sepoys; permitting the police to arrest suspected persons without the formality of warrants; and making the zemindars and landowners responsible for the conduct of persons upon their estates; with other measures of a similar tendency, each of which, in turn, became a subject of controversy, and generally of severe animadversion, on the part of those who, commenting upon the various topics from a distant view of their merits, were least entitled to express an opinion upon the proceedings of the governor-general, whose conduct was alternately represented as influenced by an imbecile exhibition of ill-directed clemency, or a perfectly Draconian thirst for blood. Thus, when in the month of July, 1858, Lord Canning found it requisite to check the over-zeal of some of the tribunals at Allahabad, where the authorities were prone to execute accused persons without waiting for formal evidence of their guilt, he was loudly accused of interference with the righteous demand for blood; but when, some few months previously, his proclamation to the people of Oude came to the notice of the English public, a peer of parliament was among the first to charge the governor-general with undue severity, and with a policy that, by its rigour, had thrown insurmountable difficulties in the way of the pacification of the country.

CHAPTER XV.

LORD CANNING'S POLICY AS VIEWED IN ENGLAND; APPREHENSIONS AS TO THE FUTURE CONDITION OF INDIA; ARRIVAL OF FUGITIVES, FROM LUCKNOW AND CAWNPORE, AT SOUTHAMPTON; POPULAR DECLAMATION ON INDIAN AFFAIRS; SIR E. B. LYTTON AND MR. DISRAELI; A FAST PROCLAIMED; THE RELIEF FUND; CARDINAL WISEMAN; ARCHBISHOP CULLEN AND LORD ST. LEONARDS; MEETING AT NEW YORK; OPINIONS OF AN EAST INDIA DIRECTOR; MR. J. P. WILLOUGHBY; SIR JOHN PAKINGTON; LORD ELLENBOROUGH'S ADDRESS TO THE YEOMANRY ON ENLISTMENT FOR THE MILITIA; RUMOURED CHANGES AT THE BOARD OF CONTROL; MR. ROEBUCK; THE PRESS; PUBLIC FEELING; PROJECT FOR RECONSTRUCTION OF THE NATIVE ARMY; CHRISTIAN CONVERTS; EARL GRANVILLE AND VISCOUNT PALMERSTON; CONFIDENCE OF GOVERNMENT IN LORD CANNING; SCHEME FOR FAMILIARISING THE LANGUAGES OF INDIA.

DURING the interval between the prorogation of parliament, in August, and the close of the year 1857, public attention continued to be riveted to the events connected with the military revolt in Bengal, which had then acquired the characteristic features of a wide-spread insurrection; and as the successive details of operations reached this country, alternately bringing with them tidings of ruthless cruelty, of heroic achievement, and of still-increasing disaffection, the question of competency to grapple with the exigencies of the crisis, as it regarded the supreme Anglo-Indian government (and was evidenced by its proceedings), became a theme of earnest discussion among all classes of society in this country, as it already had been in India. The points most angrily and pertinaciously urged against the administration of Lord Canning, were based upon the erroneous estimate formed, by himself and colleagues, of perils that were apparent at the very outbreak of the mutinies; and of which, it was contended, he had most inexcusably underrated the nature and serious extent of, in the face of positive and ample evidence of their hourly increasing importance. It was charged against his government, that it was neither prepared for the contingency that had arisen, nor disposed, by a candid avowal of its error, and an energetic effort to struggle against the consequences of it, to prove its capability to rule at a crisis of such imminent difficulty; that, on the contrary, his government had depreciated the importance of the hostile movement, by which its native army was falling to pieces; that it had, from the first, neglected to avail itself of the resources at its command for the repression of disorder; and that it had eventually prolonged the horrors of the catastrophe of May, 1857, by wilfully and weakly misrepresenting its true character to the home government.

To some extent, it must be allowed, that the charges, or rather the faults upon which they rested, were so perfectly accordant with

the general tendencies of human nature, that they were clothed with something more than mere plausibility—they were just possible to be, *in a degree*, correct. The members of the Indian government, as the actual rulers of the immense empire entrusted to their administration, must, naturally, have been reluctant to admit the seriousness of a revolt which would not only carry with the fact of its existence a condemnation of the policy they had pursued, but would threaten also an entire disruption of the system from which they derived their power; and it was not extraordinary that they should resist, as long as possible, any such conviction. At the same time, it is only fair to the governor-general and his council, to remark, that the true character of the movement which had developed itself so suddenly and mysteriously, was, for a long time after its mischievous effects were apparent, but imperfectly appreciated by those who, in the midst of the disturbed districts, were considered to be most intimately acquainted with the sepoys and their grievances. It was doubted by many of the best-informed among the civil officers of government, and experienced military men also, whether the insurrection, even when it presented the extraordinary spectacle of an entire army in a condition of revolt against the state to which it had sworn allegiance, was originally an organised and *concerted* national movement, or merely the result of local irritation, and without any ulterior design against the stability of the Company's government. At any rate, a singular inconsistency was presented in the language of many who held opinions condemnatory of the government of Lord Canning, because it did not at once perceive the germs of a great national insurrection in the outbreak of the 10th of May, at Meerut; but who yet affirmed, in the same breath, that the whole rebellion could have been stifled in its birth, if the European soldiers on the spot had been properly employed in intercepting the flight of the mutineers towards Delhi. On the one hand, they insisted upon a vast combination, which should have been prepared for by all the resources of government; on the other, a mere local mutiny, which the few European troops at hand, if efficiently commanded, might have quelled without difficulty.*

It may be urged, on the part of the Indian government, that it had not, at the crisis of the outbreak, any machinery in existence for the purpose of discovering a latent conspiracy against its authority. The European refinement of a detective police had not yet been grafted upon the state mysteries of British Indian polity; nor had it been the practice of the present or preceding administrations to employ agents to keep it informed as to the tone of popular opinion within the limit of its own territories—the residents at the courts of native princes being the only channels through which the government received intelligence, or to which it looked for information. The complications of official duties and responsibilities were also impediments to the chances of any revelation reaching the quarter most immediately interested in its importance, through the intervention of a pernicious system of "routine" and "circumlocution," which retarded the progress of everything on its way to the governor-general in council, and rendered the voice of warning utterly useless, as well as dangerous, to a too officious transgressor of official etiquette.

It is also observable, that, up to the moment of the outbreak, Englishmen lived and ruled in India with as much reliance upon the elements of security (that is, the power of government), and as much confidence in their safety as the dominant race, as they could possibly have done at home. Everything around them indicated patient submission to British authority; and even after the deplorable atrocities at Meerut and Delhi, officers of the mutinous battalions, from the colonel to the junior ensign—men whose own lives would be the first and im-

* A singular anticipation of the possible entire revolt of the Indian native army, is recorded in Hansard's Commons' Debates, 7th February, 1828. Mr. Brougham, in his celebrated speech on law reform, denounced, among other abuses in our judiciary system, the delays and costliness of Indian appeals decided in London by the former ill-constituted court of privy council. He contrasted the evil with the then improved law courts of Ceylon—stating that one good effect had resulted in the latter colony; as the Ceylon population, previously rebellious, in 1816 aided the mother country in putting down and crushing a military mutiny. Mr. Brougham further observed—"So it will be in the Peninsula, if you give your subjects a share in administrating your laws, and an interest and a pride in supporting you. Should the day ever come when disaffection may appeal to 70,000,000 against a few thousand strangers who have planted themselves upon the ruins of their ancient dynasties, you will find how much safer it is to have won their hearts, and universally cemented their attachment by a common interest in your system, than to rely upon 150,000 sepoys' swords, of excellent temper but in doubtful hands."

mediate forfeit in the event of error—persisted to the last in affirming that they knew their troops, and that their loyalty was above suspicion! It was not surprising that government should be lulled into a sense of security by such assurances from such a source; and although it *afterwards* became apparent that the first symptoms of a mutinous spirit displayed at Barrackpore and Dumdum, portended worse evils than were then anticipated, and that if the European force at hand had been sufficient for the vindication of authority as those instances of insubordination occurred, it would have been better to have cut down the mutineers as they stood, in the first act of mutiny, and thereby check the spirit of revolt—it is by no means certain that the conduct of the governor-general would have escaped censure and condemnation for adopting such policy. If the example had actually sufficed to deter others from insurrection, its necessity would have been called in question from the very fact; and those who were loudest in charging culpable supineness on the part of the governor-general, would have been among the first to condemn him for a hasty and uncalled-for effusion of blood.

But if, after the Indian government became sensible of the importance of the crisis which had arrived, the measures adopted by it were as prompt and energetic as they possibly could be, its previous acts could be of little comparative importance, so far as position and immediate results were concerned; and certainly the ground of inactivity, upon which much stress was laid, does not seem to be perfectly clear. It is indisputable, that when the revolt was once unveiled in its full proportions, the first great duty of Lord Canning's government consisted in procuring forces to suppress it; and this duty was performed by rapidly collecting European battalions from every quarter to which a despatch could be transmitted, and from which a British soldier could be spared: the next step was to provide for their conveyance, with all possible speed, to the various points of disturbance. This duty, it is admitted, was so efficiently performed, that not a single quarter from whence aid could be drawn was overlooked or untaxed. At the outburst of the insurrection, the far greater portion of the European troops attached to the Bengal establishment, as also some of the best-trained and disciplined corps of irregulars, were distributed over the Punjab, from whence the necessary succours were drawn for the force before Delhi, leaving barely sufficient European troops to ensure the safety of the widely-extended territory over which Sir John Lawrence presided: from this quarter, therefore, no assistance could be afforded; but to the governments of the sister presidencies of Madras and Bombay, as well as to the adjacent colonies and to the mother country, urgent requisitions for immediate aid were dispatched. The soldiers with whom Havelock fought his way to Cawnpore through a succession of brilliant victories, were drawn partly from Madras and partly from Bombay. One-half of those who marched against the rebel hordes at Arrah, were contributed by the governor of Ceylon: and of the two English regiments sent up the Ganges to the aid of Havelock at Lucknow, one came from the Mauritius, and the other was intercepted on its way to China. Of the energy displayed by Lord Canning in collecting and appropriating these elements of strength, there can be no question; and as the charge of weakness died away, it was sought to affix upon his government an odium of another character, and the *sobriquet* of "Clemency Canning" was sarcastically applied to him, as indicative of the ultra-moderation of his policy when dealing with the rebels at his feet.

It is more than possible, if a crisis like that produced by the mutiny of the Bengal army, and the insurrection in Oude, could have been foreseen, that the individual selected to go forth and encounter the emergencies of a struggle on which the future mastery of India depended, might not have been Viscount Canning; nor is it likely, judging from his lordship's antecedents, that he would have been at all desirous of a post in which the attributes of splendour and dignity would be overwhelmed by the responsibilities and perils of a most arduous command. But it is due to him to acknowledge, that if, in the position in which he suddenly and unexpectedly found himself, he did not display the intuitive genius of a CLIVE or a HASTINGS, for conquest and for government, he certainly exhibited abilities that were not unequal to the occasion. His principal and most determined opponents did not deny him the credit of unimpeached integrity and undoubted courage; and if his policy, in the main, expressed the views of his council

rather than his own convictions, the fault lay in the system of government to which he succeeded, and which, fortunately, has been compelled to succumb to the more enlightened and statesmanlike arrangements of an imperial government. The system, as he found it, involved a complicated and cumbrous machinery of administration, but no real or individual responsibility. The president of the Board of Control represented one species of authority; the Court of Directors another; and the governor-general in council a third. Among these rival authorities it was difficult to determine where any course of policy should originate; and sometimes, through the one of them relying upon another to initiate a measure, it occurred that neither party moved at all, and, consequently, nothing was done. At all events, the circumstances by which Lord Canning was surrounded, were of a nature to enlist the sympathies of reflecting minds: and it was no trifling test of his ability, to command success under the pressure of extraordinary difficulties;—that although, up to the middle of September, some four months from the outbreak of the revolt, he had not received the assistance of a single soldier from England, he had withstood the full force of that terrible shock which it was predicted would shiver the Anglo-Indian empire into fragments; and, at the close of 1857, still held the imperial trust delegated to him—firmly and enduringly. We shall now turn to the progress of events connected with the revolt, as they arose in this country.

The occurrences in India, as they were brought to the notice of the English public by successive mails, continued to excite the most lively apprehensions, and the deepest sympathy among all classes. The interval of the parliamentary recess was fruitful of public meetings, both in the capital and the provinces, at which the views of leading men of all parties were expressed upon the all-important topic of the mutinies; and although opinions were as wide apart as the poles, with regard to the past and present policy of the Indian government, and the capacity of its members, there was no question about the necessity for the adoption of vigorous and uninterrupted measures for the re-establishment of order and authority. The contributions to the European fund for the relief of those who had suffered during the outrages, continued to pour in with characteristic liberality, and the energies of every department of the public service were called into requisition to facilitate the operations of government in its efforts to strengthen the hands of its representative in India.

The period at length arrived when vague surmises, and fears that had been long and painfully excited by rumour (darkly shaded by exaggeration), were to be satisfied by the authority of individual survivors of the frightful catastrophe that had drenched a large portion of Bengal with innocent blood. On Thursday, September 25th, the Peninsular and Oriental Company's steam-ship, *Colombo*, arrived at Southampton, bringing with her 184 passengers from Calcutta. The approach of the ship had been telegraphed the preceding day, and most considerate preparations were immediately made for the reception of its interesting freight, among whom was the wife of Brigadier Inglis, who had shared with her gallant husband the fatigues, the privations, and the dangers of the residency at Lucknow. In accordance with a regulation of a committee of the Relief Fund, the lady mayoress had already arrived at Southampton, to await the approach of the steamer; and upon its anchoring in the roads, her ladyship, accompanied by one of the under-sheriffs of London, proceeded to the vessel, to carry solace and comfort to the mourners—herself also a mourner, through the same dispensation that had bowed the heads of all with deep affliction.* The mayor of Southampton, accompanied by the superintendent of the Peninsular and Oriental Company, and by Dr. Symes, a resident of Southampton (who had fitted up apartments in his house for the reception of any of the destitute sufferers who would avail themselves of his hospitality), were early on board the *Colombo*. The lady mayoress, upon reaching the deck, being conducted to a cabin by the captain, the object of her visit was communicated to the passengers with much delicacy and feeling. A correspondent, describing the interesting scene at the moment, says—"Many relatives and friends of the passengers, who had anxiously awaited their arrival, also came on board, and their meeting was an affecting sight. They embraced each other in

* The lady mayoress was in mourning for the loss of her brother, Colonel Finnis, killed at Meerut on the 10th of May, 1857. See vol. i., p. 57.

seeming unconsciousness of the presence of strangers, and paced the deck with their arms encircling each other's waists. A great number of the passengers went ashore in one of the small steamers. A crowd of persons was in the dock; and here also affectionate greetings took place between long-absent friends and relatives, which drew tears from many a bystander. There were about sixty children on board the Indian mail packet, a large portion of whom were infants in arms—all of them hurried out of India on account of the fearful atrocities committed there. The scene on board the *Colombo* was very different from that which usually takes place on board homeward Indian packets. The usual female passengers on board these ships are ladies in the gayest spirits, and dressed in the gorgeous silks and shawls of the East; but many of the lady passengers of the *Colombo* bore marks of great sufferings and anxieties; and their dresses betokened their losses, and the rapidity of their flight from the mutinous districts. Many of these passengers escaped from Delhi, Lucknow, and other parts of Oude. Fortunately they started from those places at the commencement of the mutinies. The language of their husbands was, 'Get out of the country with the children as soon as you can, and never mind us.' Many of them have never heard anything of their husbands since. Some of the ladies escaped nearly naked—lived in the jungle for days with their infant children, starving, and rarely able to get a handful of rice to satisfy the cravings of hunger. Few villagers were willing to assist them; and many of those who were willing, were afraid to do so. Not the least interesting refugee on board the *Colombo*, was a little dog. It had escaped from Delhi by faithfully following its mistress and her children. It had nearly paid a heavy penalty for its fidelity. Its back had been literally burnt by the sun, and is not healed yet. Some of the passengers give a frightful picture of the state of Calcutta and the interior provinces of India."

Among the passengers by this vessel were Miss Graham, whose father, Dr. Graham, was shot down while riding by her side, on the 9th of July, at Sealkote:* Mrs. Baker, one of the sufferers at Cawnpore, and two other ladies, who, in their efforts to escape, were during a whole month hunted in the jungles; the scenes they passed through were heartrending, and their hair-breadth escapes perfectly miraculous: a child only six years of age, named Nina Bailey (the daughter of Captain Bailey, 7th Bengal native infantry, which mutinied at Dinapore),† was also on board; the poor child was motherless, and had come to England in charge of a stranger, rather than be left exposed to the perils of the revolt; of her father's fate she was ignorant: another child, ten years of age, named Clara Dunbar, was on board also—the daughter of Captain Dunbar, of the 10th regiment, killed at Arrah.‡ One of the most affecting cases on board the *Colombo*, was that of Sergeant Owen, of the 53rd regiment, with his wife and three young children. "The sergeant was late superintendent of roads between Peshawur and Lahore, and received a sun-stroke in India, which has taken away his reason. In May, and when the youngest child was but fourteen days old, the mutinies occurred in the district in which they resided; and the poor woman, weak from her late confinement, and with an imbecile husband and three children, was compelled to flee for her life. The history of this family from that period till the time when they arrived at Calcutta, was one of great suffering and distress. The poor woman told her tale of hardship and privation, of endurance and grief, of hair-breadth escapes, and deeds of cruelty which they had witnessed and passed through, with tearful eyes, and an utterance choked with emotion. The loving wife, the fond mother, and the heroic woman, shone in her careworn and sunburnt features as she related the wailings of her infant for nourishment, which fatigue and want of food had rendered her incapable of supplying; the cries of her two other children for food, when for days they were wandering in the jungle, or subsisting on the scanty pittance they were enabled to get from casual relief; the apparent indifference of her husband to everything that was passing around, save and except the safety of his children—for the sad affliction which had befallen him had not bereft him of affection for his offspring. 'And now,' she said, addressing the party who had sympathised with her, 'here we are all in England, quite safe. There's my baby, whom I never expected to have kept alive from one hour to another; there's my other two children, and there's my poor husband'—and she

* See vol. i., p. 568.

† See *ante*, p. 103.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 108.

pointed to a stout, well-formed man, who was nursing the infant, and whose vacant stare at everything around most probably gave cause to another burst of grief which the poor woman indulged in."

A few days after the *Colombo* had discharged her valuable burden, another vessel (the *Indus*) arrived at Southampton, bringing also 150 fugitives who had fled from the inhospitable soil of Hindostan. Many of these individuals were from Cawnpore, Allahabad, and other places in the Upper Provinces; and some had fled from Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta, through an undefined sense of impending evil. The scene presented at the meeting of these passengers with their friends, was one of overwhelming excitement; and many around were moved to tears by the unutterable anguish that was presented to their gaze. About forty children, many of them orphans, came by the *Indus;* and among the passengers was Lieutenant Chapman, nineteen years of age, who was shot by the mutineers at Benares,* when a bullet went through his cheek, and carried away part of the roof of his mouth, so that his speech was now scarcely intelligible. Captain Montague also came home in the *Indus*, wounded. He belonged to the irregulars, and was in command of a company of Sikhs, with General Havelock's army, and fought on the march to Cawnpore. He lost his two children from want and exposure while coming down the Ganges from Allahabad. This officer well knew Nana Sahib, and was present at a ball given by him at Cawnpore about a month before the mutiny broke out. It was the most magnificent ball ever given at Cawnpore; all the English were present, most of whom were afterwards mercilessly slaughtered by order of their quondam host. Captain Montague and his wife left Cawnpore before it was captured by the mutineers. Among other reports, the passengers said, that almost the only man who escaped the massacre of Cawnpore, had gone raving mad. This was an officer named Brown, who, after he got away, suffered great hardships, and lay hidden in a nullah, without food, during three days and nights. It was also stated by them, that Miss Goldie, a very beautiful young lady, was taken by Nana Sahib to his harem, and was believed to be living.

Many English were still at Calcutta when the *Indus* left that port, who had had narrow escapes from the infuriated wretches who were devastating the English stations. These were expected to follow by successive mail packets; and, upon the authority of some of the passengers of the *Indus*, it was reported, that a lady had arrived at Calcutta previous to the departure of the vessel, who had had both her ears cut off by the rebels. This was, perhaps, one of the least horrible in the series of outrages alleged to be systematically perpetrated by the Hindoo and Mohammedan fanatics, in their wild attempt to gratify their hatred and revenge.

The leisure for public men which periodically occurs after the prorogation, was chiefly occupied by some of the most distinguished of the class, in efforts to enlighten the various constituencies upon the Indian difficulty—as it was sometimes modestly termed; and the members of the upper house of legislature vied with their compatriots of the Commons in the "diffusion of useful knowledge," by a series of itinerating lectures to the people, at town-halls, mechanics' institutes, and agricultural and other meetings. Among the most prominent of the orators of the day, were Sir E. B. Lytton, one of the representatives of Hertfordshire; and the Right Hon. Benjamin Disraeli, the member for Buckinghamshire; both of whom, from their position and public influence, might be supposed to express the sentiments of important sections of the community, and were, therefore, entitled to special attention upon the subject. At a meeting of the Herts Agricultural Society, held at St. Alban's on the 30th of September, the first-mentioned statesman gave utterance to the following sentiments, which, in the main, very accurately described the general feeling at the time:—"The war that has now broken out, is not, like the Russian war, for the assertion of an abstract principle of justice, for the defence of a foreign throne, or for protection against a danger that did not threaten ourselves more than the rest of Europe—it is for the maintenance of the British empire. It is a struggle of life and death for our rank among the rulers of the earth. It is not a war in which we combat by the side of brave and gallant allies, but one in which we fight single-handed against fearful odds, and in which we must neither expect nor desire foreign aid."

Referring to the enthusiasm that had

* See vol. i., p. 229.

been manifested by the people in this cause, the honourable baronet said—"I think it is no wonder that the heart of England is up—that the slow progress of recruiting for the regular army, and even the constitutional resource of the militia, should not satisfy the ardour of an aroused people. It is no wonder that our journals should teem with offers of volunteers, and from a class that has never before furnished us with private soldiers. I am told that it is difficult for the war-office to avail itself of these offers Difficult! why, of course it is. There is nothing worth having that is not difficult. My life, and, I suppose, the life of every man among you who has worked with hand or head, has been one long contest with difficulties; and none of us would be the men we now are if we had tamely allowed difficulties to conquer us. Therefore, I say, it will not be to the credit of the government or the war-office if they cannot devise some practical means by which to discipline and organise so much ardour. I should be sorry if we lost the occasion to show to Europe, how England, when necessary, can start at once into a military nation, without the tyranny of conscriptions, and without the ruinous extravagance of large standing armies. The blood of many a stout English yeoman must have run cold in his veins when he read of the atrocious massacres of Delhi and Cawnpore; and he must have panted to show, as his forefathers often did before, that there is no metal for a sword like the iron ploughshare. Of volunteers in such a cause there can be no lack. If I were but ten years younger, I would remember that I am the son of a soldier, and would be a volunteer myself; and even now, if I thought it possible that the young, the robust, and the adventurous needed an example from those whose years, habits, and station might be supposed to entitle them to refuse, I declare I should be among you to canvass, not for votes, but for men, and should myself lead them against the enemies of our race." He then proceeded to say—"The present is not the time, nor is this the place, to criticise the policy which has produced the revolt in India; but I may be permitted to say, that revolutions or revolts are never sudden. Those which appear to us to have been so, had always given long previous, though it might be neglected, warnings. Revolts and revolutions are like the springing of mines. The ground must be hollowed, the barrels filled, the train laid, and the match fired before we can be startled by the explosion; and therefore the man who tells us that a revolt which must have taken months, if not years, to organise, no prudence could have foreseen, or no energy could have prevented, simply asks us to believe that policy is an accident and government a farce. But the whole of that question it will be the duty of parliament to examine, not with the view of bringing the force of party to bear against individuals, who may have committed mere human errors of judgment—and, after all, the public itself is not free from blame for its long indifference to our Eastern empire—but for the purpose of obtaining knowledge and guidance for the future."

Upon the same subject, the Hon. Mr. Disraeli, at Aylesbury, spoke as follows, at a meeting also held on the 30th of September:—"One of the greatest calamities that ever befel this empire, has fallen upon us. It is not for us at present to enter into the causes of those great disasters, or to enquire who are the individuals upon whom the responsibility for them must ultimately rest; but there are two considerations which cannot, at such a moment, be absent from the minds of Englishmen. In the breast of every man, there must now exist a feeling of profound sympathy for those of our fellow-subjects in India, whose sufferings have dimmed every eye and pained every heart in the kingdom. And there must be equally present in every mind, an anxiety that the government should at this crisis take those steps which may be adequate to the occasion, to vindicate our empire and maintain our glory. I believe it is now also the universal conviction, that the description originally given of these unfortunate and extraordinary movements in India, was not authorised by the circumstances of the case. Day by day, we have seen that that which was at first characterised as a slight and accidental occurrence, is in fact one of those great events which form epochs in the history of mankind, and which can only be accounted for by considerations demanding the deepest attention from statesmen and nations. But, although three months have elapsed since the startling news of these disasters originally arrived in England—although every succeeding mail has brought to us gloomy intelligence showing that these disasters are culminating to a proportion infinitely more

terrible than the country at first imagined—although we cannot flatter ourselves that either by the next mail, or by the mail after that, or even for a considerable period to come, we shall hear the cheering news which we were informed so often would immediately reach us, but which has hitherto eluded our expectation—although I foresee much evil, still I do not now, and I never have, counselled despondency or despair. But I am persuaded that if we wish to repair these misfortunes we must recognise their magnitude and importance, and that it is only upon this recognition that we can devise remedies adequate to the emergency. Greater disasters may occur. We shall probably learn that the Mahratta princes have risen against us. We must prepare ourselves for an insurrection in the Punjab—a province which we are always told has been faithful. Nevertheless, if England, instead of being induced to treat these events as merely accidental, casual, and comparatively trifling, will comprehend that the issue at stake is enormous, and the peril colossal, I have not the slightest doubt that a nation so great in spirit and in resources as our own, will prove that it is equal to cope with dangers of even that magnitude. Our perils arise not merely from those who have rebelled against our authority—our dangers spring not alone from the insurrection which may rage in our distant dependencies: if we undervalue the gravity of the crisis in which we are placed, our greatest danger will be from ourselves. I may be permitted, therefore, to express my hope and belief, that if, towards the end of this year, a force of sufficient strength is landed on the shores of Hindostan—if that force is guided with the wisdom and energy we have a right to expect—if the measures taken are strong and comprehensive enough for the emergency, we shall be able to vindicate our empire, and shall have an opportunity, of which we may avail ourselves, to lay the foundations of a stable and, I trust, a virtuous government. And, allow me to say—and I do it invidiously to no one—that I deeply regret that we do not see the preparation which the occasion seems to justify. I would ask this question, as the subject has been introduced to us, not with reference to the conduct of any political party, but with regard to what at this moment most deeply interests Englishmen—'How is it that all this time the navy of England never appears to have played any part in the measures of preservation to which we have had recourse?' We are now told that it is mainly by availing ourselves of our gun-boats that we shall be able to penetrate into the interior, and convey succour to our beleaguered countrymen. But there is not a gun-boat in India. I see by the last accounts, that the accidental arrival of a single frigate—the *Shannon*—was hailed with rapture by the inhabitants of Calcutta. Why, there are fifty frigates like the *Shannon* in England. What are they doing? Where are they? Why are they not there? Are they cleaning their decks, and squaring their yards? But if the casual arrival of a single frigate so much emboldens the authorities of Calcutta, and gives so much hope and encouragement to our European population, I say that is a proof that we ought to have an adequate naval force there, and that there should be gun-boats, which might at this moment carry help and relief to our besieged countrymen at Lucknow and Agra. I take this opportunity, therefore, of expressing my hope that the people of this country will convey to those in authority, that at the present conjuncture, while they are ready to support any ministry in any measures which will assert the empire of England, and tend to bring rescue to our suffering countrymen in India, they do expect from any government that this noble disposition shall be wisely taken advantage of, and that the measures devised shall be commensurate with the exigency; and when, at the end of the year, that grand advance into the country takes place which we anticipate, I have no doubt, and I expect, that all that retribution—if I may use the expression—which the solemn necessity of the case requires will be exacted. But I may be permitted to add, that I trust nothing more will be exacted than the necessity of the case does require. The horrors of war need no stimulant. The horrors of war, carried on as the war in India is at present, especially need no stimulant. I am persuaded that our soldiers and our sailors will exact a retribution which it may, perhaps, be too terrible to pause upon. But I do, without the slighest hesitation, declare my humble disapprobation at persons in high authority announcing that, upon the standard of England, 'vengeance,' and not 'justice,' should be inscribed. At this moment, I see by the newspapers that her majesty has issued a proclamation for a day

of solemn fast and humiliation; when she, inviting her people to follow her, will humble herself before the Almighty, acknowledge her sins and those of her people, and express her belief that, in the existence of those sins, some cause of these terrible calamities may be found. Now, how inconsistent it is for us, as a great and good people, to obey commands so earnestly communicated to us by our sovereign, to talk of fasts and humiliations, and at the same time announce that in the conduct of our foes we are to find the model for our own behaviour. I, for one, protest against taking Nana Sahib as a model for the conduct of the British soldier. I protest against meeting atrocities by atrocities. I have heard things said, and seen them written of late, which would make me almost suppose that the religious opinions of the people of England had undergone some sudden change; and that instead of bowing before the name of Jesus, we were preparing to revive the worship of Moloch. I cannot believe that it is our duty to indulge in such a spirit. I think that what has happened in India is a great Providential lesson, by which we may profit; and if we meet it like brave and inquiring men, we may assert our dominion, and establish for the future in India a government which may prove at once lasting and honourable to this country. I hope that the clergy of our church, on the occasion that is impending, will seize the opportunity afforded them, while they support the spirit of the people by the consciousness of the Divine assistance, to impress at the same time on the national mind that this is a Christian country, and that the character of a Christian warrior is not only to be brave, but to be merciful."

The proclamation alluded to by the honourable gentleman, appeared in a supplement to the *London Gazette* of Friday, September 25th, and ran as follows:—

"VICTORIA R.—We, taking into our most serious consideration the grievous mutiny and disturbances which have broken out in India, and putting our trust in Almighty God that He will graciously bless our efforts for the restoration of lawful authority in that country, have resolved, and do, by and with the advice of our privy council, hereby command that a public day of solemn fast, humiliation, and prayer, be observed throughout those parts of our united kingdom called England and Ireland, on Wednesday, the 7th day of October next, that so both we and our people may humble ourselves before Almighty God in order to obtain pardon of our sins, and in the most devout and solemn manner send up our prayers and supplications to the Divine Majesty for imploring His blessing and assistance on our arms for the restoration of tranquillity; and we do strictly charge and command that the said day be reverently and devoutly observed by all our loving subjects in England and Ireland, as they tender the favour of Almighty God: and, for the better and more orderly solemnising the same, we have given directions to the most reverend the archbishops and the right reverend the bishops of England and Ireland, to compose a form of prayer suitable to this occasion, to be used in all churches, chapels, and places of public worship, and to take care the same be timely dispersed throughout their respective dioceses.

"Given at our court at Balmoral, this 24th day of September, in the year of our Lord 1857, and in the 21st year of our reign."

A similar proclamation was also issued for Scotland; and in all parts of the United Kingdom the day was observed with a solemnity befitting the occasion.

On Sunday, the 27th of September, a pastoral letter from Cardinal Wiseman was read in all Roman Catholic places of worship in the metropolis, on the subject of the mutinies, directing that the following Sunday should be set apart by the faithful as a day of humiliation and prayer. After briefly referring to the recent war with Russia, and to the prayers of the church in that season of peril, his eminence proceeded thus:—"And now so soon again we have to invite you to call aloud to the God of mercies, that He would spare us the afflicting and harrowing scenes which have been, and are, probably, still acted on our own territories, of which those possibly dear to us, at least our own people, are the victims; and that He would once more give back order and quiet rule to the great continent of India. Who will attempt to describe the terrible calamity which has overwhelmed us? 'Behold a little cloud came out of the sea like a man's foot;' and while he who beheld it 'turned himself this way and that way, behold the heavens grew dark with clouds and wind, and there fell a great rain;' not, alas! of refreshing waters, but of gore in battle, and blood in massacre. For truly, had it been merely war with its usual array of evils that we had to deplore—had there been suddenly commenced the conflict of brave men in honourable warfare, it would have been enough to sadden us, and to direct our thoughts to supplications for peace. But here it has been the sudden rising of an immense army, subject, as much as our troops at home, to the crown of this realm—armed, trained, clothed, and fed by the power which there represents it; their rising by conspiracy, which has silently and

darkly included tens of thousands, to break out openly like a plague in separated spots, under one law of cruel perfidy and treacherous brutality. Almost without exception, as you all have learnt, regiment after regiment has murdered the officers who had led them to battle, and who trusted in their fidelity, till the volley was fired or the thrust was made which laid at the feet of cowards those who, living, had made them brave. For, transformed by that deed of treachery from soldiers into assassins, these hordes of savage mutineers seem to have cast aside the commonest feelings of humanity, and to have not merely resumed the barbarity of their ancient condition, but borrowed the ferocity of the tiger in his jungle, to torture, to mutilate, to agonise, and to destroy. Nay, if we had imagined to ourselves the unchecked excesses of fiendish fury by which legions of demons let loose against a tribe accursed of God would have marked their progress of devastation, the picture would have fallen short of what has been perpetrated, in a land that we called our own, and thought we had blessed with earthly happiness, on those whom many around us know, whom some near us may have tenderly loved."

In reference to the collections to be made, his eminence said—"As the priests who have generously offered to go as chaplains to the seat of war are allowed nothing for outfits, or for the provision of things necessary for religious worship, beyond a most inadequate salary, and it is known that several religious communities have lost their all, the proceeds of the collection will be in part applied to meet their wants; but should your particular charity enable us to go beyond these special wants, any surplus will be thrown into the general subscription for the relief of the distress in India." The different religious bodies in England, unconnected with the state church, also set apart the day indicated by the royal proclamation for solemn observance, and collections in aid of the Relief Fund; and a committee of the general assembly of the church of Scotland, sanctioned a gathering throughout their several presbyteries for the like purpose. In every case, the appeal made to the sympathies and liberality of the people, was nobly responded to by the whole nation.*

* Throughout the world, but two instances of a contrary spirit were recorded; and the one fact, as stated in the city article of the *Times* of October 3rd, 1857, is so exceptional and anti-national, as to deserve notice here. The passage is as follows:—"A large meeting, principally of Irishmen, was held at New York on the evening of the 17th (September), to express opposition to British enlistments in the United States for the war in India, and sympathy with the sepoy mutiny." The second instance of a carping cavilling spirit, in the midst of a generous enthusiasm which it seemed to be the latent object of some peculiar-minded individuals to suppress, was found in a column of the *Daily News* of October 6th, 1857; where it is stated, that "in a letter from Rome, dated September 25th, Archbishop Cullen states, that he has heard with much pleasure of the movement in Ireland for 'the relief of our fellow-countrymen who have been reduced to misery by the dreadful and wide-spread revolution now raging in India, and menacing the safety of the British empire.' He urges the necessity of inquiry on the part of Roman Catholics, before appeals are made regarding the subscription, in order to ascertain 'how the fund about to be raised is to be managed, and whether there is any danger that it may be applied by bigots to proselytising purposes.' He refers to the movement for the Patriotic Fund in 1854, to which, he says, Roman Catholics subscribed generously, according to their means; but, subsequently, applications from Roman Catholic clergymen, in favour of the widows and orphans of soldiers killed in the Crimea, were not attended to; and 'when relief was granted in Dublin, a parson was always employed to administer it.' He states that very large grants, including one of £160,000, were made from the Patriotic Fund to protestant institutions in England; and, he adds, 'not a shilling voted, it would appear, to give a catholic education to catholic orphans. Is this justice? Would it not have been a source of bitter affliction to the Irish catholic soldier, dying on the shores of the Black Sea, had he known that his children would be exposed to be robbed of that faith which he valued more than life?' Dr. Cullen thus concludes:—'I am most anxious that everything possible should be done to relieve the sufferers in India; let us, however, have some security that the funds collected will not be applied to the foundation of protestant asylums for the perversion of poor catholic orphans. The management of the Patriotic Fund shows how necessary it is for us to be cautious. It appears to me that the proper time for coming to a fair understanding about these matters, is before any fund is collected.'" This most questionable and ungracious interference, provoked a spirited remonstrance from Lord St. Leonards, who had been chairman of the Patriotic Fund alluded to; and who, in the *Times* of October 7th, addressed the editor thus:—"I have just read with much surprise and regret the contents of a letter in your journal of this morning (October 5th), written by Archbishop Cullen, dated from Rome, and addressed to one of his vicars-general, with the object, as it seems, of inducing Roman Catholics to withhold their aid from the Relief Fund for the sufferers in India. If he really believes that there is danger that the fund may be applied 'by bigots to proselytising purposes,' his better course would be to raise, by the subscriptions of Roman Catholics, a separate fund for the relief of the sufferers of their own persuasion, in that respect following apparently the example of a higher authority in the Roman Catholic church. But could anything be more unwise? Is this a moment to add a drop to the cup of bitterness

A remarkable proof of the hallucination that prevailed in the Court of Directors up to this period, is presented in an address by Mr. J. P. Willoughby, a member of the court, and representative in parliament for the borough of Leominster—delivered at a meeting of his constituents, on the 16th of October; when the honourable gentleman, speaking authoritatively in his twofold capacity, said—"I cannot agree with those who view this revolt as a national one. I see no indication of its being a general movement on the part of the people, rising against misgovernment, oppression, and wrong. The masses of the population are with us; the industrial, the agricultural, the commercial classes are all on our side; and, even in the neighbourhood of warlike operations, the resources of the country are at our command. Look, too, at the native chiefs and princes, who, with an insignificant exception, are all on our side, and have given us the readiest help. Both princes and people have shown, by their conduct, that they respect our character and value our rule. The revolt, then, is a purely military one, confined to a portion of our army only, though certainly a large portion. The first act of the mutineers was to release from gaol some 11,000 or 12,000 criminals; and those were joined by that miscreant Nana Sahib, and the scum of the population (such as may be found in every large town in every large country); and these are the only elements arrayed against us. The Bengal army being ripe for revolt, I consider that greased cartridges were the immediate cause of the rising—made use of by designing men, because it united the Mohammedan and the Hindoo in a common cause. But let me not be misunderstood. Although I think it very probable that this was made the pretext for rebellion, I firmly believe that many who were otherwise loyal soldiers, were seduced from their allegiance by this means, and were really made to believe that the use of these cartridges was to be forced upon them to destroy their religion. In fact, there seems to have been a delusion almost amounting to insanity, which no effort on the part of the authorities could possibly have prevented. Many are the causes to which the rebellion has been attributed—the conduct of European officers; the centralisation of authority; depriving commanding officers of the power of rewarding or punishing; the unwise abolition of corporeal punishment in the native army, while it remained as a custom in the European army, on the plea that it would interfere to prevent high-caste men from entering into the army. Some, again, say that it was a movement against the missionaries; but I am happy to say that, neither in private nor official sources, is there the slightest trace that such was the case. Another party, taking a political view of the case, say that these terrible events originated in the yearning of the Mussulmans to recover their lost dominion; but whether that yearning excited the revolt, or whether the revolt excited the yearning, does not appear.

between the two churches? The heart of every man beats warmly in favour of our suffering and brave soldiers and fellow-subjects in India, without reference to creed. I cannot believe that any subscriber has considered whether his donation will relieve a protestant or a Roman Catholic. The sultan of Turkey has set us an example in his munificent subscription, which may make us Christians ashamed of insisting upon differences between our churches as a ground for not subscribing to the general fund. Roman Catholic equally with protestant blood has been freely shed with a noble daring in defence of our sovereignty in the East. Christians of all denominations have suffered torture and death in their most savage forms; and the object of the subscribers is to alleviate the sufferings of those who survive. It is treason to humanity to suppose that the fund will not be honestly dedicated to the sacred purposes for which it is designed." As to the distribution of the Patriotic Fund, his lordship says—"Archbishop Cullen then states, that when relief was granted in Dublin, a parson was always employed to administer it; and he had heard that he generally selected a protestant church or vestry as the place of doling it out. I never heard, during the many months of my attendance on the duties of my office as chairman of the committee, any complaint of the manner of the distribution; and the payments were made by the paymasters of pensions wherever their services could be obtained, and always so as to meet the convenience of the claimants as far as might be. Dr. Cullen then refers to the manner in which the funds were ultimately allotted; and he says that they seem to be all grants to protestant institutions, and for protestant purposes. This only proves that Dr. Cullen is writing from Rome upon a subject dear to England and Ireland, in regard to which he is ill-informed. At every step, care has been taken to extend the same relief to the widows and children of Roman Catholics as to those of protestants. But while religious belief forms no element in the claim to relief, due regard has been paid to the religious feelings and education of the Roman Catholics. If the charge of unfair conduct in regard to relief from the Patriotic Fund should be persisted in, it may be found necessary to enter more particularly into facts, in order to vindicate the conduct of the committee, which, up to this moment, has never been impeached.—I have the honour to be, Sir, your obedient servant,

St. LEONARDS.

"Boyle Farm, October 5th."

At all events, it is perfectly clear that such a feeling does exist; but still this could only be a partial cause, or it would be impossible to account for the fact that the Mussulman princes and population exhibited very little sympathy for the mutineers. By others the revolt is attributed to what is called the annexation policy. I do not think that is the case, because those affected most by that policy have not joined the movement. There is one other cause assigned, to which I would allude—that the East India Company have neglected their duty of evangelising the natives. This is a large and wide question; but I think that, while it is our duty to abstain from direct interference with the conversion of natives to Christianity—that while, on the one hand, we are bound by treaties and acts of parliament to tolerate their forms of worship, so long as they are not opposed to public morals; on the other hand, I think it is our duty openly to avow our Christian faith, and, by precept and example, to show that we are a Christian nation, acting upon Christian principles. What we have now to look for is the punishment of those who have so grossly betrayed their trust; the liberal reward of those who have assisted us, particularly those who have befriended our countrymen and countrywomen in their distresses. We shall have to reorganise our military force, which no doubt must in the main be dependent upon European arms, assisted by native troops; for it will be impossible to perform all the duties by Europeans. By a judicious mixture of the two, such a force may be maintained as will prevent, for the future, the danger from which I hope we have now almost escaped. In the next session of parliament, the subject will, doubtless, be amply and fully discussed; and I hope the great conservative party will approach the subject—than which none can be of more interest, both to England and India—in a calm and dispassionate spirit, determined to do only what is best for India, and to avenge without destroying. That is the principle we have acted upon, and will act upon."

The opinion of this honourable gentleman, and his co-directors in Leadenhall-street, so far as they were individually represented in his address, was certainly not that of persons whose perceptions of fact were unobscured by official ignorance; but among other authorities who took an active part in the general effort to throw light upon the subject, the member for Worcester, the Right Hon. Sir John Pakington, in a speech addressed to his constituents on the 2nd of October, observed that, in his opinion, the people of England could not at that crisis commit a greater folly than to shut their eyes to the magnitude of it. He thought that the greatest fault that the government had committed—and here he spoke of the government of India rather than of her majesty's ministers in this country—had been in underrating the magnitude of the rebellion, and in speaking of it as only a military mutiny, and a passing outbreak which would speedily be subdued. They might depend on it this was not a mere passing military mutiny. He believed that, instead of its being a mere military mutiny, it was a deeply-organised, long-matured conspiracy, with the object of exterminating the English in India. In this aspect they ought to view it; and in viewing it in this aspect was our greatest safety. His advice to the country was: don't let us underrate the danger, but let us meet it in the spirit of Englishmen determined to subdue it. The view which he took of the state of affairs—gloomy and anxious as he admitted it to be—was a sanguine feeling of ultimate success. As to the actual importance of the movement, he founded his opinion of the fact on a private letter received a few days since from his excellency the governor of Ceylon (Sir Henry George Ward), who said we had great reason to be thankful that the matter was not worse than it is. The governor of Ceylon—from which island almost the first external aid reached the governor-general—wrote, that we in England had hardly yet a full conception of the danger which we had escaped; for that India had been saved by the premature outbreak at Meerut. In another fortnight, had not that outbreak taken place, there would have been a simultaneous massacre of all the Europeans in India. And his correspondent used this remarkable expression—that "he verily believed there would not have been a European left to tell the tale." We had been saved that danger by the premature outbreak at Meerut. India had not been governed as it ought to have been. It was only yesterday that he had submitted to the astonished eyes of a large party in a country house, official proof that, in collecting the revenues of India, there had been practised in the name of England—he would not say by the

authority, but he feared not without the knowledge of Englishmen—there had been practised tortures little less horrible than those which we now deplored. This must be borne in mind in the day of reckoning; and in dealing with this question, let them bear in mind these two great cardinal objects—first, that, as a great nation, we must re-establish the authority of the sovereign in India; and, secondly, that when that authority is re-established India must be better governed.

Of the vast importance of the rebellious movement then in action, Lord Ellenborough, who, from his antecedents in connection with Hindostan, was specially entitled to attention when referring to the people over whom he had held rule as governor-general, distinctly stated his view of the struggle as being one for the dismemberment of the empire, by an address to the yeomanry and farmers in the vicinity of his estates; in which he urged reasons for their assistance in bringing the country through the difficulties that surrounded it. In this document the noble earl said—"You may not have looked into all the details of what has taken place in India; but you must know this—that we have there a great war forced upon us by rebels who would deprive all our countrymen of their lives, and England of an empire; that where we placed our confidence we have been met with treachery; where we acted with kindness we have encountered murder—murder, not directed only against men by whom resistance might be made, and from whom wrongs might have been feared, but extending equally to unoffending, helpless women—to the children at their knees, and to the infants at their breasts—sparing none, and often inflicting death with torture upon the body where it had already more cruelly tortured the mind. We have seen there, in almost ever instance of mutiny, one general deliberate design, not only to deprive us of the dominion we have so long held with honour, but to place us, as a people, under circumstances of outrage and of indignity, which, if we submit to them, must render us in the eyes of all living men, and of all future generations, a despised and degraded race. Will you submit to this? You will say you never will—you will have redress and vengeance. We will say nothing about vengeance; that belongs only to a higher power; but to punish crime so signally as to deter all hereafter from its commission, and to vindicate our sovereign authority—this is no doubt our right, and it is our duty."

After pointing out the necessity for strengthening the hands of government by voluntary enlistment for the militia, which would enable the authorities to avail themselves of disciplined regiments from the home stations, for service in India, Lord Ellenborough continued—"I ask you only to do what I know you can do, and what I feel you ought to do, for the assistance of the country in this critical juncture of our affairs. It is impossible to over-estimate its importance. There is nothing man holds dear for which we have not now to fight. If we should not bear ourselves manfully in the contest thus forced upon us—if we should not succeed in it, we must be content, not only to lose the noblest empire in the world, but to make the name of Englishmen a by-word of shame among nations. The wives and daughters of our countrymen have been publicly violated; their children have been put to death with circumstances of cruelty surpassing all we read of in history as the punishments inflicted by God upon the offending Jews. It has not been deemed sufficient to destroy us. We were first to be dishonoured, and this in a country through which we have proudly—perhaps too proudly—stalked as conquerors for a hundred years. Do you suppose that, if we could submit to this in India, we should not be threatened with it in England? Do you imagine that the great military powers of Europe, always prepared for war, offended by our pride, resentful of our former victories, and coveting our present wealth, would long permit us to enjoy in peace the luxuries we cling to, and the dreams of irresistible strength in which we fatuously indulge? Be assured that if, under the strongest necessity ever imposed upon a people, we do not rise as one man to vindicate our national honour, and to re-establish our Indian empire, the horrors we read of with shuddering as perpetrated at Meerut and at Delhi, will not for ever be averted from our island home."

Amidst the conflict of opinions arising from the adverse views taken by public men of the cause and progress of the Indian revolt, and of the means to be adopted for re-establishing British authority in the revolted districts, the state of the home institutions connected with the government of India, became a theme of frequent

discussion about the end of November, and rumours were current of a change in the direction of the Board of Control, by the removal of Mr. Vernon Smith, who was to be raised to the peerage, and to be succeeded in his office as president of the Board, by Sir Charles Wood, or Sir James Graham, both of whom were named for the important office which, it scarcely need be observed, neither of them was destined to occupy. The question of double government had been raised; and the defects of the system under which a vast section of the British dominions had gradually attained colossal proportions, and was now shaken to its foundations, became so impressively forced upon public attention, that an entire revision of the whole polity by which India had been held, could no longer be resisted. Public meetings, convened under influential and able auspices, were held in the metropolis and in the provinces, to take into consideration the system of divided government, which it was now very generally believed was incompatible with the welfare of that portion of the empire, and ought therefore to be abolished. At one of these meetings, presided over by Viscount Bury, M.P., Mr. Roebuck, M.P. for Sheffield, after declaiming at great length, and with much force of language, against the existing rule of government, moved a resolution to the following effect:—"That the system of the double government of India, as tested by the results of its administration, has proved alike incompatible with the welfare and happiness of our fellow-subjects in that country, and with the safety and commercial prosperity of the British empire; and, therefore, that with a view to secure our national interests, and also to raise the moral and social condition of the people of India, to develop their resources, and to give them protection for person and property, it is expedient that there be established for India a responsible form of government in the name of the crown, under which all abuses may be checked by the control of the people of England, exercised through their representatives in the House of Commons."

Resolutions, similar in effect, were adopted in numerous places throughout the United Kingdom; and it now became apparent that what is styled "public opinion" was earnestly directed to Indian affairs, and had taken them in hand. Every one—from John O'Groat's House to the Land's End—had something to say about the Indian mutiny; and everybody with common sense, common feeling, and common intelligence, was listened to, even though his information was but scant, and his personal interest in the subject imperceptible: it was enough that his theme was India, and his avowed object to tear the veil from the face of that mysterious and irresponsible duality by which it was governed. So long as that extraordinary embodiment of power, which actually governed India, contrived to keep things quiet out there, the result was accepted as a defence of what was otherwise indefensible: but that ground had now vanished—the spell was broken; and every British eye was directed to that one region; while every heart was strung, and every hand was extended to the rescue of the victims of a catastrophe for which the double government was wholly held responsible. "Within these two years," observed the *Times* of October 10th, "we have had a new government at home; not only a new government, but a new constitution for India—a new governor-general, new commanders-in-chief; indeed, everything new, except mutinous sepoy regiments and incapable British commandants—the only fixtures in the matter. Further, there certainly is a remarkable difficulty in getting to the bottom of Indian controversies. You meet a dozen Indians in succession, and they are all equally positive, but utterly at variance. One is a civilian, the other a soldier; one in the Bengal army, another in the Bombay; one is a Queen's officer, another a Company's officer in the line; another has had to do chiefly with irregulars of one sort or another: lower down you have an indigo planter with his views of Indian affairs; then comes a clergyman or a missionary; then a high-caste native gentleman from Calcutta; then a Parsee merchant. Every one of these smiles, and is positive; looks grave, but smothers in his bosom the fire of some rankling grievance, or some endless controversy. No; unless we intend to pursue our investigations till we come to the earth on the elephant, and the elephant on the tortoise, and the tortoise on a fish, we had better look forward, not backward, in this momentous question.

"But the question henceforth is an English one. With the honour of our country so deeply compromised as it now is—with 85,000 of our countrymen there fighting our battle—with insults of every kind heaped

upon us—our women outraged, our churches burnt, and thousands of native Christians massacred on our account—we all feel that the cause is our own. We cannot leave it in the hands of an invisible authority. The religious questions alone are of that interest that, once set on foot, they will agitate the whole British people. We may or may not be hypocrites and fanatics; but a nation which spends many hundred thousands a-year in the attempt to spread the gospel all over the earth, and that annually sends out hundreds of devoted young men to the work, will, in fact, no longer endure that Christianity should be actually discouraged, and all but prohibited under some circumstances, throughout a vast country which we call our own, and which is under our laws. The difficulties of satisfying our own sense of truth and duty without a too violent interference with the native superstitions and delusions, are not to be overlooked; but the British people are too much impressed with the truth and importance of their faith, and the responsibility devolving on its holders, not to allow it at least fair play. There is a universal conviction in the British people, that the real enemies of their faith in India are not only the votaries of impudent imposture or ridiculous mythology. We have to contend against various policies which use these things for weapons—against an immense amount of mere unbelief, and perhaps the still more serious obstacle of low Christian morals; but these are matters of which the British people is now fully cognizant, and it will not belie its convictions upon them. We are aware that, in the management of such a country as India, there must be much policy of a sort which recoils from popular agitation and open discussion. Nor, indeed, are we advocating a more public and responsible management of Indian affairs, as if it were a matter that rested on advocacy, and was before a tribunal. If any dependence is to be placed on the deep interest everywhere excited, on the strong opinions everywhere expressed, and the ready echo given to those opinions, the matter is past advocacy and tribunals. It is already resolved on; and when parliament reassembles it will treat the subject with as little reserve, and with as direct an appeal to the responsibility of the minister, as if it were a purely domestic question. Nothing can now undo the hold which India has, at last, taken on the minds of the people, or disabuse that people of the belief that the question is their own. How far that interference will be pushed will depend on the success of our arms and the prosperity of India under the existing forms of administration; but no substantial obstacle will be allowed to interpose between India and England, that does and suffers so much for her. No minister will be permitted to throw on the shadow of a company or a board the responsibility of measures or neglects in which we are all as deeply concerned as in the welfare of our own metropolis. No doubt, such a state of public feeling, if not otherwise satisfied, would lead eventually to the immediate assumption of India by the British crown, and its administration by a secretary of state, like any other crown dependency. We are not now advocating any constitutional change, and are not called on to answer any objection. We are only pointing out the fact that British opinion has now taken possession of Indian affairs, and will henceforth be content with nothing short of a direct voice upon them."

The generous spirit that had been evoked by the sufferings of our fellow-countrymen in India, was not confined to mere monetary contributions. A desire to avenge the nameless indignities to which English men and women, and even children, had been and still were subjected, animated all classes with a desire to aid in inflicting punishment upon their cowardly and vindictive persecutors. The militias of the country, as they were severally called out for embodiment, almost without exception offered themselves for service in India. The royal Lancashire militia artillery, and the regiment of Renfrewshire militia, to a man, had the honour of showing the example of patriotism to their brother volunteers; and the lack of men with strong arms and stout hearts, to inflict retributive justice upon the murderers in India, was among the least of the difficulties of government.

And it was not surprising such should be the case; for the spirit of the nation had been roused, and one universal cry for vengeance upon the murderers of the innocent and the defenceless echoed over the country. At length, the very exuberance of the feeling produced a partial reaction; and voices were heard pleading for moderation, and excusing, where they could not be denied, the perpetration of acts by which the name of sepoy had become synonymous with that of fiend incarnate. Persons were found

who, personally unaffected by the wrongs of others, took upon themselves, in the name of humanity and justice, to deny the facts upon which this popular indignation was based, and, where denial was impossible, endeavoured to argue down the otherwise unassailable proofs. These advocates for over-strained humanity denounced the universal cry for justice, and denied that wrongs had been inflicted which could warrant the intervention of other than ordinary means for repressing them. The terrible details of outrage and suffering that each succeeding mail had brought to this country, were declared to be for the greater part utter fabrications, or wild and malicious exaggerations. With such people it was impossible to hold an argument: they had taken their stand upon some imaginary platform whence they could descry the track of the revolt as it ravaged society in India; and from that point of view only would they recognise the right to deal with wretches whose acts had divested them of every claim to mercy at the hand of man. It is possible that, under the exciting phases of the sepoy revolt, public indignation might have led to dangerous excess, had the perpetrators of the wrong been near at hand; but the effort to throw a cloak of palliation over the crimes of the native army of Bengal, was an error which, if encouraged, would ultimately have arrested justice in its career, and inflicted an indelible stain upon the European character. Englishmen are constitutionally humane to the weak and wretched, and, indeed, to all of whom there is still hope of amendment, and whose actions can possibly be deemed to have exceeded their intentions; but humanity is not justice when it is strained on behalf of those who exhibit in their actions a deep-seated depravity, or when it is applied to the treacherous, and to those who have practised refinements of cruelty, or outraged the defenceless and the young. Popular feeling has been sometimes misdirected, and unjustly severe; but benevolence and forgiveness of injury have also flowed in mistaken channels: and it was a grand mistake to endeavour to persuade the world that it could be the duty of Englishmen to be humane where humanity would be wasted, and where the offenders, by their own ruthless acts, were placed beyond the pale of humanity; such as were the perpetrators of the atrocities that distinguished the early days of the war of the revolt.

This view of strict uncompromising justice, might be very properly applied as well to the mutineers collectively, as to every individual of them, unless he could prove himself an exception; for, as a general rule, wherever the mutineers had had the power they had murdered women and children. It certainly did occur that, in some few cases, parties of the insurgents, or individual sepoys, or native servants, had warned the Europeans of danger; and at the risk, and even cost of their own lives, had led men, women, and children to a place of safety, knowing the certain fate of such persons if they should fall into the hands of the general body of their confederates; but it must be remembered, that if, in some cases, a regiment or company sent off their officers and families unharmed, the act was an isolated one, and contrary to orders; for the instructions from the head-quarters of the conspiracy, as proved by letters intercepted in all parts of India, were to destroy, with the European officer (or sahib), his wife and children; and it is also to be observed, that at the time of each successive act of mutiny, it was known how the European women and children had been treated elsewhere. The massacres of Delhi, Jhansie, and Cawnpore, with all their atrocities, were matters of notoriety before the bulk of the Bengal army had joined the cause committed to such horrible excesses; and it was this deliberate consent and ready complicity in the most abominable deeds, that had removed those who joined the cause out of the reach of pardon: it was justification enough that they had made common cause with the perpetrators. From such men nothing was to be expected but a repetition of similar crimes at the first safe opportunity; and it was not doubted that the men who had once played false to their rulers, and exercised their foul malignity upon defenceless victims, would ever after be hankering after such opportunity to repeat their excesses. Upon the whole, as time wore on, Englishmen, generally, became disposed to regard the outbreak as a great providential opportunity of showing to the Hindoos that they also had a caste—but that it was a caste of nature and of humanity. It is true that, for a time, they came to regard all who were ever so remotely compromised in the crimes of May and June, 1857, as fallen below the level of humanity—degraded to a low class of brutes, and fit only to be knocked on the head or crushed under the feet, and all of them

objects of detestation and contempt. It was perhaps only proper and useful, with a view to the future schooling of the Indian mind, to mark in every way the disgust engendered by their acts, their authors and abettors; and to impress upon the Hindoo and Mussulman fanatics, that if they considered it their bounden duty to extirpate Christians, their wives and children—their conquerors also considered it their rational duty, and positive necessity, to extirpate in turn every wretch who held such doctrine.

The question of Christianity in India, became, about the end of the year, a fruitful theme of discussion on platforms, and by the press. By some, the duty of converting the heathen at all cost, and at any risks, was held as a point of faith that it would be an abnegation of Christianity to neglect. By others, any such interference with the religious prejudices of a people was denounced as impolitic, tyrannical, and dangerous. It would be impossible, within the limits of the present work, to give even a tithe of the arguments adduced in favour of either view of the subject; but one of, if not *the* most rational, contribution to the general fund of discussion, was embodied in a letter published in the *Times* of October 21st, under the initials "S. G. O.;" in which the writer observes—"I do not think this country will ever endure that we should either assault the faith of the natives of India, as if it were a thing to be taken by storm, or by any means savouring of bribery, seek to buy over to our own views those who are, in belief, opposed to us. But I trust never again to see the day when Christian rule is to work, so far as it is Christian, behind a veil, lest it should shock the prejudices of its subjects; and may the sun never again rise on the day which shall see Christian rulers sanctioning in any way whatever the public performance of 'rites' not only revolting to our own faith, but to all that is held to be decent by any one civilised nation! I may be told, as I have been, that many of our greatest men have, and some still do, without concealment, frequent public assemblies of the foulest character, met for the worst of purposes; if so, the nation does not find them 'sentries' at the doors. Fashion has sanctioned many an outrage on our faith, but has not yet dared to ask for the trumpets of our troops to do honour to our contempt of our Maker.

"Expediency in India has, I fear, run riot; and we now, in the judgments of *our* Deity, read His will as to temporising with the worship of other deities. I have read with attention the *pros* and *cons* of this Indio-religious question. I can see the difficulty that besets it; but I only see it when I at the same time see that the question is one which, as such, cannot for one moment be entertained. All the fog through which we labour so hard to penetrate, seems to me to be in itself a creation of our own. Once admit that you are to rule a nation with any sacrifice of what is due to your own faith, and you are lost in the mist of how much sacrifice! If you are to strike a bargain between God and Moloch, who is to be the umpire to decide the justice of the terms? When truth begins concession to error, even in small details, does it not cease to be truth? I am, then, of those who hold that, for no purpose whatever, is English rule in India to concede aught of its Christian character which it would not concede in England. God forbid that we should proselytise by the sword! Let those who rule, give to the teacher of the true faith liberty to teach in India, subject only to such laws as shall not hinder his object, but only restrain him from any clearly improper attempts at its attainment. Let the life of every native be as the life of one of our own people—that for which he may claim our protection. We must not seek to put down falsehood by force; but we are bound to forbid all who hold the truth to lend falsehood any aid. There will come a time when idolatry must yield to the gospel; it is for the ruler to wait that time, not to confound mere power with truth, but ever to let power be on its side—never on the side of error.

"I wonder not that the sepoy has no reverence for our faith; for though he may know something of it as a thing of '*a book*,' as a thing of great 'profession'—though he may have seen *some* consistent to it, what a picture has he seen in the many; and among that multitude, how many have been his immediate rulers? I belive there is no part of her majesty's dominions which has, from time to time, given to God truer, better servants than India; but who does not know that there is yet a very dark side to the picture—that those to whom the natives should have looked, as from their position planted to be lights on a hill, to shine to God's glory, have yet, in their unconcealed profligacy, been a disgrace to that very faith

the Hindoo was to be led to think so much purer than his own.

"These, sir, are days of what is called 'muscular Christianity;' there is a great moral bustling going on—school fuss, pulpit fuss, platform and post-prandial fuss, all aiming at man's good. There is a wonderful development of the 'biceps;' but somehow the nervous strong stroke has yet to be given. Sin is as rampant, as well, and as foully dressed as ever. This said 'muscular Christianity,' to my poor understanding, is simply paralysed for want of Christ, for want of His teaching, guidance, and spirit; and this appears to be the last thing sought, as it is the very first thing on which success must depend."

Among the multitude of suggestions of all kinds that were urged upon the home government, as well as upon those of the three presidencies at this period, was one immediately connected with the important subject of the reconstruction of the native army, which commanded serious attention. By the promoters of the idea, it was estimated that a body of at least 25,000 troops might at once be raised from the native Christians, who had hitherto been excluded from military service by the truckling of the authorities to the bigotry and prejudices of the Mussulman and Hindoo sepoys; and it was also presumed that the number might fairly be doubled, if the accounts of the missionaries, as to the success of their labours, were to be relied on. If the published records of the preceding thirty years, in connection with those labours, were correct, there were almost as many boys at Christian schools at the beginning of that period, as would have made up the number in the last generation; so that it was not considered extravagant to assign the presumed number of 50,000 as a procurable number of adults fit for military service, if the ordinary rules with regard to stature were dispensed with. It was admitted that the government had always manifested an absolute repugnance to recruit amongst the Christian population; and that no native Christian could be received into any Bengal regiment—it being even necessary that any occasional converts should leave the service. It was also asserted, that the only safe method of reconstructing the Bengal army, would be by raising regiments of Christians exclusively—a plan which would raise the native Christians in their own esteem; would ensure a constant supply of recruits; and, when the converts should find themselves treated with as much favour by the British, as they now experience of contempt and persecution from Brahmins and Mohammedans, they would not only be devoted to the service, but would multiply to an extent highly advantageous to the government.

It was observed, in reply to this proposition, that there could be no doubt of obtaining any number of adherents by offering such a premium on religious conversion; and that if there were many converts already, there would be multitudes more on the opening of a new profession to converts, and the springing up of a new fountain of honour and reward; but, it was asked, in the first place, "what sort of Christians would such soldiers be?" The catholic missionaries believed their converts in India to be between three and four hundred thousand, five and thirty years ago; and the converts sincerely believed themselves to form a part of the Christian church: yet, when the troubles of Europe separated them from their teachers, they presently lapsed into a condition which left them only the name of Christians. Evil effects no less conspicuous attended the strifes of protestant sects, under which the converts were left uncertain whether they were really Christians or not. The painful consequences of such strifes hastened the good work of establishing mission schools; and large numbers of the native Christians now speculated on for soldiers, had had the advantage of a training from childhood in those schools, which contained nearly 100,000 pupils in 1855. The great body of the native Christian population was declared to be in the south of the Peninsula; and one conspicuous feature of the missionary policy was shown in fixing their settlements as far as possible from the military stations. They seemed to aim at keeping the military profession as much as possible out of sight and out of mind; and this was not wonderful, if they had any regard for the peace, comfort, and steadfastness of their disciples. To organise Christian regiments, therefore, would be to invert the missionary scheme altogether; to precipitate a religious war; to institute a worse than a state, even a military, religion; to offer sanctions of a worldly and corrupting nature; and to sweep together a host of adventurers, hypocrites, and 'ne'er-do-weels' of all sorts under the desecrated name of the Christian religion. Such men might

be called Christians; but they would more resemble the military apostles of the Koran. Suppose the thing done, however, and a compact army of Christian sepoys organised, drilled, and practised; what could it do that would not be a reversal of the universal toleration of the government of India for a century past? Whatever might be said after the existing result of the policy of universal toleration professed by the rulers of India, it was, and it always had been, a fine spectacle, and one which touched the native heart, to see men of various faiths forming one organisation, and living as brethren in regard to their secular calling, however wide apart they might be in the religious. In the early days of the sepoys, the attachment of the men to their Christian commanders, and the capacity of followers of all the Asiatic faiths to live and act together professionally, never were doubted by anybody. Moreover, this composite character of our armies had been of infinite use in controlling the religious feuds of the non-military public. During the commotion at Benares, in the autumn of 1813, the sepoys intervened for the restoration of order, just as the Turkish authorities interpose between the Greek and Latin Christians at Jerusalem in the holy week. The Mussulman weavers of Benares destroying Hindoo idols on the one hand, and the Hindoo pilgrims and merchants defiling Mohammedan cemeteries and burning Mussulman dwellings on the other, were coerced, quietly and effectually, by sepoys of both faiths, in their character of an impartial force, whose duty it was to keep down rebellion against public order. None but a mixed force could have managed Benares at that time, or as long as it was the chief city of pilgrimage; and if, in a few years, it was found as manageable as any other city, it was due to the firmness with which the Christian English enforced a regard to the liberties of all by the hands of men of many faiths. It might be said, that there would be no chance of doing such things again, if we had a native Christian force; and the time had passed for having Mohammedan and Hindoo soldiers at all: but it was yet more important to consider that, by any such exclusive organisation, we should be generating more commotions, like those old Benares riots. It was assumed that, when once the banner of the faith was made the banner of the regiment, India would become the theatre of religious wars, which would show how little the world had advanced since the days of the prophet and his first warrior apostles. Looking beyond India, the present time appeared ill adapted for such rashness. There was no haunt of Mohammedans, from metropolitan cities to the wilds of African deserts and islets in the Eastern Archipelago, where there was not existing a portentous stir among the faithful, in the expectation of an approaching complete triumph of the prophet and his religion. In Turkey, the Christians were in anxiety and peril; in Persia, Mussulman arrogance was unbearable. Wherever the Indian news spread, whether discussed in mosques, or propagated by caravans of trade or pilgrimage, the result was adverse to Christianity. To create and rely upon an exclusively Christian soldiery, simply because it would call itself Christian, would be to plunge into an age of religious warfare, before which the crusades would appear but skirmishing bouts, preparatory to a campaign of vital import.

Such were among the arguments against the organisation of an army of Christian converts. There was much to be said on either side to make the ultimate decision a serious matter; and it was felt that, in England, too much consideration could not be given to a proposition which might so vitally affect the constitution of an important arm of its military power in Hindostan.

At length occasion offered for enlightening the British public upon the question, how far the policy of the governor-general of India was accordant with the views of the home government. On the 4th of November, at a banquet given at the Mansion-house by the lord mayor, after the presentation of a sword of honour, and the freedom of the city of London, to H.R.H. the Duke of Cambridge, Earl Granville, then president of the council (after eulogising the conduct of Lord Elgin in reference to the Indian difficulty), expressed the opinion of himself and colleagues on the policy of Lord Canning, in the following language:—"There is another noble lord in the East, upon whom has rested a heavier responsibility than has ever been sustained by any subject of her present majesty. Lord Canning did not, as has sometimes been said, solicit office; but when, after careful deliberation on the part of the government, the office of governor-general of India had

been offered to him; and when, after very mature reflection on his part, he had accepted that office, he proceeded to India, and devoted his admirable habits of business to the promotion of every possible material and social improvement in the great peninsula committed to his charge. A dreadful event happened—one which no one could have anticipated. As soon as that event was known in England, the attention of Englishmen was, I may say, entirely absorbed by the proceedings in India; and from that moment to the present every step taken by the governor-general was most anxiously criticised. Sometimes, I must say, his conduct was very fairly weighed; but at other times I think he has been assailed with such wholesale censure and condemnation as it was almost impossible for any one to have deserved. Now, I beg that I may not be misunderstood. I think that no greater misfortune could happen to this nation than that the public acts of public men should not be exposed to the most anxious and severe criticism; and I believe that those who criticise such acts with ability and fairness render the greatest possible service to the community. At the same time there is one short compound word which will always have its effect with the British public—I mean fair-play; for, although they like to have public affairs discussed before them in every shape, they postpone their final judgment until they are in possession of all the facts and have heard both sides. A great many accusations have been brought against the government of India. Some of them are of a very trivial character; others depend so entirely upon details and circumstances, of which we know absolutely nothing, that I will not allude to them. But there is one charge which has been urged against Lord Canning, and which appears to me one of the gravest charges that could be made against a man in his position—namely, that, giving way to a certain sentimental and maudlin humanity, he has forgotten what was due to justice, and has interfered with those military authorities in whose hands the punishment of the mutineers must mainly rest. Now, upon this point the common sense of the country has fully spoken out. Both public writers and public speakers have done so; and no one, I may say, has laid down more forcibly than the Duke of Cambridge, the doctrine that it would be wrong, in every point of view, if condign punishment were not inflicted upon men who have disgraced the human form which they bear. I cannot help remarking, that upon this subject public opinion has been ratified by a gentleman who is not one of ourselves, and who cannot be supposed to be actuated by excited feelings—I mean the most respected minister of the United States; who, as a disinterested observer, has justly said, that men who have committed crimes which prove them to be the enemies of mankind at large, ought to be extirpated from the face of the earth. I can only say, that if, upon a calm review of the course of Lord Canning's administration, he should appear to have given way to the maudlin sentiments to which I have alluded, no feeling of personal friendship would be sufficient to prevent me from expressing, at the earliest opportunity, and in the most public manner, my opinion that he is unworthy of the trust which has been confided to him. I must say, however, I do not fear that my friendship will be put to any such test as that. I can see nothing in the acts of Lord Canning to justify the charges which have been brought against him. I shall refer to one case. The late and much-lamented Mr. Colvin, after showing great energy and admirable judgment in his administration, issued a proclamation offering full pardon to those rebels who should submit at once. Lord Canning immediately reprimanded Mr. Colvin for this proclamation, and directed by telegraph that it should be suppressed, at the same time issuing another of an entirely different tenor. In more than one letter privately addressed to me by Lord Canning, he has dwelt upon the 'soreness of heart'—those are his very words—excited by the feeling that retribution has been delayed upon 'devils in human form.' Much stress has been laid upon a proclamation, or rather order, which has been lately issued. Now, I shall give no opinion of my own as to that proclamation, as to whether it was judicious in its substance, or as to the time at which it was issued; but I shall venture to state a few undeniable facts respecting it. The tendency of that direction or proclamation was, that death should be inflicted upon all the guilty; although in some cases, where there were extenuating circumstances, the ultimate penalty should not be at once inflicted; but the strictest injunctions were given to spare none except the really innocent. That order was addressed exclusively to the

civil authorities. It did not give to them one iota of more power than they had before, but merely gave them certain directions as to the exercise of those powers which, by law, they already possessed. The only reference to the military authorities was, that in certain doubtful cases the civil officers should not act themselves, but should hand over their prisoners to the military authorities, to be dealt with by them. I know it may be said, that although this order was addressed to the civil authorities, it was calculated, indirectly, to produce a discouraging effect upon the military authorities. Upon this point I shall give no opinion; but I may refer to one case that has come to my knowledge. I believe there are no two men in India who more fully deserve the confidence of the public than General Wilson and Sir John Lawrence. It appears to me, that General Wilson, while showing the greatest boldness and energy in handling his troops and in maintaining their discipline, is also most careful not to expose them unnecessarily. I believe, also, there is no doubt that Sir J. Lawrence combines the qualities of a soldier and a statesman in a greater degree than, perhaps, any other man in India. But what has been the effect of the proclamation upon these two men? It appears that General Wilson wrote to Sir J. Lawrence a few days before this proclamation was issued, stating that there were certain irregular cavalry whose mode of mutiny had distinguished them from their fellows, and that it would be most expedient and politic that they should be treated with some leniency. General Wilson accordingly asked Sir J. Lawrence whether he himself, or whether Sir J. Lawrence, would be justified in exercising any discretion? Sir J. Lawrence answered in the negative, and said he could not give any authority; that he did not think General Wilson could exercise any discretion; but that, if General Wilson would make a representation at head-quarters, it would probably be attended to. Almost immediately after the dispatch of the letter containing this statement, Sir J. Lawrence received the proclamation. He then wrote to General Wilson, and said—'Although the proclamation does not specifically apply to this case, yet its spirit fully justifies you in following out the dictates of sound policy.' And Sir J. Lawrence then went on, in the most clear and eloquent terms, to show, not merely the humanity, but the sound practical policy of the proclamation. I do not give my own opinion on the subject, although I have formed one; but I do think that the opinions of two such men as these are worthy of consideration by the public of this country, before they come to the conclusion that Lord Canning is a pusillanimous statesman. There is another point which has been very much canvassed in this country—namely, the sending up of Mr. Grant to control the military authorities, and to liberate the mutineers. It is reported that Mr. Grant has liberated 150 mutineers. I have no means of knowing whether that story is true or false, or whether, if that act took place, there were any circumstances which would justify the governor-general in sanctioning or in disapproving it. But this I know as a positive fact, that the governor-general sent Mr. Grant, not to control the military authorities, or to liberate mutineers or murderers; but, as the lieutenant-governor of the North-Western Provinces was confined in the fort of Agra, and unable to discharge his civil duties, it was deemed desirable that a *locum tenens* should be provided; and, on that account, Mr. Grant was dispatched to the district. One of the qualifications which Lord Canning believed that Mr. Grant possessed was, that he was fully impressed with the importance of not interfering with the military authorities in the performance of his duties. There is one other point, which has hardly created as much feeling here as in Scotland—I mean the alleged differences between Sir Colin Campbell and Lord Canning. I was rejoiced to hear that his royal highness has received exactly the same information which has reached me, and that the natural and just indignation of the people of Scotland, at their favourite soldier being thwarted by a civilian, and what they call a red tapist, is unfounded. I happen to know that, during the few weeks of Sir Colin Campbell's residence in Calcutta, Lord Canning had abundant opportunities of discovering and appreciating his great qualities as a man and a soldier; and I know, also, that Sir Colin Campbell, during the same period, saw reason to admire the indefatigable industry, energy, and courage of Lord Canning as governor-general of India, and that a solid friendship has been established between these two men, who entertain feelings of mutual respect and regard. I cannot help mentioning a somewhat trivial circumstance,

but one which shows how cautious we should be in believing rumours that occasionally reach us from India. Sir Patrick Grant, when leaving Calcutta, knowing well the tendency to idle gossip which prevailed among some of his fellow-countrymen in that city, particularly when they were excited by any extraordinary alarm, determined that, although it would have been more convenient to him to travel by the public steamer, he would make the voyage in a man-of-war. He went by a man-of-war; but the cautious tactics of the old soldier were utterly fruitless; for soon afterwards, there appeared in a portion of the Calcutta press, a detailed account of his excursion in the public steamer, together with a minute report of his conversations with his fellow-passengers, ending with the remark attributed to him, that he never heard a sound so agreeable as the booming of the guns which announced his departure from the land of red tape. With regard to the charge of the want of energy, industry, and decision, brought against Lord Canning, I shall only allude to one or two facts. You are aware that Lord Canning put restrictions upon the press. This is another subject upon which I must avoid expressing any opinion; but I think I may say that that resolution of Lord Canning appeared to meet with general approbation, and was very fairly treated by the public press of this country, notwithstanding the *esprit de corps* which, to a certain degree, might be expected to influence that press on such a subject. Whether right or wrong, it was a step which required great moral courage; and, by its adoption, Lord Canning exposed himself to much personal unpopularity and obloquy. We are bound to consider, that some of the most intelligent men now in India—some of the men most accustomed to wield the pen, and who have the greatest opportunities of conveying their sentiments and opinions to the mother country—are smarting under the very natural feeling, that they have been unjustly treated, both as regards their character and their property. I think, therefore, that some of their statements should be received with due allowance. There is one more fact which I shall venture to bring before you. I think it is one which has not yet been stated, and which all will be glad to hear. It is generally known that the king of Delhi made overtures to the besieging army. Now, it happens that some of the bravest and most successful military authorities in that part of India, were of opinion, that so great were the difficulties of the siege, those overtures should be entertained. It is easy to say, after the event, what was the right thing to be done; but I submit that, at the moment, it was creditable to the decision and the moral courage of Lord Canning that he sent the most peremptory orders to reject the overtures made by the king of Delhi. I have done with this subject. I think success is not always a test of real merit; but in this instance Lord Canning has collected more troops than it was expected he would be able to assemble, or than it was thought possible, by the highest authority in parliament, he would be able to obtain; and, without physical assistance from the home government, he has 'broken the neck' of one of the most formidable mutinies which have ever occurred in our dominions."

This important and unequivocal testimony to the ability and general policy of Lord Canning's government, by the lord president of her majesty's council, was corroborated and still more forcibly expressed by Viscount Palmerston, the premier, on the 9th of the same month, at a banquet in Guildhall, upon the inauguration of the mayoralty of Alderman Sir Richard Carden. Upon this occasion, his lordship, after paying a deserved tribute to the valour of the troops, and the endurance of those who had suffered by the rebellion in India, said—"While we do justice to the great bulk of our countrymen in India, we must not forget that person who, by his exalted position, stands at the head of our countrymen there. I mean the governor-general. Lord Canning has shown throughout the greatest courage, the greatest ability, and the greatest resources; and, from the cordiality which exists between him, as head of the civil service, and Sir Colin Campbell, as head of the military service, we may be sure that everything which the combined experience of both can accomplish, will be effected for the advantage of the country. The task of Lord Canning will be indeed a difficult one. He will have to punish the guilty; he will have to spare the innocent; and he will have to reward the deserving. To punish the guilty adequately exceeds the power of any civilised man; for the atrocities which have been committed are such as to be imagined and perpetrated only by demons sallying forth from the

lowest depths of hell. But punishment must be inflicted, not only in a spirit of vengeance, but in a spirit of security, in order that the example of punished crime may deter from a repetition of the offence, and in order to insure the safety of our countrymen and countrywomen in India for the future. He will have to spare the innocent; and it is most gratifying to know, that while the guilty may be counted by thousands, the innocent must be reckoned by millions. It is most gratifying to us, and honourable to the people, that the great bulk of the population have had no share in the enormities and crimes which have been committed. They have experienced the blessings of British rule, and they have been enabled to compare it with the tyranny exercised over them by their native chiefs. They have had therefore no participation in the attempts which have been made to overthrow our dominion. Most remarkable it is, that the inhabitants of that part of our empire which has been most recently acquired (I mean the Punjab), who have had the most recent experience of the tyranny of their native rulers, have been most loyal on the present occasion, and most attached to their new and benevolent masters. Lord Canning will have also to reward the deserving; for many are they, both high and low, who have not only abstained from taking part in this mutiny, but who have most kindly and generously sheltered fugitives, rescued others from the assaults of the mutineers, and have merited recompense at the hands of the British government. I am convinced, that if Lord Canning receives—as I am sure he will—that confidence on the part of her majesty's government and of the people of this country, without which it is impossible for a man in his high position to discharge the duties which have devolved upon him, it will be found, when this dreadful tragedy is over, that he has properly discharged his duty, and that his conduct has not only been governed by a sense of stern and unflinching justice, but also by that discriminating generosity which is the peculiar characteristic of the British people."

This graceful tribute to the courage and judgment of Lord Canning, in the ordeal through which he was still passing, was no more than he had a right to expect under the extraordinary circumstances that surrounded him, and the undeserved censure to which his acts, imperfectly understood, had been exposed. That he should have been violently attacked was but a natural consequence of the position which his government occupied with respect to the Indian press and the independent Anglo-Indian public. The consequences of some of his acts, by which so much of obloquy had been created, could not yet be fairly measured; but one fact, at least, was in his favour—namely, that hitherto complete success had followed most of his measures. At home his conduct could be viewed with more impartiality than could be expected at the seat of his government, where all the elements of strife and dissatisfaction were in action. He had also the confidence of the government by which he was appointed, and he had painfully acquired experience in his hard and perilous career; and as it was now considered certain, that within a short time the great corporation which had hitherto held India at its feet, would be shorn of political power, and surrender its vast dominions to the immediate control of the British crown and parliament, it was felt that the services of one who had seen and learnt so much as Lord Canning had done, could not be valueless in the establishment of the new order of things.

Among a multiplicity of plans for civilising, Christianising, or Anglicising India, one was suggested which, it was thought likely, might be found a valuable auxiliary to the important work, being at the same time simple and unobjectionable. This consisted in a scheme for reducing the written or printed characters of the Oriental alphabets to the Roman type. Missionaries, and promoters of education in India, had, for a whole generation, been endeavouring to render all the Indian dialects in the same familiar notation; and, as it had now become a manifest necessity that natives should be attracted to the study of English, and that all difficulties which impeded the free intercourse of the governing race with the population, should be as far as possible removed, it became expedient that the government should give its support to any project that would facilitate such a result. The existing difficulty in attaining to a familiar intercourse between the races was not confined to the natives, as many Englishmen who had already acquired a fair colloquial knowledge of the native languages, were unable to overcome the obstacles interposed to a free and familiar intercourse with the people around

them, through their ignorance of the Persian or Sanscrit characters of the various dialects. It was obvious that a very long period must elapse before English could become the official language; but, it was contended, there could be no reason why Hindostani, or Telegoo, should not be rendered intelligible to those by whom the machinery of government had to be kept in motion. In many portions of the Anglo-Indian territory, there were districts, larger than the whole area of Great Britain, which had no written language whatever; and, consequently, there could be no native prejudices in favour of any peculiar type; nor was there any valid reason why the English alphabet should not represent the utterances of the people. A similar experiment had been successfully tried with respect to the Phœnician Arabic alphabet of the Maltese, who were left by their former knightly masters to the exercise of a purely oral language. In support of the idea thus broached, it was assumed that the most inveterate prejudice in favour of Indian institutions, would find it difficult to create a grievance out of the introduction of a convenient alphabet for its people; the reading community bearing but a small proportion to the population of the empire, and an Indian education by no means implying a facility of reading fluently at sight. All the natives who were really educated, were already familiar with the English characters; and it was proposed that those who were not so, might be allowed, for a prescribed time, to use their own indigenous varieties of type. Bills of exchange, contracts, and other legal documents, could thus by degrees be brought under the improved system; and the lapse of a single generation would probably consign all the existing native modes of writing to oblivion. It was also urged by the advocates of the change, that, at the age of three or four years, even Hindoos were comparatively exempt from prejudice; and that a child who exercised a choice, would certainly accept, in preference, the easiest alphabet. The mode of introducing the reformed system was proposed to be left to the direction of local administrators. A court, or a public office, could not compel suitors and tax-payers, except after a considerable specified interval, to adopt the innovation; but official documents and correspondence might, at an earlier period, furnish examples, and native ingenuity might be employed in deciphering writings connected with practical interests; and thus, at no very distant period, it was contended, the introduction of the English type would be found a vast convenience to the rulers, and be acknowledged as a valuable boon to all future generations of the ruled.

So much for a step in advance towards civilisation. For Christianising the people, it was resolved, at a public meeting of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in India (which was held at Willis's rooms on the 26th of November, the Archbishop of Canterbury being in the chair), to adopt and carry out the following measures, in furtherance of the important object:—

"1. To double (at least) the number of the society's European missionaries in India, and to promote, by every available means, the education, training, and ordination of the more advanced native converts for the work of the Christian ministry among their own countrymen.

"2. To found new, and strengthen existing missions, in the presidential and other principal cities of India, wherever there may appear to be the best opening, with a view to bring the truths of Christianity before the minds of the upper as well as of the lower classes in those great centres of population.

"3. To press again upon the attention of the Indian government, the urgent necessity of a subdivision of the enormous dioceses of Calcutta and Madras, and especially to insist upon the desirableness of establishing a bishopric for the Punjab, another for the North-Western Provinces, and a third for the province of Tinnevelly."

At this meeting, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishops of London and Oxford, advocated, with much earnestness, the objects of the society; and the two latter prelates adduced powerful arguments, illustrated by examples, of the necessity for infusing the spirit of Christianity among the millions subjected to British rule in its Indian territory. The former, after expatiating at some length upon the cruel tendencies of the human heart in a state of paganism, said—"We have seen what heathenism is. Many of us have been brought up with such an admiration of the old classical heathens, that we had almost got to think that a refined heathen was not such a bad sort of man after all. But we now know what a refined heathen is: we know that in a moment he can be transformed into a raging beast; and that, impelled by a spirit of demoniacal wickedness, he can perpetrate deeds of atrocity such as we had vainly imagined the world would never again witness." Again—"We have in every newspaper a true picture of what hea-

thenism is even in this day. And if of heathenism, have we not also a true picture of what Christianity is? What do you think it has been that has nerved these few Europeans to such extraordinary acts of daring, of self-sacrifice, and of heroic endurance? I believe that the high spirits of young men, and their bold soldierlike daring, may account for much; but these do not account for such quiet endurance in the midst of awful trials such as human nature never witnessed before. Talk of Roman matrons and Roman maidens! we henceforth shall talk of English matrons and English maidens. We know how, under circumstances to which it was impossible to suppose they would ever be exposed, they have risen superior to every attempt to degrade, every attempt to terrify them; and as long as the world lasts, the memory of these mothers and daughters of England will be revered wherever the English name is known. We have set before us, by them, pictures of Christian resignation which we delight to venerate; and when we read their letters, we find in them the spirit which has nerved them to such trials. I read last night two letters from a lady, since massacred, with her husband and child, who for weeks was expecting every hour the fate which at last fell upon her. While in this awful expectation, she wrote a journal day by day, which was transmitted to her friends; and never, out of Holy Writ, have I ever read words that spoke more truly of the reality of Christianity, of the strength of Christian faith, than in those few pathetic pages. That is but one specimen out of a hundred which we rejoice to think so many families will be able to lay by and treasure up among their most precious possessions. We may also conclude that God intends, by this great chastisement, to teach us rightly to value our Christianity, to show that it has borne fruits in our hearts, and to show this by our readiness to assist those who are in India; and, as this occasion particularly reminds us, by endeavouring in every way hereafter to spread the blessings of that Christianity throughout the world."

The Bishop of Oxford, in speaking to a resolution upon this occasion, said—"The cobweb notions which have infected some brains, of educating Mohammedans and Brahmins until the polished heathen shall be capable of participating in a silken administration, seeking the happiness and good of all, have been swept away by the besom of the Cawnpore destruction. Why, the man who has shown himself to be the most under the power of that spirit of evil which has been let loose in India for our chastisement—Nana Sahib himself—is a man who has that kind of education in its greatest perfection, and who passed among our countrymen as a pleasant and highly accomplished gentleman. Ah! how like the tiger of his own jungles, when, sleek and smooth, with its claws soft as velvet, it plays with the little innocent whom it seems to guard! How like, also, the same tiger in its moment of fury, when it has given itself up to the gratification of its brutal passions, and when its vile nature has burst forth in all its hideousness and atrocity! A polished Brahmin or a polished Mohammedan is a savage still; and I trust that henceforth, instead of confining ourselves to the cultivation of the native intellect, we shall administer India not merely for our own temporal advantage, but for the benefit of the people and the support of Christian truth. How is that to be done? Not by fraud or violence—not by leading the natives to suppose that they shall please England or avoid punishment by assuming the Christian faith; but by letting all our public acts declare that we are Christians, that we glory in belonging to Christ, and that we hold India for the good of the people because we are Christians. Let us declare that no man shall be injured because he chooses to become a Christian; but that, as long as we hold dominion in India, there shall be protection for all. That is the first thing."—In continuation of his eloquent and impressive address, the right reverend prelate said—"We have an opportunity such as no people ever had before of spreading the gospel among the heathen. We have the farther advantage of standing upon the vantage ground of a better civilisation and higher intellectual gifts. The other day I met a gentleman connected with one of our highest families, who was a resident in India for thirty years. He told me that, upon one occasion, the rajah of Gwalior, the ancestor of that rajah who has stood so faithfully by us in the present mutinies, said to him, 'How is it that you English have so great a command over us?' His reply was, 'It is because you pray to an idol which can do no good to you; while we pray to the God of Heaven, through

His only Son, and our prayers are heard.' The man was still for a moment. At last he said, 'I believe you are right.' Mark how curiously you may trace the hand of God in this last outbreak. Why did that man's family remain faithful to us? I verily believe that it was mainly on account of the moral and religious influence which the resident obtained over that man's heart. He had got to trust him implicitly. The resident had helped him to recover a large debt of which he had always despaired; and when it was paid it came home in bullock-waggons; and the rajah sent to say, that he had ordered a certain number, containing £400,000, to stop at the resident's door, as his share. Of course the resident's answer was, 'I cannot take a single penny from you. What I have done I have done as a matter of right and justice.' The rajah sent for him next day, and said to him, 'What a fool you were not to take the money; nobody would have known it. I should never have told it.' 'But,' said the resident, 'there is One who would have known it—the eye that sleepeth not; and my own conscience would never have left me a moment's rest.' Upon which the rajah said, 'You English are a wonderful people; no Indian would have done that.' When the resident was going away, the rajah sent for him, and asked him for advice as to his future policy. 'I will give you this advice,' said the resident: 'it is very likely that troublesome days will come; but don't be led away. It may appear as though the power of the Company was going to be swept away. Don't believe it; it never will be; and those who stand firm by the Company, will in the end find that they have made the best choice.' The rajah's reply was, 'I believe you are right;' and he transmitted that doctrine down to those who came after him. There, I believe, is the history of Gwalior remaining firm, when so many other princes have fallen from us, because Christian principles had been there brought to bear upon the rulers of that people."

In reference to the objects of the meeting referred to, it may be observed, that Christianity possesses two distinct features. It is not a religion to be propagated by violence; but is, essentially, a religion to be diffused by preaching and teaching; and thus, although Christians may not make converts by the sword, they are bound, where they can, to make proselytes by instruction. This element of Christianity, however, was, in India, entirely suppressed, and our administration presented the disgraceful spectacle of one of the greatest Christian powers in the world, sedulously bent upon ignoring its own belief! The natives saw us patronising and encouraging institutions which, as wicked and idolatrous, we ought, if consistent, to have condemned; and they could remark that we even permitted positive impediments to remain in the way of pacific conversion. They were led, therefore, to the supposition, that we were either indifferent to the matter altogether, or that we really designed to proceed by craft; and, as the former notion would be inexplicable to rude minds, they adopted the latter. The plain, simple truths of Christianity would not have alarmed them; but in the conduct of its professors they found cause for distrust, and they became terrified at the attributes which, for want of a better knowledge, they had themselves ascribed to it. The smallest amount of Christian teaching, openly and universally diffused, would have relieved them of the only apprehension they had ever entertained—that of forcible proselytism. Even those who could learn nothing else, would soon have learnt this—that one of the fundamental principles of this new religion was, that nobody could be made to embrace it against his will. This one conviction would have assured their minds; whereas, owing to the suppression of the truth, Christian teachers lived in constant terror of being taken for harbingers of violence; and Hindoos invested the mild and assuasive precepts of Christianity with a hidden meaning, and with features only proper to the impostures and bigotry of Mohammedanism.

It was truly observed, in reference to this great question, that, "during a whole century of dominion, we had failed to persuade the natives of India that we had not, and never did have, any intention of forcing them to abandon their religion for our own. This simple fact was surely proof sufficient that our system, in this respect, had been wholly wrong. We over-acted our part, and professed our policy of neutrality with such extreme earnestness, that it was not believed in. Had we allowed the truth to come out, we could not possibly have fared worse, and it is reasonable to suppose we might have fared a great deal better. We might, at all events, by more manly and open dealing, have convinced the

Hindoo that Christianity was not a religion to be afraid of. As it was, we lowered ourselves in native eyes by timidly disguising the belief we professed to entertain, and exalted the fanaticism of the Brahminical zealots by first investing them with the power of the sword, and then showing our extreme anxiety to avoid giving them offence. Such relations between masters and servants could never be secure. To what extent the sepoys really believed in the reported designs against their caste, is more than we can tell; but there are some features of human nature which are the same everywhere; and one of these is quite sufficient to explain the insubordination of large bodies of men, armed, as they fancied, with irresistible strength, and feared, as they saw, by those whose office it was to control them.

"The great political result to be anticipated from the propagation of the gospel in India, is the removal of that bugbear which has hitherto been the terror of rulers and subjects together. The one thing which Hindoos dread, and which English governments have always dreaded their dreading, is forcible intervention with their creed; and the one doctrine which should pervade every missionary address, is that of peace and good-will. Christianity needs only to be placed in its true light, instead of being regarded through the medium which our own timidity permitted to be formed. When the gospel is preached faithfully, one result at least will be certain; and that is, that no Hindoo will thenceforward believe his creed to be in danger from the violence of a Christian administration."

With regard to the religious element to be invoked in the re-establishment of order, it was clearly the undoubted right, as it was also the positive duty, of England to assert herself in India as a civilised and Christian power; but, at the same time, it was equally clear, that the faintest suspicion of an official plan to Christianise and Europeanise the people, would again rouse all the fire of their jealous blood, and once more turn their seeming allegiance into vindictive hatred. It was most important, therefore, that if civilisation did put forth her influence, it must be with discretion: if religion laboured in the boundless field overshadowed by the traditions of seven thousand years, her ministers had need to consult the experience of the world, as well as the suggestions of their own pious and fervid generosity. It could not be denied, that the people of India, notwithstanding the lamentable mistake of 1857, had rights and feelings which were to be respected; and it was urged by some, that instead of granting them toleration, which "is the hypocrisy of those who dare not persecute," we should loudly acknowledge their absolute equality in the eye of the law, and their undisputed right to perform the exercises of their several faiths. But a difficulty still presented itself. It was not denied even by the advocates of this "absolute equality," as regarded opposite creeds, that there was a point at which the principles of the imperial government must interfere with native privileges, when it became necessary, for the protection of society, to prohibit displays of gross indecency and cruelty, or the sacrifice of human life. It could be to the Christian government no hardship to tell a tribe of Brahmins that they should not burn alive a widow, scarcely yet risen out of girlhood; to hang a highway assassin, although his murderous hand was impelled by religious zeal; to prevent the immolation of youth to the deity of Hindoo vengeance; and to treat infanticide as a crime meriting condign punishment. Yet the Hindoos believed all these things essential to the due observance of their religious obligations; and it was not likely that, without compulsion, those practices would be abandoned, or that such compulsion would be looked upon in any other light than as acts of tyranny and oppression. Such, then, were among the hindrances that lay in the path of the government, and of the missionary zeal that aimed at the Christianising of near two hundred millions of people. It was evident that, with the opposite principles of Brahminism and Christianity in active and constant operation, there must be collisions; and, as no middle course could possibly exist that would satisfy the conscientious requirements of either, it seemed to be imperative, after all, that either the temporising policy that had hitherto characterised the government in the matter of native religions must be still pursued, or that recourse must be had to a more active agency than mere persuasion, before the idolatry of the land would yield to the peaceful exhortations of missionaries.

On the 26th of November, the *London Gazette* contained an announcement that the queen had directed letters-patent to be passed under the great seal, granting the

dignity of a baronet of the United Kingdom to Major-general Archdale Wilson, of Delhi, knight-commander of the most honourable order of the Bath, lieutenant-colonel of the Bengal artillery, and to his heirs male. Also that her majesty had directed similar letters to pass under the great seal, granting the dignity of a baronet of the United Kingdom to Major-general Henry Havelock, of Lucknow, knight-commander of the Bath, and to his heirs male. By another notification in the same *Gazette*, it was announced that the queen had been pleased to ordain that Isabella Neill, the widow of the late Colonel James George Neill, of the Madras fusiliers, should hold and enjoy the same style, title, place, and precedence, to which she would have been entitled had her husband, who fell in the gallant discharge of his duty in India, survived and been invested with the insignia of the order of the Bath, for which honour he had been worthily recommended to her majesty.

On Monday, the 7th of December, Mr. Ross Mangles, the chairman of the board of directors of the East India Company, with his colleagues, visited, for the last time, the grand nursery of their statesmen and civil servants at Haileybury—an ominous portent of fading sovereignty. On that day the chairman of the Company pronounced a funeral *éloge* on an institution which, for the last half century, had supplied the mental machinery for the civil government of India. During the fifty years of its operation, no less than 2,055 students had passed through the college; and it was about to be extinguished at the very moment when its usefulness was powerfully attested by the number of its pupils, then, or but recently, holding high office, and who, in their several spheres, had earned for themselves the meed of public approbation.

The fund for the relief of sufferers by the mutiny had by this time reached to colossal magnitude, the subscription list amounting, in December, 1857, to upwards of £300,000; in respect to the application of which, the following communication was made by Lord Canning to Alderman Finnis, chairman of the fund committee, and published in the *Times* newspaper of Wednesday, December 2nd:—

From the Governor-general of India to the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor.

"Fort William, October 23rd.

"My Lord,—Your lordship's despatch of the 26th of August last, acquainted me that a public meeting was held at the Mansion-house, on the 25th of August, for the purpose of expressing sympathy with those who are suffering from the recent calamitous events in India; that a committee had been formed for the purpose of raising funds, to be placed at my disposal, for the immediate relief of the most urgent cases of distress; and that 20,000 rupees had been remitted as a first instalment, to be distributed as might be deemed advisable.

"Your lordship's subsequent communication, dated the 9th ult., announces a further remittance of 80,000 rupees, and points out that the object of the fund raised by the committee, being more immediately for the relief of those who are not entitled to compensation from the government, it may be a question for further consideration how far, in the event of the government being authorised to administer full relief, the money may be made available for the benefit of those whose means of subsistence may have been impaired or annihilated.

"Your lordship also informs me of the gracious munificence with which the queen, the prince consort, and other members of the royal family, have contributed towards this benevolent object; of the friendly and prompt generosity of his majesty the emperor of the French, and the imperial guard; and of the liberality with which all classes of our own countrymen have come forward with aid for the occasion.

"Finally, your lordship inquires how, in my opinion, the proceeds of the fund now being collected in England, can in future best be applied to the purpose in view?

"I have first to express, my lord, on behalf of the government of India, of the whole European community in this country, and especially of those who have been sufferers by the sanguinary outrages and rapine, by which a large part of Hindostan has been, and is still unhappily afflicted, our grateful appreciation of the earnest, active, and wide-spread sympathy which your letter records, and I pray your lordship to convey the offer of our sincerest thanks to those in whose name you write.

"Your lordship is aware, that soon after the first outbreak of mutiny in May last, and when the disastrous consequences which it could not fail to bring upon individuals became manifest, a committee was formed in Calcutta for the purpose of raising subscriptions to be devoted to the relief of the sufferers, and of distributing the funds thus raised in the most effective manner. The amount subscribed in India, up to this date, is 254,580r. 13a.; the amount expended, 91,834r. 13a.; and the amount remaining unexpended, in the hands of the committee, is 162,746r.

"The objects to which the expenditure of the sub-committee is at present directed, are the following:—

"1. Board and lodging, on arrival in Calcutta, for refugees who are without homes or friends to receive them. 2. Clothing for refugees. 3. Monthly allowances for the support of families who are not boarded and lodged by the sub-committee. 4. Loans to sufferers to provide furniture, clothing, &c. 5. Free grants to sufferers for the same purpose. 6. Passage and diet money on board river steamers to all who have not been provided with the same by the government. 7. Loans to officers and others, to pay for the passage of their families to England. 8. Free passage to England for the widows and families of officers and other sufferers, including travelling

expenses to Bombay and Calcutta. 9. Education of the children of sufferers.

"This fund has been raised independently of the government, and is distributed by a sub-committee according to certain rules which have been laid down, subject to the approval of a general committee of subscribers at Calcutta.

"The mode in which the distribution is made is shown in the printed reports of the proceedings of the general committee, held on the 5th of August and 3rd of September last, copies of which have already been sent to England; and the measures of the sub-committee, so far as they are known to the government, have been guided by liberality and good judgment, and have given general satisfaction.

"The committee applied to the government for a grant of money in aid of the objects of the fund, but this was declined for the reasons set forth in the letter from the secretary to the government of India, dated the 21st idem. The assistance given by the government has been hitherto confined to the grant of a free passage, by the inland steamers, to all women and children proceeding from the interior to Calcutta.

"The spirit of resistance, violence, and bloodshed, though gradually yielding to the means which have been taken for its suppression, and especially to the bravery and endurance of our British troops, is not yet subdued; nor is the extent of the privation and suffering which it has already inflicted in distant parts of the country, cut off from communication with Calcutta, fully known to the government. It is therefore impossible to say how large may be the field over which eventually it will be necessary to distribute the funds which your lordship may transmit. At present no better course can be taken than that which the sub-committee have adopted in dealing with the funds at their disposal for the benefit of those who are within their reach. This course, therefore, the government of India will pursue in the first employment of the money received through your lordship, extending their operations to the distant parts of the presidency in which assistance is required, but which are not easily accessible to the sub-committee in Calcutta.

"In this view Sir John Lawrence, K.C.B., the chief commissioner of the Punjab, has been desired to form a separate committee at Lahore (where subscriptions have already been raised), for the purpose of affording relief to those who have suffered loss in the Punjab and the more northerly parts of the Upper Provinces, including the hill stations of Simla, Mussooree, and Nynee Tal. A sum of 25,000r. has been placed at Sir John Lawrence's disposal for immediate purposes, and more will be remitted when required. Hereafter, when the full consequences of the rebellion have shown themselves, I shall be in a better position to inform your lordship as to the purposes to which the liberality of our countrymen at home can best be turned. In the meantime the money which has been remitted will remain in the Agra bank at the credit of the government, bearing interest at the same rate as is allowed by the bank on the deposits of the committee.

"I have the honour to be, my lord, your lordship's most faithful humble servant,

"CANNING, Governor-general."

The following notice was issued by the home committee, in reference to the numerous applications for relief, which they received on behalf of the wives and families of soldiers who had recently embarked for India for suppression of the mutiny:—

"November 30th.

"Many applications for relief having been made by or on behalf of the wives and children of soldiers who have gone to India with their regiments, this committee has, on several occasions, given their most careful and anxious consideration to the subject, and it has always been with one result—that it was not in the power of the committee to give the solicited relief.

"The question is, not whether relief ought or ought not to be given, but whether such relief can be properly given out of the fund which has been intrusted to this committee; and the decision of this question must entirely depend upon the understanding with which the fund was subscribed.

"We may confidently assert, that the prevailing idea which possessed the public mind at the time when the subscription was in active progress, was the destruction of life and property in India, and the distress occasioned by it. This feeling was so strongly reflected in the resolutions which were published by this committee on the 26th of September, embodying the conditions on which we were willing to administer such means of relief as might be placed at our disposal, that doubts were entertained whether the widows and orphans of the European soldiers serving in India, who might lose their lives by the casualties of war and climate, were intended to be included; and they were therefore expressly mentioned in the address which was subsequently published by our committee. On the other hand, the case of the wives and children who were left behind in this country (the fathers being still living) was repeatedly urged upon us, and the answer invariably returned was, that it did not come within the scope of our fund. We cannot therefore doubt, that when the fund was subscribed, no such appropriation of it was contemplated, and that our committee holds the funds in trust on that condition. How important this condition is, may be seen from the fact that, with a smaller number of wives and children of soldiers, upwards of £100,000 was expended during the late Russian war, by the association for the relief of wives and children of her majesty's soldiers and sailors serving in the East.

"Although the reasons why persons of this class were not included in the plan of the subscription, have no immediate bearing on the point now under consideration, it may be proper to allude briefly to them.

"The object of the subscription was to relieve 'the distress caused by the mutinies in India.' Now, the distress unhappily prevailing among the wives and children of the soldiers serving in India, cannot in any proper sense be said to be caused by the mutiny. It was caused by that condition of military life which makes it impossible that the wives and children of soldiers can accompany them on active service; and the case would have been the same whether the seat of war was India or Persia, or the Cape of Good Hope, or any other country. In the event of the pacification of India, regiments from Bengal might proceed to China; and, although the distress of the women would be in nowise diminished, it would obviously be impossible to contribute towards its relief from a fund which was subscribed for the relief of the distress caused by the Indian mutiny.

"The wives and children of British soldiers fighting the battles of their country abroad, ought, of course, to be objects of the particular care of their countrymen and countrywomen at home; but the circumstances are such that assistance can be given in a more effectual manner, and with less probability of moral deterioration by local agency using funds usually raised, than by means of any general administration.

"The wives of the soldiers serving in India, several thousand in number, are residing in various parts of the United Kingdom. The majority of them probably already have the means of subsistence in the government allowance, in their own earnings, or in the help of their friends; but some of them, no doubt, stand in need of other assistance. Who the persons of the latter class are, and the kind and degree of assistance that would be proper, is known in the respective localities, but could not be ascertained with nearly equal certainty by a central body like the Indian relief committee, whatever pains might be taken to sift the facts of the several cases. In truth, if it were open to all this large class of persons to apply for relief out of a general fund administered in London, a great relaxation of the ordinary motives to industry and economy, besides other moral evils, must ensue. It therefore seems to be desirable, that whatever relief may be given, should be by means of funds locally raised, and through the agency of the established legal machinery, or of local associations formed in aid of it.

"T. PARRY WOODCOCK, Hon. Sec."

The claims of the unfortunate families of the men suddenly transferred to the seat of war, were not, however, totally lost sight of, although they could not properly be associated with those of the actual sufferers for whom the relief fund was originated. Meetings were held in different parts of the country, and in the metropolis, on behalf of the wives and families of the soldiers on their way to India, and committees were formed to organise and carry out a plan for their relief. At one of these humane gatherings (over which the Earl of Shaftesbury presided), after some remarks from General Sir W. F. Williams, of Kars, who referred to the great destitution in which more than four hundred families of the royal artillery had been left in consequence of the sudden departure of the soldiers for India, the Rev. Thomas Harding stated the result of a recent movement at Woolwich, conducted by a committee of ladies, for relieving the distress alluded to. Major Vandeleur then described the proceedings of the committee, and the mode in which relief had been afforded. The total amount of the subscriptions was stated to be £626 13*s.* 3½*d.*; and the following resolution was agreed to:—"That it is desirable an association be formed with a view of extending relief to the wives and families of our soldiers and sailors gone out to India; and that it be also of a more permanent character, for the purpose of directing its attention to the condition of the wives and children of our soldiers and sailors whenever they are removed on service, whether in war or peace, in distant and foreign countries; and that a committee be formed for the purpose of carrying out the foregoing resolution, and of organising a central board in London for receiving subscriptions and devising ulterior measures."

An extraordinary early session of the imperial parliament was opened by her majesty on the 3rd of December, 1857, as well on account of the grave disturbances that had occurred, and were still in progress in part of her Indian dominions, as also for the purpose of giving legislative sanction to the extraordinary measures of relief which had been necessitated by a season of commercial distress, consequent upon over speculation and incautious credit. The passages in the royal speech which had direct reference to Indian affairs, were the following:—

"While I deeply deplore the severe suffering to which many of my subjects in India have been exposed, and while I grieve for the extensive bereavements and sorrow which it has caused, I have derived the greatest satisfaction from the distinguished successes which have attended the heroic exertions of the comparatively small forces which have been opposed to greatly superior numbers, without the aid of the powerful reinforcements dispatched from this country to their assistance. The arrival of those reinforcements will, I trust, speedily complete the suppression of this widely-spread revolt.

"The gallantry of the troops employed against the mutineers, their courage in action, their endurance under privation, fatigue, and the effects of climate; the high spirit and self-devotion of the officers; the ability, skill, and persevering energy of the commanders, have excited my warmest admiration; and I have observed, with equal gratification, that many civilians placed in extreme difficulty and danger have displayed the highest qualities, including, in some instances, those that would do honour to veteran soldiers.

"It is satisfactory to know that the general mass of the population of India have taken no part in the rebellion, while the most considerable of the native princes have acted in the most friendly manner, and have rendered important services.

"I have given directions that papers relating to these matters shall be laid before you.

"The affairs of my East Indian dominions will require your serious consideration, and I recommend them to your earnest attention."

Upon this occasion the Earl of Derby expatiated very fully upon the various points incident to the mutiny, and com-

mented, in severe language, upon the many proofs of deficiency in judgment, knowledge, and energy, which he insisted had been displayed by the ministry in reference to the event; and specially he deprecated the ignorance and incapacity of Mr. Vernon Smith and the Board of Control. Among other grounds for censure, he also instanced the neglect in dispatching troops by the overland route, and the general failure of ministers either to comprehend or provide for the terrible emergency which had overtaken the Anglo-Indian empire.—The Earl of Ellenborough, supporting the views of Lord Derby, proceeded to criticise the conduct of the government in India and at home, in relation to the sepoy disturbances; and inquired if it was the intention of the government to bring in any measure to remodel the government, contending that the present was a most inopportune moment to revise the political organisation of India.—Earl Granville energetically defended the conduct of the home government and of Lord Canning; and stated that, as the present assembling of parliament was for a specific purpose, and would be of limited duration, it was not the intention of government to introduce any such measure. —In the House of Commons, Mr. Disraeli animadverted upon the conduct of the governor-general, as well as upon that of the home government; and strongly urged, that as ministers had doubtless some plan matured for the future government of India, they should lay it on the table of the house before Christmas, in order that it might be carefully considered during the recess.—Lord Palmerston replied to the remarks of the preceding speaker, and informed the house that it was the intention of government to propose for Sir Henry Havelock a grant of £1,000 a-year, and that the East India Company intended to make a similar provision for Sir Archdale Wilson. The message in reference to General Havelock, was introduced by Lord Palmerston at the sitting of the 7th of December; and, on the following day, the house went into committee, and unanimously agreed to the proposition—a result that was announced amidst the cheers of all present. By a subsequent arrangement the pension was extended to two lives.

On the 11th of the month, Mr. Vernon Smith, in answer to a question respecting the transportation of a certain number of the Indian mutineers for the purposes of penal servitude in the West India colonies, said the subject had not escaped the notice of government, which felt that it was desirable, with regard to those parties who had not joined in the massacres, but had only identified themselves with the mutiny for purposes of plunder, that some punishment in the nature of transportation should be inflicted. In every case it was clearly impossible to inflict the punishment of death, and that of transportation would be invested with additional horrors, in consequence of the dread entertained by the high-caste Hindoos of a sea-voyage, by which alone they forfeited caste; but it was necessary first to ascertain what colonies would be willing to receive such persons; for it was not in the power of the state to force them upon a free community against the will of its members.

On Saturday, the 12th of December, parliament having received the royal assent to the Bank Issues Indemnity Bill, was adjourned by commission to Thursday, the 4th of February. Previous, however, to its separation, Lord Panmure embraced the opportunity afforded by a letter addressed to H.R.H. the Duke of Cambridge (as commander-in-chief), by Sir Colin Campbell, on his quitting Calcutta for the field in the previous October, to remove an impression that existed as to an alleged ill-feeling between the governor-general and Sir Colin, as commander-in-chief in India. The passages read to the house, and which entirely dispelled the erroneous impression, were as follows:—"Now that I am on the point of leaving Calcutta, I would beg, with the greatest respect to the governor-general, to record the deep sense of the obligations which I entertain towards his lordship. Our intercourse has been most cordial, intimate, and unreserved. I cannot be sufficiently thankful for his lordship's confidence and support, and the kindly manner in which they have been afforded to my great personal satisfaction. One at a distance, not acquainted with the ordinary mode of transacting business in this country, could hardly estimate the gain to the public service which has thus been made; but I allude principally to my own feelings of gratification."

His lordship, in concluding the observations with which the extract was connected, said—"My lords, I have thought it my duty to make this statement to your lordships before parliament adjourns, in order

to set at rest, at once and for ever, the calumny which has been circulated, that between the governor-general and the commander-in-chief disagreements have existed."

In accordance with the statement made in the House of Commons, the East India Company took early steps to declare their recognition of the valuable services of their military servants engaged in the defence, or rather recovery, of their Indian possessions. A special general Court of Proprietors of East India stock, was held at their house in Leadenhall-street, on Wednesday, December the 15th, to confirm resolutions of the Court of Directors for certain honorary grants, when, after a spirited eulogium upon the merits of Major-general Sir Archdale Wilson, of Delhi, the following resolution was proposed, and unanimously adopted:—"That, as a special mark of the sense which this court entertains of the skill, sound judgment, steady resolution, and gallantry of Major-general Sir Archdale Wilson, Bart., Knight Commander of the Bath, in the operations which resulted in the storm and capture of Delhi, by which, under the blessing of Divine Providence, the reputation of the British arms and nation has been nobly sustained, an annuity of £1,000 be granted to Sir Archdale Wilson, to commence from the 14th of September, 1857, the day on which Delhi was stormed."

At the same court, the respective claims of the late Brigadiers Neill and Nicholson to the grateful consideration of the Company, were eloquently submitted to the proprietors, with the following resolutions:—"That as a mark of the high sense entertained by this court of the services rendered by the late Brigadier-general Neill, on whom her majesty has been graciously pleased to confer the posthumous dignity of Knight Commander of the Bath, a special pension of £500 a-year be granted to the widow of that distinguished officer, in substitution for the pensionary allowance to which Lady Neill is entitled under the regulations for the grant of pensions to the widows of officers killed in action with the enemy."

"That in recognition of the brilliant career and eminent services of the late Brigadier-general John Nicholson, on whom also her majesty has been graciously pleased to confer the posthumous dignity of Knight Commander of the Bath, a special grant of £500 per annum be made to the mother of that distinguished officer, in substitution for the pension to which that lady would be entitled under the regulations of the service."

An effort was made, by amendments, to increase the amount of these annuities to £750 per annum in each case; but, after an animated discussion, the amendments were rejected upon division, and the resolutions, as originally proposed, were agreed to.

In concluding the present chapter, which brings the home occurrences connected with the Indian revolt to the close of the year 1857, it is only just to remark, that the efforts of the British government, although at first dilatory through the imperfect idea formed of the emergency, were not ultimately unworthy of the magnitude of the crisis. Between the arrival of the first intelligence of the outbreak in July, and the end of December, more than 30,000 men had been dispatched to the aid of the Indian government, and landed at the various ports of debarkation; and the reserves and reliefs for so great a force had also been organised and forwarded. A commander of acknowledged ability was sent out to take the chief command of the army; and means had been adopted for facilitating the future dispatch of troops from England, by adopting the direct route of transit afforded by the Isthmus of Suez. The whole country was unanimous in a desire to support and to honour those brave men who had gallantly withstood the shock of rebellion, and preserved the empire which the arms and policy of their predecessors had won. No effeminate simulation of philanthropy was allowed to stand in the way of a righteous demand that the crimes of Meerut, of Delhi, and of Cawnpore, should be avenged. The true meaning of punishment had become intelligible to the nation at large; and, in the general belief, retribution had properly resumed its inseparable connection with guilt. The pious fortitude of suffering women—the deliberate and heroic sacrifices of men left to their own resources—had awakened all the admiring sympathies of a grave and thoughtful people; and the public conscience had become thoroughly imbued with the faith, till then confined to statesmen, that the dominion of England in India was just and beneficial to mankind. The same public conscience now demanded

that Englishmen in India should not appear ashamed of Christianity; and that, while tolerating the faith of others, they should firmly and unequivocally maintain the inviolability and purity of their own. The necessity for direct interference with the political and territorial government of India, had at length awakened the ministers of the crown to a sense of the danger incurred by further adhesion to a system by which the vast possessions of England in the East had hitherto been managed; and the demand was loud and unanimous that the anomaly of a double government, each in its way supreme, yet each interfering with the other, should no longer be permitted to guide the destinies of India. With the close of 1857, the staff of territorial and political power was about to pass from the hands of those who, in the days of their might and glory, had wrested so many sceptres from the hands of others, and who now, in the hour of peril, had shown themselves incompetent to sustain the burden they had coveted, possessed, and neglected.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE APPROACHING CHANGE; COMMUNICATION FROM LORD PALMERSTON TO THE COURT OF DIRECTORS; ALARM AT THE INDIA HOUSE; PETITION TO PARLIAMENT; HONOURS FOR INDIAN HEROES; DEATH OF THE QUEEN OF OUDE; REASSEMBLING OF PARLIAMENT; THANKS TO THE INDIAN ARMY; THE PALMERSTON BILL FOR THE FUTURE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA; COMPANY'S PETITION PRESENTED; DEBATE ON OUDE; DEBATE ON GOVERNMENT BILL; CHANGE OF MINISTRY; LORD DERBY'S INDIA BILL; DEBATES THEREON; BATTA, OR PRIZE-MONEY FOR DELHI; PROCEEDINGS OF THE SESSION; PROCLAMATION OF THE QUEEN'S GOVERNMENT IN INDIA; HOME EVENTS CONNECTED WITH THE INDIAN QUESTION.

PREVIOUS to entering upon the parliamentary history of 1858, as it refers to Indian affairs, it will be proper to observe, that at a quarterly general court of the East India Company, held in Leadenhall-street on the 23rd of December, the chairman of the Court of Directors announced that, on the previous Saturday, the deputy-chairman and himself had had an interview with the prime minister by appointment, when Lord Palmerston communicated to them that it was the intention of her majesty's government to propose to parliament, as soon as it should again meet, a bill for the purpose of placing the British East India dominions under the direct authority of the crown. By this announcement it was evident the time had at length arrived when it was considered that the continuance of political and territorial power in the hands of a purely commercial institution, could no longer be conceded with a due regard to the safety and integrity of British power in the East. The intimation of their approaching doom was listened to by the Court in silence; and, after some routine business had been disposed of, the members separated, to meditate upon the fading glory of their house.

While the proposed measures of government for the consolidation of the empire were yet a secret to the general public, much discussion arose as to the affairs of India, and particularly in regard to the vast amount of patronage which, by the proposed assumption by the crown, would fall into the hands of its servants. Much real or affected alarm was expressed at the anticipated acquisition; and a consideration of the course which such patronage had hitherto taken, and of that to which it would probably be diverted, became a main feature in the arguments offered against interference with the existing institutions of India. It was urged that, up to the present time, India had been the field of the middle classes especially; and the service of the Company had provided this section of society with opportunities which few but those connected with aristocratic families, could find in the service of the crown. In England, as if by prescriptive right, the chief offices of administration, and the principal

posts in the army, fell mainly to the favourites of birth or fortune. In India, under the Company, either the civil or military profession might be pursued with encouraging prospects of success, apart from any hereditary advantages. Promotion under the crown depended very materially, and indeed almost as a rule, on rank and wealth; whereas, under the administration of the East India Company, it appeared to be attainable by merit only. It became, therefore, a question of importance, if the government of India was to be assimilated to that of the other dependencies of the crown of England, so far as to bring the patronage it involved under the direct control of the home administration, what would become of that field which the middle classes had so long enjoyed, and in which it was undisputed they had displayed virtues and energies of the true popular stamp. The importance of this question was beyond a doubt; and its solution was one of the practical difficulties to be surmounted in any reconstruction of the Anglo-Indian government.

A system of patronage, merely as such, had always been an object of special jealousy to the people of England; and now that the question of concentration was raised in connection with it, it was essential to know in what the dreaded charm of Indian patronage consisted. It was well known that, in times past, it embraced the disposal of a certain number of appointments in the civil service, and the gift of a certain number of commissions in the armies of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay; but it was also a fact, that by regulations of some standing, the first appointments in the civil service had been thrown open to competition, and might therefore be put out of the question, as being removed from the grasp of any patrons whatever; the power of promotion necessarily resting with the local governments. As to the military service, the army of Bengal, which had equalled in magnitude those of the other two presidencies together, had now ceased to exist. Of the army of Bombay, a portion had succumbed to the influence of treason, and been disbanded; and it was the army of Madras alone that had generally preserved its fidelity. The deductions, therefore, already made from the aggregate of divisible patronage, were enormous; and the bugbear of former days was reduced to proportions of comparative insignificance. It was true the army of Bengal would again have to be formed and officered; but there were considerations attached to the military service in India, that rendered the evils of future patronage little other than imaginary; since, as far as service in that country was really concerned, there was no reason to suppose, whatever might be the constitution or administration of the army, that it would be sought for by any other class of men than those whom its conditions and advantages had hitherto attracted. The sphere of duty would always be remote, the duty itself arduous, and the obligations considerable. A man selecting India as the field of his career, would henceforth have to labour hard at the acquisition of Indian languages, endure an Indian climate, and accept an Indian exile, whatever might be the form or denomination taken by the government under which he served; and such conditions were no more likely in time to come, than they had been in time past, to attract young gentlemen with pockets full of money, or pedigrees full of coronets. Indian service had, in fact, become too much of a reality to be looked upon as a pastime, and would task the labourer too severely to become an object of desire by the aristocracy, whose aspirations flowed in a different channel. This view of the case was warranted by the fact, that a battalion destined for an Indian station had always ceased to be considered by aristocratic triflers as offering an eligible resort; and thus, after a short period of exchanges and retirements, its officers would probably represent much the same class as those of a native regiment. A titled idler would shirk not merely the Indian service, but service in India, under whatever masters; and the field had been hitherto left open to less influential competitors, not because a commercial company kept the keys of the preserve, but because its attractions were not strong enough for those who had the privilege of choice. It was obvious that such conditions must survive any constitutional changes at home, and that they would remain in full force whether the government of India was double or single.

The intimation, by the chairman of the Court of Directors, of the approaching transfer of the governing powers of the East India Company, referred to in the opening of the present chapter, had the effect of exciting much feeling on the part of the proprietors of stock of the Company, as well as among the public generally; and meetings were frequent, for the purpose

of discussing the merits of the question. Foremost among such proceedings were those of the Company, which certainly showed no disposition to yield without a struggle to the circumstances that threatened to annihilate its power and cast its *prestige*, as the ruler of India, to the winds. On the 13th of January, therefore, a special general Court of Proprietors was held at the East India House, for the purpose of considering the communication addressed to the Court of Directors by the government, respecting the continuance of the powers of the Company; and the following resolution was submitted for adoption:—"That the proposed transfer of the governing powers of the East India Company to the crown is opposed to the rights and privileges of the East India Company; is fraught with danger to the constitutional interests of England; is perilous to the safety of our Indian empire; and calls for the resistance of the corporation by all constitutional means." The meeting, after considerable discussion, was adjourned without coming to a decision as to the resolution proposed. On the 20th of the month the Court again assembled; when, previous to resuming the adjourned debate on the resolution, the chairman laid the following correspondence with her majesty's government before the proprietors. The first communication is from the chairman to Viscount Palmerston, in reference to his lordship's intimation on the 19th of December.

"East India House, Dec. 31st, 1857.

"My Lord,—It has been our duty to communicate to the Court of Directors and to the Court of Proprietors the intimation which your lordship has made to us of the intention of her majesty's government to propose to parliament a bill for the purpose of placing the government of her majesty's East Indian dominions under the direct authority of the crown.

"The contemplated change involves of necessity the abolition, as an instrument of government, of the East India Company—the body by whom, and at whose sole expense, without any demand on the national exchequer, the British empire in India has been acquired, and is maintained; and, although the Court of Directors have not been furnished with information as to the grounds on which her majesty's ministers have arrived at their determination, or as to the details of the scheme by which it is proposed to supersede the existing home government of India, they nevertheless feel it due to themselves and to the constituent body which they represent, to lose no time in offering a few observations which immediately suggest themselves; and they are persuaded that a frank expression of their sentiments cannot be otherwise than acceptable to her majesty's ministers in their further consideration of this important subject.

"The Court were prepared to expect that a searching inquiry would be instituted into the causes, remote as well as immediate, of the mutiny in the Bengal native army. They have themselves issued instructions to the government of India to appoint a commission in view to such an inquiry; and it would have been satisfactory to them, if it had been proposed to parliament not only to do the same, but to extend the scope of inquiry to the conduct of the home government, for the purpose of ascertaining whether the mutiny could, wholly or partially, be ascribed to mismanagement on the part of the Court acting under the control of the Board of Commissioners. But it has surprised the Court to hear that her majesty's government, not imputing, so far as the Court are informed, any blame to the home authorities in connection with the mutiny, and, without intending any inquiry by parliament, or awaiting the result of inquiry by the local government, should, even before the mutiny was quelled, and whilst considerable excitement prevailed throughout India, determine to propose the immediate supersession of the authority of the East India Company, who are entitled, at least, to the credit of having so administered the government of India, that the heads of all the native states and the mass of the population, amidst the excitement of a mutinous soldiery, inflamed by unfounded apprehensions of danger to their religion, have remained true to the Company's rule.

"The Court would fail in their duty to your lordship and to the country if they did not express their serious apprehension that so important a change will be misunderstood by the people of India. The Court are by no means insensible to the value attached to the name of the crown. But the Company are already trustees for the crown; and the announcement of a great change in the system of government which has existed from the first moment of our possession of India is calculated to excite alarm, the more especially if inaugurated at a time when the government on the spot finds it difficult to give free action to the retributive justice so eminently due to the guilty, without endangering the innocent, and also when public opinion in this country has been so excited as to press for the abandonment of the policy which the Company have strictly observed, of abstaining from all authoritative interference with such of the religious customs and prejudices of the natives as are not abhorrent to humanity.

"The Court submit, that if any such change as that which your lordship has indicated be thought desirable, it should be introduced in a time of tranquillity, when the circumstances of India and its population could be regarded without prejudice, and with calm and deliberate consideration, and when it would not, in the minds of the natives, be directly connected with the recent calamitous events.

"In approaching the question of the necessity for making a change, we are requested to state that the Court would most gladly co-operate with her majesty's government in introducing any reforms into the existing system which might tend to greater simplification and promptitude with equal security. The Court have always shown themselves ready to acquiesce in any changes which were deemed likely to prove conducive to the general welfare, although such changes may have involved important sacrifices to themselves. They need only refer to their partial relinquishment of trade in 1813; to its total

abandonment, and the placing of the Company's commercial charter in abeyance, in 1833; to the transfer then to India of all their large commercial assets, and of their undoubted territorial claims and possessions; and more lately to their concurrence in the measure by which their body was reconstituted, and reduced to its present number. Although four years have not yet elapsed since the last change, yet the Court, animated by the same anxiety for the welfare of India, would be prepared, without a murmur, to relinquish their trust altogether, if satisfied that a system could be devised better calculated than the present to advance the interests of the British empire there. They would, however, remark that in the inquiry which took place in 1852 and 1853, before the legislation of the latter year, the question of the constitution and working of the home government was thoroughly sifted and completely exhausted, and that therefore it was not unreasonable to expect that the arrangement of 1853 would have been subjected to the test of a more lengthened experience.

"The details of the measure which her majesty's government have in contemplation have not yet been made known to the Court. They trust that it will not be attempted to administer the government by means of a single functionary. Such a proposal would, in their judgment, involve a practical impossibility. The mass of business perpetually arising requires much knowledge, long experience, and a division of labour; and, so far as the Court can form an opinion, the duties would not be safely discharged if subject only to the check of parliament.

"The Court are aware that the double government of the Company and the Board of Control is deemed to be objectionable; but whatever may be its defects, and although its working may be clogged by a control of all the details, so minute as hardly to have been contemplated by the legislature, yet in its results they sincerely believe that the system, possessing as it does a moral check, works, on the whole, advantageously for India. The Court do not deny that the system is susceptible of improvement; but they think it important to bear in mind that there can be no effective check without a second authority of some kind; and further, that the objection which is taken to the principle of double government is more nominal than real in the case of the Company, whose duties are rather those of a deliberative than of an executive body.

"It is the opinion of the Court that an intermediate, non-political, and perfectly independent body, in concurrence with her majesty's government, is an indispensable necessity, without which there can be no adequate security for good government; and, as at present advised, the Court do not see that it will be possible to form such a body, if its members are to be wholly nominated by the crown. They abstain, however, from offering any further observations to your lordship until they are placed in possession of the details of the proposed measure, which they trust may be communicated to them at the earliest possible period.—We have, &c.,

(Signed) "R. D. MANGLES—F. CURRIE.

"The Right Hon. Viscount Palmerston, K.G., &c."

To this communication on the part of the Company, the following reply was forwarded by Lord Palmerston:—

"Piccadilly, Jan. 18th, 1858.

"Gentlemen,—I have had the honour of receiving your joint letter of the 31st of December, upon the subject of the measure which it is the intention of her majesty's government to propose with reference to the future system to be established for the government of India; and I beg to assure you that the observations and opinions which you have therein expressed, will be duly considered by her majesty's government.

"I forbear from entering at present into any examination of those observations and opinions; first, because any correspondence with you on such matters would be most conveniently carried on through the usual official channel of the president of the India Board; and, secondly, because the grounds on which the intentions of her majesty's government have been formed, and the detailed arrangements of the measure which they mean to propose, will best be explained when that measure shall be submitted to the consideration of parliament.—I have the honour to be, gentlemen, your obedient servant,

(Signed) "PALMERSTON.

"R. D. Mangles, Esq., Sir F. Currie, &c."

The chairmau then informed the meeting that the Court of Directors had prepared a petition to the imperial parliament against the proposed measure, which was read by the secretary as follows:—

"*To the Honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in Parliament assembled.*

"The humble petition of the East India Company, showeth,—That your petitioners, at their own expense, and by the agency of their own civil and military servants, originally acquired for this country its magnificent empire in the East.

"That the foundations of this empire were laid by your petitioners, at that time neither aided nor controlled by parliament, at the same period at which a succession of administrations under the control of parliament were losing to the crown of Great Britain another great empire on the opposite side of the Atlantic.

"That during the period of about a century, which has since elapsed, the Indian possessions of this country have been governed and defended from the resources of those possessions, without the smallest cost to the British exchequer, which to the best of your petitioners' knowledge and belief, cannot be said of any other of the numerous foreign dependencies of the crown.

"That it being manifestly improper that the administration of any British possession should be independent of the general government of the empire, parliament provided, in 1783, that a department of the imperial government should have full cognizance of, and power of control over, the acts of your petitioners in the home branch of the Indian government has been conducted by the joint counsels and on the joint responsibility of your petitioners and of a minister of the crown.

"That this arrangement has at subsequent periods undergone reconsideration from the legislature, and various comprehensive and careful parliamentary inquiries have been made into its practical operation; the result of which has been on each occasion a renewed grant to your petitioners of the powers exercised by them in the administration of India.

"That the last of these occasions was so recent as

1853, in which year the arrangements which had existed for nearly three-quarters of a century, were, with certain modifications, re-enacted, and still subsist.

"That, notwithstanding, your petitioners have received an intimation from her majesty's ministers of their intention to propose to parliament a bill for the purpose of placing the government of her majesty's East Indian dominions under the direct authority of the crown, a change necessarily involving the abolition of the East India Company as an instrument of government.

"That your petitioners have not been informed of the reasons which have induced her majesty's ministers, without any previous inquiry, to come to the resolution of putting an end to a system of administration which parliament, after inquiry, deliberately confirmed and sanctioned less than five years ago, and which, in its modified form, has not been in operation quite four years, and cannot be considered to have undergone a sufficient trial during that short period.

"That your petitioners do not understand that her majesty's ministers impute any failure to those arrangements, or bring any charge, either great or small, against your petitioners. But the time at which the proposal is made compels your petitioners to regard it as arising from the calamitous events which have recently occurred in India.

"That your petitioners challenge the most searching investigation into the mutiny of the Bengal army, and the causes, whether remote or immediate, which produced that mutiny. They have instructed the government of India to appoint a commission for conducting such an inquiry on the spot; and it is their most anxious wish that a similar inquiry may be instituted in this country by your honourable house, in order that it may be ascertained whether anything, either in the constitution of the home government of India, or in the conduct of those by whom it has been administered, has had any share in producing the mutiny, or has in any way impeded the measures for its suppression; and whether the mutiny itself, or any circumstance connected with it, affords any evidence of the failure of the arrangements under which India is at present administered.

"That were it even true that these arrangements had failed, the failure would constitute no reason for divesting the East India Company of its functions, and transferring them to her majesty's government; for, under the existing system, her majesty's government have the deciding voice. The duty imposed upon the Court of Directors is to originate measures and frame drafts of instructions. Even had they been remiss in this duty, their remissness, however discreditable to themselves, could in no way absolve the responsibility of her majesty's government, since the minister for India possesses, and has frequently exercised, the power of requiring that the Court of Directors should take any subject into consideration, and prepare a draft despatch for his approval. Her majesty's government are thus, in the fullest sense, accountable for all that has been done, and for all that has been forborne or omitted to be done. Your petitioners, on the other hand, are accountable only in so far as the act of omission has been promoted by themselves.

"That under these circumstances, if the administration of India had been a failure, it would, your petitioners submit, have been somewhat unreasonable to expect that a remedy would be found in annihilating the branch of the ruling authority which could not be the one principally in fault, and might be altogether blameless, in order to concentrate all powers in the branch which had necessarily the decisive share in every error, real or supposed. To believe that the administration of India would have been more free from error had it been conducted by a minister of the crown, without the aid of the Court of Directors, would be to believe that the minister, with full power to govern India as he pleased, has governed ill because he has had the assistance of experienced and responsible advisers.

"That your petitioners, however, do not seek to vindicate themselves at the expense of any other authority; they claim their full share of the responsibility of the manner in which India has practically been governed. That responsibility is to them not a subject of humiliation, but of pride. They are conscious that their advice and initiative have been, and have deserved to be, a great and potent element in the conduct of affairs in India. And they feel complete assurance, that the more attention is bestowed, and the more light thrown upon India and its administration, the more evident it will become that the government in which they have borne a part, has been not only one of the purest in intention but one of the most beneficent in act, ever known among mankind; that during the last and present generation in particular, it has been, in all departments, one of the most rapidly improving governments in the world; and that, at the time when this change is proposed, a greater number of important improvements are in a state of more rapid progress than at any former period. And they are satisfied that whatever further improvements may be hereafter effected in India, can only consist in the development of germs already planted, and in building on foundations already laid, under their authority, and in a great measure by their express instructions.

"That such, however, is not the impression likely to be made on the public mind, either in England or in India, by the ejection of your petitioners from the place they fill in the Indian administration. It is not usual with statesmen to propose the complete abolition of a system of government of which the practical operation is not condemned, and it might be generally inferred from the proposed measures, if carried into effect at the present time, that the East India Company, having been intrusted with an important portion of the administration of India, have so abused their trust as to have produced a sanguinary insurrection, and nearly lost India to the British empire, and that having thus crowned a long career of misgovernment, they have, in deference to public indignation, been deservedly cashiered for their misconduct.

"That if the character of the East India Company were alone concerned, your petitioners might be willing to await the verdict of history. They are satisfied that posterity will do them justice. And they are confident that, even now, justice is done to them in the minds not only of her majesty's ministers, but of all who have any claim to be competent judges of the subject. But though your petitioners could afford to wait for the reversal of the verdict of condemnation which will be believed throughout the world to have been passed on them and their government by the British nation, your petitioners cannot look without the deepest uneasiness at the effect likely to be produced on the minds of the

people of India. To them—however incorrectly the name may express the fact—the British government in India is the government of the East India Company. To their minds the abolition of the Company will for some time to come mean the abolition of the whole system of administration with which the Company is identified. The measure, introduced simultaneously with the influx of an overwhelming British force, will be coincident with a general outcry, in itself most alarming to their fears, from most of the organs of opinion in this country, as well as of English opinion in India, denouncing the past policy of the government on the express ground that it has been too forbearing, and too considerate towards the natives. The people of India will at first feel no certainty that the new government, or the government under a new name, which it is proposed to introduce, will hold itself bound by the pledges of its predecessors. They will be slow to believe that a government has been destroyed, only to be followed by another which will act on the same principles, and adhere to the same measures. They cannot suppose that the existing organ of administration would be swept away without the intention of reversing any part of its policy. They will see the authorities, both at home and in India, surrounded by persons vehemently urging radical changes in many parts of that policy; and interpreting, as they must do, the change in the instrument of government as a concession to these opinions and feelings, they can hardly fail to believe that, whatever else may be intended, the government will no longer be permitted to observe that strict impartiality between those who profess its own creed and those who hold the creeds of its native subjects, which hitherto characterised it; that their strongest and most deeply rooted feelings will henceforth be treated with much less regard than heretofore; and that a directly aggressive policy towards everything in their habits, or in their usages and customs, which Englishmen deem objectionable, will be no longer confined to individuals and private associations, but will be backed by all the power of government.

"And here your petitioners think it important to observe, that in abstaining as they have done from all interference with any of the religious practices of the people of India, except such as are abhorrent to humanity, they have acted not only from their own conviction of what is just and expedient, but in accordance with the avowed intentions and express enactments of the legislature, framed 'in order that regard should be had to the civil and religious usages of the natives;' and also, 'that suits, civil or criminal, against the natives' should be conducted according to such rules 'as may accommodate the same to the religion and manners of the natives.' That their policy in this respect has been successful, is evidenced by the fact that, during a military mutiny, said to have been caused by unfounded apprehensions of danger to religion, the heads of the native states and the masses of the population have remained faithful to the British government. Your petitioners need hardly observe how very different would probably have been the issue of the late events, if the native princes, instead of aiding in the suppression of the rebellion, had put themselves at its head, or if the general population had joined in the revolt; and how probable it is that both these contingencies would have occurred if any real ground had been given for the persuasion that the British government intended to identify itself with proselytism; and it is the honest conviction of your petitioners that any serious apprehension of a change of policy in this respect would be likely to be followed, at no distant period, by a general rising throughout India.

"That your petitioners have seen with the greatest pain the demonstrations of indiscriminate animosity towards the natives of India on the part of our countrymen in India and at home, which have grown up since the late unhappy events. They believe these sentiments to be fundamentally unjust; they know them to be fatal to the possibility of good government in India. They feel that if such demonstrations should continue, and especially if weight be added to them by legislating under their supposed influence, no amount of wisdom and forbearance on the part of the government will avail to restore that confidence of the governed in the intentions of their rulers, without which it is vain even to attempt the improvement of the people.

"That your petitioners cannot contemplate without dismay the doctrine now widely promulgated, that India should be administered with an especial view to the benefit of the English who reside there, or that in its administration any advantages should be sought for her majesty's subjects of European birth, except that which they will necessarily derive from their superiority of intelligence, and from the increased prosperity of the people, the improvement of the productive resources of the country, and the extension of commercial intercourse. Your petitioners regard it as the most honourable characteristic of the government of India by England, that it has acknowledged no such distinction as that of a dominant and a subject race; but has held that its first duty was to the people of India. Your petitioners feel that a great portion of the hostility with which they are assailed, is caused by the belief that they are peculiarly the guardians of this principle, and that, so long as they have any voice in the administration of India, it cannot easily be infringed; and your petitioners will not conceal their belief that their exclusion from any part in the government is likely, at the present time, to be regarded in India as a first successful attack on that principle.

"That your petitioners, therefore, most earnestly represent to your honourable house, that even if the contemplated change could be proved to be in itself advisable, the present is a most unsuitable time for entertaining it; and they most strongly and respectfully urge on your honourable house the expediency of at least deferring any such change until it can be effected at a period when it would not be, in the minds of the people of India, directly connected with the recent calamitous events, and with the feelings to which those events have either given rise, or have afforded an opportunity of manifestation. Such postponement, your petitioners submit, would allow time for a more mature consideration than has yet been given, or can be given in the present excited state of the public mind, to the various questions connected with the organisation of a government for India, and would enable the most competent minds in the nation calmly to examine whether any new arrangement can be devised for the home government of India, uniting a greater number of the conditions of good administration than the present, and if so, which among the numerous schemes which have been or may be

proposed possesses those requisites in the greatest degree.

"That your petitioners have always willingly acquiesced in any changes which, after discussion by parliament, were deemed conducive to the general welfare, although such changes may have involved important sacrifices to themselves. They would refer to their partial relinquishment of trade in 1813—to its total abandonment, and the placing of their commercial charter in abeyance in 1833—to the transfer to India of their commercial assets, amounting to £15,858,000, a sum greatly exceeding that ultimately repayable to them in respect of their capital, independent of territorial rights and claims—and to their concurrence, in 1853, in the measure by which the Court of Directors was reconstructed and reduced to its present number. In the same spirit your petitioners would most gladly co-operate with her majesty's government in correcting any defects which may be considered to exist in the details of the present system; and they would be prepared without a murmur to relinquish their trust altogether if a better system for the control of the government of India can be devised. But as they believe that, in the construction of such a system, there are conditions which cannot, without the most dangerous consequences, be departed from, your petitioners respectfully and deferentially submit to the judgment of your honourable house their view of those conditions, in the hope that if your honourable house should see reason to agree in that view, you will withhold your legislative sanction from any arrangement for the government of India which does not fulfil the conditions in question in at least an equal degree with the present.

"That your petitioners may venture to assume that it will not be proposed to vest the home portion of the administration of India in a minister of the crown without the adjunct of a council composed of statesmen experienced in Indian affairs. Her majesty's ministers cannot but be aware that the knowledge necessary for governing a foreign country, and in particular a country like India, requires as much special study as any other profession, and cannot possibly be possessed by any one who has not devoted a considerable portion of his life to the acquisition of it.

"That in constituting a body of experienced advisers, to be associated with the Indian minister, your petitioners consider it indispensable to bear in mind that this body should not only be qualified to advise the minister, but also, by its advice, to exercise, to a certain degree, a moral check. It cannot be expected that the minister, as a general rule, should himself know India: while he will be exposed to perpetual solicitations from individuals and bodies, either entirely ignorant of that country, or knowing only enough of it to impose on those who know still less than themselves, and having very frequently objects in view other than the interests or good government of India. The influence likely to be brought to bear on him through the organs of popular opinion will, in the majority of cases, be equally misleading. The public opinion of England, itself necessarily unacquainted with Indian affairs, can only follow the promptings of those who take most pains to influence it; and these will generally be such as have some private interest to serve. It is, therefore, your petitioners submit, of the utmost importance that any council which may form a part of the home government of India should derive sufficient weight from its constitution, and from the relation it occupies to the minister, to be a substantial barrier against those inroads of self-interest and ignorance in this country from which the government of India has hitherto been comparatively free, but against which it would be too much to expect that parliament should of itself afford a sufficient protection.

"That your petitioners cannot well conceive a worse form of government for India than a minister with a council whom he should be at liberty to consult or not at his pleasure, or whose advice he should be able to disregard without giving his reasons in writing, and in a manner likely to carry conviction. Such an arrangement, your petitioners submit, would be really liable to the objections in their opinion erroneously urged against the present system. Your petitioners respectfully represent that any body of persons associated with the minister, which is not a check, will be a screen. Unless the council is so constituted as to be personally independent of the minister; unless it feels itself responsible for recording an opinion on every Indian subject, and pressing that opinion on the minister, whether it was agreeable to him or not; and unless the minister, when he overrules their opinion, is bound to record his reasons—their existence will only serve to weaken his responsibility, and to give the colourable sanction of prudence and experience to measures in the framing of which those qualities have had no share.

"That it would be vain to expect that a new council could have as much moral influence and power of asserting its opinion with effect as the Court of Directors. A new body can no more succeed to the feelings and authority which their antiquity and their historical antecedents give to the East India Company, than a legislature, under a new name, sitting in Westminster, would have the moral ascendancy of the Houses of Lords and Commons. One of the most important elements of usefulness will thus be necessarily wanting in any newly-constituted Indian council, as compared with the present.

"That your petitioners find it difficult to conceive that the same independence, in judgment and act, which characterises the Court of Directors, will be found in any council all of whose members are nominated by the crown. Owing their nomination to the same authority, many of them probably to the same individual minister whom they are appointed to check, and looking to him alone for their reappointment, their desire of recommending themselves to him, and their unwillingness to risk his displeasure by any serious resistance to his wishes, will be motives too strong not to be in danger of exercising a powerful and injurious influence over their conduct. Nor are your petitioners aware of any mode in which that injurious influence could be guarded against, except by conferring the appointments, like those of the judges, during good behaviour; which, by rendering it impossible to correct an error once committed, would be seriously objectionable.

"That your petitioners are equally unable to perceive how, if the controlling body is entirely nominated by the minister, that happy independence of parliamentary and party influence which has hitherto distinguished the administration of India, and the appointment to situations of trust and importance in that country, can be expected to continue. Your

petitioners believe that in no government known to history have appointments to offices, and especially to high offices, been so rarely bestowed on any other considerations than those of personal fitness. This characteristic, but for which in all probability India would long since have been lost to this country, is, your petitioners conceive, entirely owing to the circumstance that the dispensers of patronage have been persons unconnected with party, and under no necessity of conciliating parliamentary support; that consequently the appointments to offices in India have been, as a rule, left to the unbiassed judgment of the local authorities; while the nominations to the civil and military services have been generally bestowed on the middle classes, irrespective of political considerations, and in a large proportion on the relatives of persons who had distinguished themselves by their services in India.

"That your petitioners therefore think it essential that at least a majority of the council which assists the minister for India with its advice, should hold their seats independently of his appointment.

"That it is, in the opinion of your petitioners, no less necessary that the order of the transaction of business should be such as to make the participation of the council in the administration of India a substantial one. That to this end it is, in the opinion of your petitioners, indispensable that the despatches to India should not be prepared by the minister and laid before the council, but should be prepared by the council, and submitted to the minister. This would be in accordance with the natural and obvious principle that persons, chosen for their knowledge of a subject, should suggest the mode of dealing with it, instead of merely giving their opinion on suggestions coming from elsewhere. This is also the only mode in which the members of the council can feel themselves sufficiently important, or sufficiently responsible, to secure their applying their minds to the subjects before them. It is almost unnecessary for your petitioners to observe, that the mind is called forth into far more vigorous action by being required to propose, than by being merely called on to assent. The minister has necessarily the ultimate decision. If he has also the initiative, he has all the powers which are of any practical moment. A body whose only recognised function was to find fault, would speedily let that function fall into desuetude. They would feel that co-operation in conducting the government of India was not really desired; that they were only felt as a clog on the wheels of business. Their criticism on what had been decided, without their being collectively consulted, would be felt as importunate as a mere delay and impediment, and their office would probably be seldom sought but by those who were willing to allow its most important duties to become nominal.

"That with the duty of preparing the despatches to India would naturally be combined the nomination and control of the home establishments. This your petitioners consider absolutely essential to the utility of the council. If the officers through whom they work are in direct dependence upon an authority higher than theirs, all matters of importance will in reality be settled between the minister and the subordinates, passing over the council altogether.

"That a third consideration to which your petitioners attach great importance, is, that the number of the council should not be too restricted. India is so wide a field, that a practical acquaintance with every part of its affairs cannot be found combined in any small number of individuals. The council ought to contain men of general experience and knowledge of the world, also men specially qualified by financial and revenue experience, by judicial experience, diplomatic experience, military experience; it ought to contain persons conversant with the varied social relations, and varied institutions of Bengal, Madras, Bombay, the North-Western Provinces, the Punjab, and the native states. Even the present Court of Directors, reduced as it is in numbers by the act of 1853, does not contain all the varieties of knowledge and experience, desirable in such a body; neither, your petitioners submit, would it be safe to limit the number to that which would be strictly sufficient, supposing all the appointments to be the best possible. A certain margin should be allowed for failures, which, even with the most conscientious selection, will sometimes occur. Your petitioners, moreover, cannot overlook the possibility, that if the nomination takes place by ministers at the head of a political party, it will not always be made with exclusive reference to personal qualifications; and it is indispensable to provide that such errors or faults in the nominating authority, so long as they are only occasional, shall not seriously impair the efficiency of the body.

"That while these considerations plead strongly for a body not less numerous than the present, even if only regarded as advisers of the minister, their other office, as a check on the minister, forms, your petitioners submit, a no less forcible objection to any considerable reduction of the present number. A body of six or eight will not be equal to one of eighteen in that feeling of independent self-reliance which is necessary to induce a public body to press its opinion on a minister to whom that opinion is unacceptable. However unobjectionable in other respects so small a body may be constituted, reluctance to give offence will be likely, unless in extreme cases, to be a stronger habitual inducement in their minds than the desire to stand up for their convictions.

"That if, in the opinion of your honourable house, a body can be constituted which unites the above enumerated requisites of good government in a greater degree than the Court of Directors, your petitioners have only to express their humble hope that your endeavours for that purpose may be successful. But if, in enumerating the conditions of a good system of home government for India, your petitioners have, in fact, enumerated the qualities possessed by the present system, then your petitioners pray that your honourable house will continue the existing powers of the Court of Directors.

"That your petitioners are aware that the present home government of India is reproached with being a double government, and that any arrangement by which an independent check is provided to the discretion of the minister will be liable to a similar reproach. But they conceive that this accusation originates in an entire misconception of the functions devolving on the home government of India, and in the application to it of the principles applicable to purely executive departments. The executive government of India is, and must be, seated in India itself. The Court of Directors is not so much an executive as a deliberative body. Its principal function, and that of the home government generally, is not to direct the details of administration, but to scrutinise and revise the past acts of the

Indian government—to lay down principles and issue general instructions for their future guidance—and to give or refuse sanction to great political measures, which are referred home for approval. These duties are more analogous to the functions of parliament than to those of an executive board; and it might almost as well be said that parliament, as that the government of India, should be constituted on the principles applicable to executive boards. It is considered an excellence, not a defect, in the constitution of parliament, to be not merely a double but a triple government. An executive authority, your petitioners submit, may often with advantage be single, because promptitude is its first requisite. But the function of passing a deliberate opinion on past measures, and laying down principles of future policy, is a business which, in the estimation of your petitioners, admits of and requires the concurrence of more judgments than one. It is no defect in such a body to be double, and no excellence to be single, especially when it can only be made so by cutting off that branch of it which, by previous training, is always the best prepared—and often the only one which is prepared at all—for its peculiar duty.

"That your petitioners have heard it asserted that, in consequence of what is called the double government, the Indian authorities are less responsible to parliament and the nation than other departments of the government of the empire, since it is impossible to know on which of the two branches of home government the responsibility ought to rest. Your petitioners fearlessly affirm that this impression is not only groundless but the very reverse of the truth. The home government of India is not less, but more responsible than any other branch of the administration of the state, inasmuch as the president of the Board of Commissioners, who is the minister for India, is as completely responsible as any other of her majesty's ministers, and, in addition, his advisers also are responsible. It is always certain, in the case of India, that the president of the Board of Commissioners must have either commanded or sanctioned all that has been done. No more than this, your petitioners would submit, can be known in the case of the head of any department of her majesty's government. For it is not, nor can it rationally be supposed that any minister of the crown is without trusted advisers; and the minister for India must, for obvious reasons, be more dependent than any other of her majesty's ministers upon the advice of persons whose lives have been devoted to the subject on which their advice has been given. But in the case of India, such advisers are assigned to him by the constitution of the government, and they are as much responsible for what they advise as he for what he ordains; while, in other departments, the minister's only official advisers are the subordinates in his office, men often of great skill and experience, but not in the public eye—often unknown to the public even by name; official reserve precludes the possibility of ascertaining what advice they give, and they are responsible only to the minister himself. By what application of terms this can be called responsible government, and the joint government of your petitioners and the India Board an irresponsible government, your petitioners think it unnecessary to ask.

"That, without knowing the plan on which her majesty's ministers contemplate the transfer to the crown of the servants of the Company, your petitioners find themselves unable to approach the delicate question of the Indian army, further than to point out that the high military qualities of the officers of that army have unquestionably sprung, in a great degree, from its being a principal and substantive army, holding her majesty's commissions, and enjoying equal rank with her majesty's officers; and your petitioners would earnestly deprecate any change in that position.

"That your petitioners, having regard to all these considerations, humbly pray your honourable house that you will not give your sanction to any change in the constitution of the Indian government during the continuance of the present unhappy disturbances, nor without a full previous inquiry into the operation of the present system. And your petitioners further pray that this inquiry may extend to every department of Indian administration. Such an inquiry your petitioners respectfully claim, not only as a matter of justice to themselves, but because when, for the first time in this century, the thoughts of every public man in the country are fixed on India, an inquiry would be more thorough, and its results would carry much more instruction to the mind of parliament and of the country than at any preceding period."

During the reading of the above important protest, the several passages which referred to the successful efforts of the East India Company in adding an empire to the dominions of the British crown, to the advantages which that empire had derived from their government, the efficiency of all their departments, and more especially to their objections to leave the appointment of the controlling body and the higher offices in the hands of ministers, were loudly cheered by the Court. Ultimately, the petition was ordered to be printed preparatory to the opening of the session; and the further consideration of the resolution submitted to the Court on the 13th of January, was again adjourned.

An incident occurred about the beginning of 1858, which established a very considerate and acceptable deviation from the practice that had hitherto existed with regard to the bestowal of honours for services rendered to the country. Previous to the outbreak of the Indian rebellion, it had been the custom to confer titles and distinctions for services in the field at the end of a campaign, or even of a war, when hope had been long deferred, and when, too often, some of the most worthy were beyond the reach of mortal praise; but in this Indian war, by a judicious exercise of discretion on the part of the advisers of the sovereign, it became usual to confer honours on the deserving while their meritorious deeds were yet fresh, and their names were in the mouths of all men. The course of events had, in fact, become so

rapid, and leader after leader had been struck down so suddenly by the sword, or by disease or exhaustion, that the old practice would have been little better than a mockery: and even under the improved system that had been introduced in this respect, honours too frequently became posthumous. The baronetcy conferred on General Havelock, as soon as the official despatches of his last achievement reached home, proved to have been granted too late; and it became evidently necessary that the queen's government should lose no time in rewarding military merit. As an earnest of this intention, immediately upon the receipt of Sir Colin Campbell's despatches with the report of Colonel Inglis, describing the defence of the residency at Lucknow, the latter gallant officer was promoted to the rank of major-general; and the *Gazette* of the 19th of January announced, that the baronetcy which was to have been conferred upon the late Sir Henry Havelock, had been granted to the eldest son, and, in default of direct issue, to the other sons of the deceased general; and by the same authority it was declared, that the widow of the general had been raised by the queen to the rank which would have been her's if her husband had lived to receive the dignity intended for him.

The discussions at the India House upon the resolution and petition proposed for adoption, on the 13th and 20th of January,* continued by successive adjournments to the 28th of the month, when both were unanimously adopted; and the necessary steps were ordered to be taken for the presentation of the petition as soon as parliament should meet.

It has already been stated that, in the autumn of 1856, the queen-mother of Oude, with two princes of the royal family, arrived in England, for the purpose of submitting in person, to the queen and parliament, their complaints of the wrong to which their country and family had been subjected by the East India Company in the annexation of the kingdom of Oude. Some time after her majesty's arrival in this country, an audience was obtained of the queen, whose reception of the royal suppliant for justice was represented at the time as having been gracious and cordial. Shortly after this incident, petitions were presented by the royal strangers to both houses of parliament, meeting with the result already described. The queen of Oude continued to reside near the metropolis, in a kind of semi-state, attended by a numerous retinue, until tidings of the revolt of the Bengal army, and the suspected complicity of her son, the king of Oude, in an insurrectionary movement, reached this country, accompanied by the announcement of his imprisonment in Fort William. She immediately appealed to both houses of parliament, denying the imputation against the loyalty of her son and family, and prayed for redress and for permission to communicate with the imprisoned king. The mode in which this appeal of a queen and mother was received by the hereditary legislators of the British empire, has already been recorded.† It is only necessary to repeat, that its reception was objected to upon the ground of informality; and the appeal of an aggrieved and sorrowing princess, who had endured the perils of a long and hazardous voyage from her native country, to seek justice at its fount upon earth, was necessarily withdrawn.

From this time the royal strangers remained in comparative obscurity, until the queen obtained permission to leave the country, with her son and grandson, on a visit to Mecca; and for that purpose reached Paris, *en route* for Egypt. Here the unfortunate lady—whose health had been destroyed by disappointment, anxiety, and sorrow—was overtaken by death on the 23rd of January. Preparations for the obsequies were made in accordance with the rites of her religion,‡ and the funeral

* See *ante*, pp. 446, 447.

† See vol. i., pp. 632—634.

‡ The ceremony observed upon the embalmment of the body of the queen of Oude, was thus described:—"It was found necessary to construct a kind of wooden platform in the courtyard of the hotel, where the body of the princess could undergo the ceremony of thorough ablution. The features of the deceased were but very little changed. No incisions were made for the operation of embalming, as is usual in Europe; the people of the suite, who themselves effected the operation, introduced aromatic substances and perfumes through the mouth, ears, and nostrils, and repeatedly anointed the body with odoriferous oils and essences. The body was afterwards wrapt round with bands of fine muslin, and the whole covered with a crimson cloth embroidered in gold. After this had been done, the religious service commenced. The females, whether relatives of the deceased or ladies of the palace, and afterwards the officers and servants, entered successively into the chamber where the body was laid out, and where two priests recited the prayers prescribed by the religion in which the princess had lived. The females uttered deep groans, and the men showed every sign of grief. No light was burning in the

took place on the 27th of the month. The remains of the queen, deposited in a coffin of peculiar shape, were placed in a hearse drawn by six horses caparisoned in white. The hearse was covered with a cloth embroidered with gold, and surrounded with white draperies, bearing the letter "M;" thirteen mourning coaches followed the hearse. Mirza Hasmat Lekendal Bahadoor (the youngest son of the deceased), and Mirza Hadar (her grandson), walked close after the hearse. The Hindoos who formed the queen's suite followed in the mourning carriages. Two priests belonging to the religion professed by the queen of Oude, were in the procession. The *cortége* left the Rue Laffitte, and followed the Boulevards to Pere la Chaise, where the corpse was interred in the Mussulman cemetery, being the first grave opened in that ground. The coffin, previous to the interment, was carried into the mosque, where prayers were recited by the priests. At this moment the Indian followers gave way to loud lamentations. The queen's age was stated to be fifty-three.

The princes of Oude, after assisting in the ceremonial, returned to London, and were soon lost sight of amongst the shifting masses of which metropolitan society is composed. But few months, however, intervened before attention was again directed to the hapless family; two out of the three princes having followed the late queen to a European grave.

On Thursday, the 4th of February, parliament met, pursuant to adjournment from the 12th of December. On the 6th, a bill was introduced by Mr. V. Smith, to empower the East India Company to raise £10,000,000 by way of loan, for the service of the government of India; and on the 8th, Baron Panmure in the upper house, and Viscount Palmerston in the Commons, severally moved the thanks of parliament to the governor-general and the civil, military, and naval services employed in India. The motion in each case was illustrated by reference to the career and achievements of each of the leaders and corps mentioned in the resolution, and the noble secretary-at-war expatiated with much eloquence upon the courage, coolness, and administrative talent displayed through a period of terrible exigency by the governor-general of India; virtues of which the existence was questioned by the Earl of Derby, who regretted that "the terms of the resolution were so framed, as to include in the vote of thanks certain persons holding high office in India; and he objected to any formal expression of approval as regarded the governor-general, whom the noble lord considered it would be time enough to thank when he had thoroughly overcome the difficulties created by his maladministration."—In the lower house, Mr. Disraeli suggested the omission of Lord Canning's name from the resolution; and in default of such omission, declared his intention to move the previous question, and get rid of the vote of thanks altogether.—In the Lords the motion was carried with unanimity; and in the Commons, after a short but sharp discussion, in which the conduct of the governor-general was impugned by one party, and strenuously defended by the other. Mr. Disraeli withdrew his opposition, and the resolution was put and carried *nem. con.*

On the following day, Earl Grey in the Lords, and Mr. T. Baring in the Commons, presented the petition from the East India Company, of which a copy has already been inserted in this volume.* No discussion took place upon this occasion in the lower house, the document being simply laid on the table. At length, on Friday, February 12th, Lord Palmerston moved for leave to bring in a bill for transferring from the East India Company to the crown the government of her majesty's dominions in the East Indies. He brought forward this measure, he said, not out of any hostility to the Company on the ground of any delinquency on their part, or as implying any blame or censure on that body, which had done many good things for India, and whose administration had been attended with great advantages to the population under their rule. The Company's political authority, he observed, had not been conferred; it had grown up gradually and accidentally from small beginnings—factories

room, but a fire was lighted in the court, which was, according to custom, to be kept burning until after the body had been removed." On the day appointed for the funeral, a prince of the royal family of Oude, probably the uncle of the sovereign confined at Calcutta, arrived from London. He was a man of about fifty years of age, tall, and rather corpulent. On his forehead he wore a diadem ornamented with diamonds and rubies; and all the officers and servants prostrated themselves before him. He was conducted into the chamber where the body was lying, and evinced marks of the deepest affliction; but he did not accompany the funeral procession.

* See *ante*, p. 447.

extending to districts, and districts being enlarged into provinces. When, however, their commercial privileges were withdrawn, the Company became but a phantom of what it was, and subsided into an agency of the imperial government, without, however, responsibility to parliament, or any immediate connection with India. He pointed out the obvious inconveniences incident to the double government by the Board of Control and a Court of Directors elected by a body consisting of holders of East India stock. He admitted that a system of check was beneficial, but check and counter-check might be so multiplied as to paralyse action; and he thought it was desirable that this cumbrous machinery should be reduced in form to what it was in fact, and that complete authority should vest where the public thought complete responsibility should rest, instead of nominally in an irresponsible body, ostensibly a company of merchants. The bill would be confined to a change of the administration at home, without any alteration of the arrangements in India, the intention being to alter as little as possible, consistently with the great object in view, the establishment of a responsible government for India, as for other territories of the crown. He proposed that the functions of the Court of Directors and the Court of Proprietors should cease, and that there should be substituted a president and council for the affairs of India, the president to be a member of the cabinet, and the councillors to be named by the crown, eight in number, who should be appointed for eight years. It was proposed that the decision of the president, who would be the organ of the government, should be final; but that if the councillors dissented from his opinion, they should have the right to record their opinion in minutes; and on matters concerning the Indian revenue, it was intended that the president should have the concurrence of four councillors. He proposed that the council should have the power of distributing the business among themselves; that the president should be placed upon the footing of a secretary of state, and that the councillors should have salaries of £1,000 a-year. It was proposed that while all the powers now vested in the Court of Directors should be transferred to this council, all appointments in India now made by the local authorities should continue to be so made; that the president should be authorised to appoint one secretary capable of sitting in that house; but it was not proposed that the councillors should be capable of sitting in parliament. There was one matter of constitutional difficulty which, he remarked, had always been the foundation of an objection to this change—namely, the patronage. With regard, however, to the local appointments, they would continue to be made in India. Members of the local councils likewise would be made by the governor-general. Arrangements had already been made by which writerships were obtained by open competition, and this system would be continued. Cadetships had hitherto been divided between the Court of Directors and the president of the Board of Control, and it was proposed to leave them to the president and council. The final appointment of both would depend upon their efficiency in India. A certain portion of the cadetships would be reserved for the sons of Indian officers. There would, therefore, be no additional patronage thrown into the hands of the government which could provoke the slightest constitutional jealousy. As the president and council would possess the powers of the existing secret committee, it was proposed that, in any case where orders were sent to India involving the commencement of hostilities, they should be communicated to parliament within one month. The revenues of India would, of course, be applied solely to the purposes of the Indian government, and auditors would be appointed to examine the expenditure of the revenue, and their audit would be laid before parliament. In conclusion, Lord Palmerston replied to anticipated objections, expressing his conviction that the change he proposed, while it strengthened the power of England in India, would, on the other hand, better enable the government to discharge those duties towards the people of India which it was intended that this nation should perform.—Mr. T. Baring, in moving, by way of amendment to the motion, a resolution, "that it is not at present expedient to legislate for the government of India," dwelt upon the extent and formidable character of the proposed change, the alarm which it would excite in the minds of the people of India, and the power which it threw into the hands of the government. No charge, he observed, had been made against the East India Company; and he entreated the house to pause before it adopted the plan in the present state of affairs in India.—Sir E. Perry thought, on

the contrary, that this was the fittest and most opportune moment for introducing a measure of this kind; that the mind of the British public and the attention of parliament were now occupied with Indian affairs; and all accounts from India showed that some great change was anticipated there. His opinion was, that the present system was an effete, useless, and cumbrous machine, which had not accomplished the object which it was intended to effect, the Court of Directors being now a mere *caput mortuum*, while the Board of Control escaped responsibility.—Mr. Milnes considered that no facts had been put forward to show that the progress of events in India had been checked by the action of the double government, or that it had contributed to the mutiny. In his opinion, India would not be better governed by the despotism of a cabinet minister. He had expected that Lord Palmerston would have offered some plea for the measure; but he had been disappointed.—Mr. W. Vansittart insisted that before a change was proposed, an inquiry into the causes and circumstances of the late outbreak in India was imperatively demanded. —Mr. Ayrton said that, having gone to India with every prejudice in favour of the government of the East India Company, he had come to the conclusion, after a residence there, that the continuance of the rule of that remnant of a trading company was not only highly inexpedient, but impossible. He disputed the allegations in the Company's petition, which, he said, put forth misstatements and arrogant pretensions.—The chancellor of the exchequer observed, that the petition of the East India Company had received fully as much praise as it deserved, and that a public document like that ought not only to be distinguished by composition and style, but should be based upon undeniable facts and cogent reasoning. There were two main assumptions in that document; one, that the East India Company had acquired our Eastern empire; the other, that their government was the best government that the civilised world had ever produced. With respect to the first, assuming that the acquisition of territory in India had been advantageous to the country, he disputed the doctrine that it had been acquired by the policy of the East India Company; it had been acquired by Clive, Hastings, and other Indian conquerors, and by governors appointed by the crown, in spite of repeated instructions of the trading company not to acquire territory. In examining the other assumption, Sir C. Lewis traced the history of parliamentary control of Indian administration from the Regulating Act of 1773, and read an extract from the well-known resolutions moved by Mr. Burke in 1784, containing a fearful picture of the Company's government of that day; and he asserted that there existed evidence damnatory of the Company as a political body from 1758 to 1784, showing that no civilised government on the face of the earth was more corrupt, perfidious, and rapacious. All that could be said in favour of the East India Company dated, he observed, from the year 1784, after they had been subjected to parliamentary control. The establishment of the Board of Control totally altered the constitution of the Company as a political body, placing them, as regarded their governing powers, in a purely subordinate position. In 1813 the trading monopoly of the Company was taken away; and, in 1833, the whole of their trading powers were abolished, and they were merely retained as a political engine subordinate to the crown. In 1853 further changes were made in the constitution of the Court of Directors; and the fallacy in the petition consisted in supposing the East India Company to be one and indivisible, and that they had remained unchanged from the battle of Plassy to the last renewal of their charter. He agreed that there was no ground for imputing blame to the Company as to the origin of the mutiny; but the present state of things had brought under the consideration of the executive government the clumsiness, inefficiency, and complexity of the present form of the home government of India. It was a composite body, the parts acting and reacting upon each other, defined by act of parliament, and which parliament could at any time remodel; and he thought it would be more satisfactory if parliament would fix the executive authority for Indian affairs in this country, with full responsibility, upon the ministers of the crown. He then reviewed briefly the details of the proposed plan, pointing out its relative and positive advantages; and, with regard to the question of patronage, on which Mr. Fox's India Bill was wrecked, he contended that it could not be said that this bill would confer any increase of patronage upon the crown.—Mr. Mangles, in replying to the chancellor of the

exchequer, defended the allegations in the Company's petition, and quoted testimony borne by Lord Macaulay to the character of the Company's government prior to 1784. He argued strongly against the proposed measure on account of the time, and the effect which the change might produce upon the natives of India. It was, he said, most desirable, if such a change as that proposed was to be made, that it should be introduced at a time when India was tranquil, when the minds of the people were not alienated from each other, and especially when the native population were not distracted by the apprehension that their religious opinions were to be strongly and violently interfered with. The debate was adjourned, at the close of Mr. Mangles' speech, upon the motion of Mr. Roebuck, until the following Monday, when that honourable gentleman resumed it by remarking that, in the acquisition of India, we had broken through almost every rule of morality, that we had exhibited great valour and intelligence, but not great virtue. In framing a plan of government that would be capable of maintaining order, and conducing to the happiness of the people, there were, he observed, three courses open for choice, viz., that of maintaining the present double government, or handing back the entire authority to the Court of Directors of the East India Company, or adopting the bill of Lord Palmerston. With respect to the first course, the double government destroyed all responsibility. As to the second, there had never been a worse government known to the world than that of the Court of Directors, as testified by Lord Macaulay, a great defender of the Company; they were not, therefore, the persons he would trust with the government of India. There remained only the bill in question, which, with certain changes indicated by him, he thought would be the best home administration for India. If this was the right course, he begged the house not to be frightened by a cry of opposition, but to adopt it at once.—Sir H. Rawlinson observed that the change of the government of India was two-fold; in England, by the abolition of the double government, and in India by the proclamation of the queen's name. To show the complex and dilatory machinery of the double government at home, he described what he termed the gestation of an Indian despatch; and he asked whether there could be a more obstructive and unbusiness-like system. The sooner the double government, therefore, was done away, in his opinion, the better. With respect to the change in India, he believed that, with the exception of a very small section of the covenanted civil servants, the European community and the officers of the Indian army would prefer the government of the crown to that of the Company. In considering the effect of the change upon the natives of India, he observed that, among the great mass of the population, owing to their docility and susceptibility, individual character and influence had more effect than any abstract question of government. But among the educated classes it was different; he believed that they understood the distinction between the crown and the Company as well as we did, and he never heard a doubt of their preferring the government of the former. With regard to the most important question—that of the time, it was his honest opinion that it was favourable for the change, and that the proclamation of the queen's name would produce good effects. By approving the principle of the bill, and deprecating delay, however, he did not commit himself to an unqualified approval of its details, there being parts to which he could not assent.—Sir J. Walsh argued that the double government contained useful elements; that it brought local knowledge to bear upon the supreme board. Nothing was so simple as absolute power; but Englishmen desired checks and limitations, which involved complexity and delay. He complained of the extent of the patronage which the bill would vest in the government, who would have the disposal of a revenue of £30,000,000, with only a phantom of control on the part of that house. The consequence of the measure would be, that public opinion would be brought to bear upon the ministry, and might force upon them a line of policy, with respect to the extension of Christianity in India, that would lead to the destruction of our empire, and he therefore would vote for the amendment.—Several other members followed in the same strain, and at 1 A.M. the house adjourned upon the motion of Colonel Sykes.

On the 16th, the progress of the discussion upon Lord Palmerston's bill was interrupted by Mr. H. Baillie, who had a motion on the paper to call the attention of the house to the causes which had led to the rebellion in her majesty's dominions in the

East; and for copies of a secret despatch, signed by the president of the Board of Control, in the year 1831, addressed to Lord William Bentinck, and ordering him to annex or otherwise assume the administration of the kingdom of Oude; of the despatch of Lord William Bentinck, explaining his reasons for not carrying those orders into effect; of the correspondence which took place, through the secret department of the India House, between the president of the Board of Control and the governor-general of India, in the years 1833, 1834, and 1835, in reference to the annexation of Oude; and copy of a note or minute signed by Sir Henry Ellis, when a member of the Board of Control, explaining his reasons for dissenting from the projected annexation of Oude.—Lord Palmerston appealed to the honourable member not to bring forward his motion now. The subject to which he was about to call the attention of the house was a sort of parenthesis to that on which the debate was adjourned, and he thought it would be better to allow the house to come to a conclusion on the latter first.—Mr. Baillie said there might have been some reason for his giving way if this had been an ordinary occasion, but it was not an ordinary occasion. The house was called upon to legislate for India, without any information having been accorded to it with reference to the rebellion of that country. The motion which he was about to bring under the notice of the house might possibly throw some light on it, and therefore he thought the noble lord would admit he was justified in bringing it forward before any decision was taken on the bill. He then proceeded to state what he believed to be the real cause of the rebellion—namely, Mohammedan impatience of Christian rule, the former having taken advantage of the state of India through the policy that had been pursued there, with a reckless disregard of consequences. Eminent Indian statesmen had recorded their opinions, that the wholesale annexation of native states was both impolitic and unjust; and he then enumerated the states which, since 1833, when the annexation policy commenced, had been incorporated with the British dominions in India. "First of all," said the honourable member, "we began with the small state of Coorg; that was followed by the annexation of Sattara; then came, at no great distance of time, the annexation of the immense territory of the Ameers of Scinde; next the annexation of the Punjab; after that, of the territory of Pegu; then of Nagpore; and, finally, the seizure of the kingdom of Oude. All these territories, and some other smaller principalities, had been annexed to our Indian empire within that short period, without the addition to the army of a single European soldier. It was, of course, perfectly impossible to guard these newly-acquired territories without the presence of European soldiers. The territory of Scinde, for instance, required the presence of a considerable European force for a long time; the occupation of the Punjab required a force of more than 10,000 men—half of the queen's troops serving in India; the occupation of Pegu employed several European regiments; and to furnish these troops, the British government was compelled to withdraw all its garrisons from the great stations of Central India; so that when this rebellion broke out there were but two European regiments between Delhi and Calcutta, including the newly-acquired territory of Oude. All the great stations of Allahabad, Cawnpore, Dinapore, Agra, Benares, were committed to the guardianship of the sepoys of the Bengal army. That was a distribution of forces which offered a favourable opportunity for the revolt which broke out. The government of India had many means of knowing the great dissatisfaction and discontent which were caused in the Bengal army by the annexation of Oude, and they must have been aware of the fact. He knew that many private letters had come to this country after the annexation, from officers commanding regiments in the Bengal army, stating that their men had gone to them in crowds, asking why the king of Oude had been dethroned; and he remembered being told by an honourable member, long before the rebellion broke out, that thousands of petitions were being sent up from the troops of the Bengal army against the annexation of Oude. Surely these facts must have been known to the government of India; and they ought to have convinced them that no great dependence was to be placed in a body of men who were dissatisfied and discontented, and who had shown of late years most unmistakable symptoms of a disposition to mutiny whenever they had a grievance to complain of. He gave no opinion regarding the wisdom of the annexation policy, but he complained of

the faulty manner in which it had been carried out. Some of these acts might be, others were not, measures of necessity; but he confined himself to what he considered to be the immediate cause of the late disasters in India—the annexation of Oude. He traced the history of this measure, in which, he said, Lord Dalhousie had been merely an instrument; and condemned, in severe terms, the plea or pretext for seizing the possessions of the king of Oude—namely, the oppressiveness of his government—which, in his opinion, was more disgusting than open violence. He thought the government of India would be better employed in reforming its own internal administration, than in wasting the resources of the country in annexing native states." He concluded by moving for certain papers.—Mr. V. Smith observed, that Mr. Baillie had not thrown much light upon the causes of the mutiny of the Bengal army: he had dwelt upon only one cause, the annexation of Oude; and it was notorious that we had made no advance in the knowledge of the real causes of the mutiny. Mr. Baillie had alleged that the policy of annexation had begun in 1833, but he was completely mistaken. There never had been a policy of annexation, which would be a policy of acquisition; and no government had laid down such a policy. He was sorry to hear Mr. Baillie say that the annexation of Oude was discreditable to Lord Dalhousie. That measure had been long before the house; and he contended that Lord Dalhousie had acted in the transaction with great discretion. The king of Oude had been distinctly warned by Lord W. Bentinck and Lord Hardinge, that if he refused to reform his government he would forfeit his throne. The oppression of his people was the ground of his deposal; and all the authorities in India which the government consulted at the time were in favour of the measure. He made no opposition to the motion.

Lord John Russell objected to the impression created by Mr. Baillie's reference to Lord Dalhousie, who, he said, had governed India for six or seven years with great ability, devoting thereto his time, his talents, and his health; and he (Lord John) thought it unfair that imputations should be cast upon that nobleman's character. The case of Oude was one of half a century's duration; and the misgovernment of that country was so notorious in 1801, that Lord Wellesley found it necessary to interfere, and concluded a treaty with the nawab-vizier, which pledged the prince to act in conformity with the advice of the Company. That treaty was constantly violated; and the subsidiary force, under British officers, was employed in the odious office of enforcing the vicious rule of a corrupt and debased court.—Lord John Manners maintained that the present king did really listen to, and act upon, the advice given to him; and that the general charge to the contrary was not substantiated by facts. He asserted that the treaty entered into with the king of Oude, in 1837, which prohibited the annexation of any part of the dominions of that prince, had been kept out of sight; and contended, if that treaty was in force in 1856, the annexation was a flagrant violation of it. That treaty bore date the 11th of September, and had been ratified by the governor-general in council; and the 7th and 8th articles of it prohibited the annexation of any portion of the territory of Oude. The 7th article set forth, that the British government, in order to remedy some defects in the system of police, claimed to themselves the right of appointing its own officers, and of having the expenditure connected with their maintenance defrayed out of a certain territory in the kingdom of Oude; while, in the 8th article, it was declared that steps would be taken to place the territory thus assumed upon such a footing as to facilitate its restoration to the sovereign of Oude when the proper time arrived. Now, he would ask, could it be justly contended that the annexation of Oude was not a palpable violation of the treaty of 1837? It had, indeed, been alleged by Lord Dalhousie, that, from the first moment the government at home had become aware of the existence of that treaty, they had entirely disannulled and disallowed it. He could show that Lord Auckland, a year afterwards, was totally ignorant of the disallowance of that treaty. Lord Dalhousie had declared more than once, in the most distinct manner, that as soon as the treaty was brought to the knowledge of the government at home, it was disallowed. Now, in a letter written by Lord Auckland to the king of Oude, dated "Simla, July 8th, 1839," there was this passage:—

"May the Omnipotent of everlasting dignity continue to preserve ever fresh and

verdant, by the showers of His grace and mercy, the garden of the wealth and prosperity of your majesty, the ornament of the throne of grandeur and exaltation. Let it not remain beneath the veil of secrecy and concealment, or be hidden from the light-reflecting mirror of your mind, that lately much discussion has been carried on between the Court of Directors of exalted dignity and myself, by means of a written correspondence, touching the recent treaty of the 11th of September, 1837. Now, taking into consideration that the expense entailed by the auxiliary force —viz., sixteen lacs (£160,000 sterling) per annum, might be the cause of interrupting the administration and amelioration of your kingdom, the said expense became the subject of their grave deliberations. From the period you ascended the throne your majesty has, in comparison with times past, greatly improved the kingdom; and I have, in consequence, been authorised by the Court of Directors to inform you, that 'if I think it advisable for the present, I may' relieve your majesty from part of the clause of the treaty alluded to, by which clause expense is laid upon your majesty.

"Hoping that your majesty may continue to rule your country, as you have hitherto done, with justice, equity, and anxiety for the welfare of your subjects,

"I am, &c.—AUCKLAND."

If Lord Dalhousie's statement, that the home government disavowed the treaty as soon as they heard of it, were correct, the declaration made by Lord Auckland, in July, 1839, and just quoted by him, was either a deliberate fiction, or a gross and scandalous concealment of the facts from the king. It was impossible to reconcile the opposite statements made by the two governors-general; and it was necessary, not only for the vindication of Lord Dalhousie, but to relieve the memory of Lord Auckland from the dishonouring suppositions which at present attached to it, that these extraordinary discrepancies should, if possible, be explained.

His lordship then proceeded to detail the policy subsequently adopted to cover the undeclared rejection of the treaty by the Court of Directors, which he stigmatised as a species of Old Bailey chicanery, by which the lives and property of men might be swindled and juggled away.—Mr. Mangles, as a member of the Court of Directors, professed himself ready to take his full share of responsibility for the annexation of Oude, which he believed was a just and necessary measure. The government of Oude, from the commencement of the reign of the family now deposed, had been, he said, the worst in the world, uniting all the vices of an Asiatic government, while the people were controlled by the iron hand of European civilisation. He dwelt upon the violations of the treaty; upon the warnings given to the king; upon the neglect with which representations were treated by him; and upon the lawless condition of the country—which fully justified, in his opinion, the extreme measure of annexation. With regard to the treaty of 1837, it was the fact, as stated by Lord Dalhousie, that it was disallowed by the Court of Directors; although it was true that Lord Auckland did not tell the king of Oude that the whole of that treaty had been abrogated. He did not believe that the annexation of Oude had any appreciable effect upon the mutiny; and he read a letter from Sir John Lawrence, stating as his opinion, that although it was possible the king of Oude might have had something to do with the mutiny, the Hindoo population of Oude were in favour of the annexation, and that the mutiny sprang from the sepoys themselves. Mr. Mangles mentioned instances in which natives had maintained the authority of government at stations deserted by the civil officers, and asked whether these facts were compatible with the notion that it was a rebellion; in his opinion, it was a military mutiny from the beginning.—Colonel Sykes, likewise a director of the Company, spoke of the disorganisation of the Oude territories, which were governed, he said, by an ignorant and voluptuous king, who took no part in public affairs. Districts were farmed out to officers, who paid or retained the revenue in proportion to their powers of retention.

The most extraordinary speech delivered in the course of this important and interesting debate, was made by General Thompson, member for Bradford, who thus delivered himself of a torrent of accusation and invective. "He was not," he said, "himself an eminent man; but he knew hundreds of men who thought they could discern the causes of the late insurrection, and who wondered that practised statesmen did not do the same. The mistake of filling the native army with the natives of Oude had

been adverted to; but other causes had been in operation for a series of years. High authorities had said that, in order to enable men to rule in India, it was necessary that there should be no interference with the religion of the natives, and that the increase of European colonists or planters should be discouraged. They rightly said that an interference with the religion of the natives would be resented by them as it would be by Englishmen at home, and that the introduction of colonists would lead to that horrible war of races which could only end in the extirpation or subjugation of the weaker party. The continual irritation caused by religious bodies in India had something to do with it. Being 'to the manner born,' he knew the strength as well as the infirmity of these bodies. He rejoiced over their strength, and lamented their infirmity; which was, that when the precept of doing to others as they would be done unto was in question, they always made an exception in the case, in which 'I by myself I' was one party, and the other was a person of a different creed. The planter or colonist spirit in India had long been increasing. It was a grievance among men of this stamp when a man of Indian complexion rose to station and position, and their organs had recently insisted that every native ought to pay a mark of respect to a European on passing him, which was a clear demonstration of Virginian plantership. Was there no danger in such a spirit, when a handful of Europeans were engaged against 150,000,000 native inhabitants? There had been much irritation in the native army, and a great and well-founded suspicion that efforts were being made to injure them in their religion. The colonel of a native regiment having made attempts to convert his men to Christianity, a sepoy had been induced, under the influence of liquor, to shoot the adjutant's horse. He was hanged; perhaps very properly: but the native officer, who was charged with not having been nimble enough in arresting this sepoy, was hanged also. In his opinion, if the colonel had been substituted for the native officer, a great act of substantial justice, if not of sound policy, would have been performed. The soldiers of a native cavalry regiment, who were a sort of yeomen, were ordered to put greased cartridges in their mouths; which was sentencing them to lose their standing and reputation with their family and friends, and which, in short, was about as great a mixture of insult and injury as if a party of our dragoons had been sent to the veterinary surgeon to undergo the operation usual with cavalry horses. The native soldiers respectfully declined, as would have been the case in our own regiments; and then eighty-five of these unhappy men were ordered to be imprisoned in irons, and set to work on the roads for ten years. Upon this moderate and delicate sentence being pronounced, the rest of the regiment turned out, and the mutiny began. Men were caught, hunted, blown from guns, hung, and otherwise executed in consequence; and then, forsooth, wonder was expressed that in a town where the native party had the upper hand, reprisals were made. Reprisals never did much good. Nevertheless, it was in the nature of man to make them. If an Alva or a Tilly had been in similar circumstances, he would have known, that to do what was done by us at Delhi, to wait until 500 persons were upon the magazine before blowing it up, would have been an act which, whether praiseworthy or not, would have certainly been followed by the destruction of as many of his own party as were in the hands of his enemy. He would, doubtless, have told his adherents they might be thankful that their brethren had died like martyrs; but he would never have complained of their destruction as a hardship. How many things had since then been done in India calculated to prevent the possibility of the insurrection subsiding? He declared that if he were placed in a position in which his chief aim should be to shoot down, hang, burn, destroy, and do everything in his power to prevent the recovery of the British dominion, he should do exactly the deeds which had been done, if he had had the examples we had set to teach him, because many of the things which had been done in India were such as would never have entered the mind of any ordinary man. He referred to the slaughter of the native princes at Delhi. He could not, without infringing on the rights of conscience, designate that act by any other name than one of the foulest murders and atrocities recorded in human history. ('Oh! Oh!') He could assure the honourable gentleman who said 'Oh!' that in parts of this country a very different sound was raised on finding that this great dishonour had been done to the English name—a dishonour which would never be got over while history lasted. He had seen three different accounts of this affair, two of

which, professing to be exculpatory of those concerned, introduced the words 'emissaries' and 'negotiations.' There could be no doubt that these unhappy princes had been deceived. A British officer in these days was tantamount to an executioner. The cloth had been dishonoured; our officers had in person adjusted the rope—they had seen that it slipped easily—the thing had not been done by another hand—it was a commissioned hand that had done it. They boasted, too, that they had tortured their victims, and talked of how they had hanged them. He was unwilling to go into details, because there were those who could not answer for themselves; for now both the tortured and the torturer were before their God. He believed that the Brahmin would have the best of it. Posterity and mankind in general would judge severely of all these acts, and we should have the shame and disgrace left for us. It was, in truth, a sore evil and affliction. Indeed, he sometimes wondered what any one of us could have done that such men should have been decreed to be our countrymen. Ay, and the torturers with glee recounted how they had 'hung them like fun!' He begged pardon for making such a quotation in Mr. Speaker's presence, but it showed the kind of men who had got the upper hand in India. And with all this before them, our statesmen were still doubting what could have been the possible cause of this Indian insurrection! There was a time when the opinion was once declared, that it was very unbecoming to look into causes. If those causes were now in continued action, it would not, he thought, be so very imprudent to look into and recognise them. He had, therefore, to thank the honourable gentleman opposite (Mr. Baillie) for having brought forward this question; and he would be most happy if, in the opinion of any honourable member present, he should be thought to have thrown any light upon the subject." The gallant general resumed his seat amidst the derisive laughter of the house.—Mr. Palk had been prepared to hear wild theories enunciated on points of policy on the other side of the house, but he had certainly never expected to have his feelings so outraged as by the speech to which they had just listened. He had never expected that those who had polluted and butchered the wives and daughters of our officers, who had tortured and murdered infants, who had outraged every feeling of humanity, would find a defender in that house. Least of all had he expected that one who had held a distinguished command over regiments which owned the sovereign of this country, would have raised his voice in what was still a Christian house of parliament to defend the atrocities of the sepoys in India. He was afraid to trust himself to speak further on such a subject, so strong was his indignation. He bowed at once with deference to those who were much older than himself, and who had much greater experience; but, with the name he bore, he should be wanting in those feelings which, he believed, actuated every gentleman in that house, and every man who represented any constituency, if he sat quiet and did not enter his protest against a speech which, he trusted, would never be copied in that assembly.

After some observations from other members, the motion of Mr. Baillie was agreed to, and the house adjourned, without resuming the consideration of the bill for the government of India.

On the 18th of February, the debate on Lord Palmerston's bill for the future government of India, was resumed by Colonel Sykes, who strongly objected to the change proposed, and defended the administration of the Company. He was followed by Sir Charles Wood, who contended that, since 1784, the Court of Directors had not been the exclusive and independent government of India; and that, by the act of 1853, which he had introduced, the Court ceased to be an independent body, one-third of the members being nominees of the crown. It was not then deemed expedient to make a more extensive change; but he had stated that, on some future occasion, a further alteration might be necessary, and that the then measure was calculated to render the change easier. It was left open to parliament at that time, without breach of faith, or any inconsistency with the act of 1853, to do that which many thought was then indispensable—namely, to govern India in the name of the queen. Altogether, considering that the delays and shortcomings which had led to the present crisis, were attributable to the double government, he contended it would be wise to place the control of India at once, and especially at this time, in the hands of the crown, and carry it on in the name of the sovereign.—Sir E. Bulwer Lytton characterised the measure as audacious

incomplete, and unconsidered. He declared that political changes among Orientals were always suspected; and argued, that the peculiar state of India at the present time, and the circumstances under which the measure had been brought forward, would aggravate suspicion, and increase the evils it professed to remedy.—Mr. Willoughby, an East India director, spoke warmly in support of the Company's government, and protested against the charges of inefficiency and neglect that had been brought against it.—Lord John Russell urged an immediate settlement of the question as to a system of government which would best secure the welfare of a great empire, and the happiness of millions of people.—Mr. Disraeli followed his lordship in the debate, and said, if he had thought a change in the direction recommended by her majesty's ministers would draw the inhabitants of Hindostan nearer to this country, and improve their condition, he was not of opinion that the operation of this measure would produce that effect; quite the contrary. There was one subject which had been lost sight of in this discussion—namely, the financial part of the question. It was idle to pretend that there would be, after the proposed change, any distinction between the finances of India and those of England; that if the exchequer of India was empty, that of England would not be liable. If this be true, before the house agreed to the introduction of this bill, it should ask what were to be the financial relations between England and India. At this moment, there was a deficit in India of about £2,000,000, and that deficiency would be necessarily doubled and quadrupled. Before the house and the country incurred this responsibility, they ought to know the resources of India, and how they were to be managed. What was wanted was a total change in the local administration of India itself. The revenue derived from the land could not be increased, and it was raised in a manner which rendered it precarious. Reviewing the projected scheme of home government for India, he insisted that it would be incompetent to grapple with the details of Indian administration; that the president must trust to the governor-general, who, with a supremacy of power that would exalt him above all control, must become a despot. The expenditure would increase every year; and the question would be, not of losing India, but of ruining England. The financial question, he repeated, must be met; and how, he asked, were we, who found so much difficulty in adjusting our expenditure to our means, to provide for an enormous deficiency in India? The affairs of India had hitherto not created much interest in the house and in the country, because Englishmen had never had to pay for India. That illusion would now be at an end.—Lord Palmerston, in reply, observed that Mr. Disraeli had endeavoured to frighten the house by a financial difficulty. Nothing, however, was more contrary to the fact. The bill would make no change in this respect; the distinction between the two exchequers would remain, but would be made more clear and precise. Upon the general question, he said he could understand that those who approved the existing system should desire its continuance; but he could not understand how those who pronounced it to be defective should, nevertheless, wish to prolong its existence at a period when vigour and unity of action were so much required.

The house then divided upon the amendment of Mr. Baring, "That it is not at present expedient to legislate for the government of India;" which being negatived by a division of 318 to 173, leave was given to bring in the bill; a result which was popularly considered as expressing the feelings of the country through parliament, which held itself answerable for the possession and government of the Indian portion of the empire, as well as of the more integral division of it, and did not consider itself excused for misgovernment by the mere intervention of an inscrutable Court of Directors. As to the idea of danger from the change meditated, that danger had already presented itself when the revolution commenced. The bill in question, therefore, would rather register a great fact than effect a great transformation. Nothing in the way of destruction had been left to be accomplished; for when the great Bengal army mutinied, the East India Company, as a political institution, had died by its own hand.

The text of the "Bill for the better Government of India," introduced by Lord Palmerston, was as follows:—

Whereas by an act of the session holden in the 16th and 17th years of her majesty, chapter 95, "to provide for the government of India," the territories in the possession and under the government of the East India Company were continued under such

government, in trust for her majesty, until parliament should otherwise provide, subject to the provisions of that act and of other acts of parliament, and the property and rights in the said act referred to are held by the said Company in trust for the crown for the purposes of the said government: and whereas it is expedient that the said territories should be governed by and in the name of her majesty: be it therefore enacted by the queen's most excellent majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons, in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows: that is to say,

Transfer of the Government of India to Her Majesty.—I. The government of the territories now in the possession or under the government of the East India Company, and all powers in relation to government vested in or exercised by the said Company in trust for her majesty, shall cease to be vested in or exercised by the said Company, and all territories in the possession or under the government of the said Company, and all rights vested in or which if this act had not been passed might have been exercised by the said Company in relation to any territories, shall become vested in and be exercised on behalf of her majesty; and for the purposes of this act India shall mean the territories vested in her majesty as aforesaid, and all territories which may become vested in her majesty by virtue of any such rights as aforesaid.

II. India shall be governed by and in the name of her majesty, and all rights in relation to any territories which might have been exercised by the said Company if this act had not been passed, shall and may be exercised on behalf of her majesty as rights incidental to the government of India; and all the territorial and other revenues of or arising in India, and all tributes and other payments in respect of any territories which would have been receivable by or in the name of the said Company if this act had not been passed, shall be received for and in the name of her majesty, and shall be applied and disposed of for the purposes of the government of India, subject to the provisions of this act.

III. Real and personal property of the Company to vest in her majesty for the purposes of the government of India.

IV. The appointments of governor-general of India, fourth ordinary member of the council of India, and governors of presidencies in India, now made by the Court of Directors with the approbation of her majesty, and the appointment of advocate-general for the several presidencies, now made with the approbation of the Board of Commissioners for the affairs of India, shall be made by her majesty by warrant under her royal sign-manual; the appointments of the ordinary members of the council of India, except the fourth ordinary member, shall be made by the governor-general of India, subject to the approbation of her majesty; and the appointments of the members of council of the several presidencies shall be made by the governors of such respective presidencies, subject to the like approbation; and all such appointments shall be subject to the qualifications now by law affecting such offices respectively: provided always that it shall not be lawful for the governor-general of India, or the governor of any presidency, to appoint a person provisionally to supply any vacancy which may subsequently happen in the office of member of council, unless the pleasure of her majesty be previously signified for that purpose; but any person appointed by such governor-general or governor respectively, subject to her majesty's approbation, to fill an actual vacancy in such office, shall be entitled to sit and act as a member of the respective council, and shall have the emoluments and advantages of such appointment in the meantime, until her majesty's pleasure may be signified in relation to such appointment.

President and Council for Affairs of India.—V. For the purposes of the government of India under this act, a council shall be established, to consist of a president and eight other members, and to be styled, "The President and Council for the Affairs of India;" and it shall be lawful for her majesty, from time to time, by warrant under her royal sign-manual, to appoint a person to be, during her majesty's pleasure, president of the council for the affairs of India, and by like warrants to appoint eight other persons to be ordinary members of such council; and of the persons to be first appointed such ordinary members two shall be appointed for four years, two for six years, two for eight years, and two for ten years (such respective terms to be computed from the commencement of this act); and every person to be appointed an ordinary member of council shall be a person who has been a director of the said Company, or has been for ten years at least in India, in the service either of the crown or of the said Company, or has been for fifteen years at least resident in India.

VI. Every ordinary member of council appointed to fill a vacancy occasioned by the expiration of the term of office of an ordinary member shall be appointed for the term of eight years, to be computed from such expiration; and every such ordinary member appointed to supply the place of an ordinary member whose office has become void otherwise than by the expiration of his term of office, shall be appointed for the remainder of the term of office of such last-mentioned ordinary member; and every person ceasing, or who, but for reappointment, would cease, to be an ordinary member of council by the expiration of his term of office, shall be capable of being forthwith reappointed.

VII. It shall be lawful for her majesty to remove any ordinary member of council from his office, upon an address of both houses of parliament.

VIII. The president for the time being shall be capable of being elected and of sitting and voting as a member of the House of Commons; and in case the person who immediately before the commencement of this act is the president of the commissioners for the affairs of India be appointed the first president of the council established under this act, and be at the time of such appointment a member of the House of Commons, he shall not by reason of such appointment vacate his seat in parliament.

IX. There shall be paid to the president the like yearly salary as that for the time being paid to one of her majesty's principal secretaries of state, and to each ordinary member of council the yearly salary of £1,000.

X. Four members of council may form a board.

XI. In case at any board at which the president is present there is a difference of opinion on any question, the determination of the president shall be final; and all acts done at any board in the absence of the president shall require the sanction or approval in writing of the president, or of

of her majesty's principal secretaries of state; and in case of difference of opinion on any question decided at any board, the president may require that his opinions, and the reasons for the same, be entered in the minutes of the proceedings; and any ordinary member of council who may have been present at the board may require that his opinion, and any reasons for the same that he may have stated at the board, be entered in like manner.

XII. Provided always, that no grant whatever by way of increase of the actual charge for the time being upon the revenues of India, no appointment by the president and council to any office or employment on the establishment of the president and council, and no appointment or admission to service to be made by the president and council, under the powers transferred to them by this act, shall be made without the concurrence of the president and four at least of the ordinary members of council; but this enactment shall not extend to appointments of persons becoming entitled thereto, as mentioned in section 41 of the said act of the 16th and 17th years of her majesty; but such appointments may be made at any board.

XIII. During vacancy of office, &c., of president, his powers to be exercised by secretary of state.

XIV. Arrangement of the business of the council.

XV. Establishment of president and council to be fixed by order of her majesty in council.

XVI. One secretary may sit in the House of Commons.

XVII. Appointment of officers and their salaries, &c.

Powers of President and Council.—XVIII. President and council to exercise powers now exercised by the Company or Board of Control.

XIX. A specified number or proportion of the cadetships to be given to sons of civil and military servants.

XX. All appointments to offices, commands, and employments in India, which by law or under any regulations, usage, or custom are now made by any authority in India, shall continue to be made in India by the like authority.

XXI. Existing provisions to be applicable to president and council, &c.

XXII. Orders and despatches which may now be sent through secret committee may be sent by or to the president alone.

XXIII. When any order is sent to India, directing the actual commencement of hostilities by her majesty's forces in India, the fact of such order having been sent shall be communicated to both houses of parliament within one month after the sending of such order, if parliament be sitting, and if parliament be not sitting, then within one month after the next meeting of parliament.

XXIV. All orders and communications of the president and council which shall be sent to India shall be signed by the president or one of her majesty's principal secretaries of state.

XXV. Powers of sale and purchase and contracting given to president and council.

XXVI. Warrants, &c., under royal sign-manual, relating to India, to be countersigned by the president.

Application of Revenues.—XXVII. Dividend of the Company, and existing and future debts and liabilities and expenses, charged on revenues of India.

XXVIII. Revenues remitted to Great Britain, and monies arising in Great Britain, to be paid to president in council.

XXIX. Cash balance of the Company at the Bank transferred.

XXX. Stock account to be opened at the Bank.

XXXI. Stock standing in the name of the Company transferred.

XXXII. Power to grant letter of attorney for sale, &c., of stock and receipt of dividends, given to president and council.

XXXIII. Exchequer bills and like securities transferred to president and council.

Accounts.—XXXIV. Audit of accounts in Great Britain.

XXXV. President and council to make regulations for audit of accounts in India.

XXXVI. Accounts to be annually laid before parliament.

Existing Establishments and Regulations.—XXXVII. The military and naval forces of the East India Company shall be deemed to be the Indian military and naval forces of her majesty, and shall be under the same obligations to serve her majesty as they would have been under to serve the said Company, and shall be liable to serve within the same territorial limits only, for the same terms only, and be entitled to the like pay, pensions, allowances, privileges, and advantages as if they had continued in the service of the said Company; such forces, and all persons hereafter enlisting in or entering the same shall continue and be subject to all acts of parliament, laws of the governor-general of India in council, and articles of war, and all other laws, regulations, and provisions relating to the East India Company's military and naval forces respectively, as if her majesty's Indian military and naval forces respectively had throughout such acts, laws, articles, regulations, and provisions been mentioned or referred to, instead of such forces of the said Company, and the pay and expenses of and incident to her majesty's Indian military and naval forces shall be defrayed out of the revenues of India.

XXXVIII. Forces paid out of revenues of India not to be employed out of Asia.

XXXIX. Form of attestation, &c., on future enlistments, to be as directed by her majesty.

XL. Servants of the Company to be deemed servants of her majesty.

XLI. All orders and regulations of the Court of Directors or Board of Control to remain in force.

XLII. All functions and powers of courts of proprietors and courts of directors of the said Company in relation to the government of India, and all appointments of such of the directors of the said Company as have been appointed by her majesty, shall cease, and the yearly sums payable to the chairman, deputy-chairman, and other directors of the said Company, shall cease to be payable; and after the passing of this act, all powers vested in her majesty of appointing directors of the said Company shall cease and determine.

XLIII. Board of Control abolished.

XLIV. Existing officers on home establishment of the East India Company and of commissioners for the affairs of India transferred to the president and council.

XLV. Records of the Company to be delivered to the president and council.

Actions and Contracts.—XLVI. The president and council shall and may sue and be sued by the name of the "president and council for the affairs of India," as if they were a body corporate.

XLVII. President and council to come in the

place of the Company with regard to pending suits, &c.

XLVIII. Contracts, &c., of the Company to be enforced by and against president and council.

XLIX. No member of the said council shall be personally liable in respect of any such contract, covenant, or engagement of the said Company as aforesaid, or in respect of any contract entered into under the authority of this act, or other liability of the said president and council in their official capacity; but all such liabilities, and all costs and damages of the said president and council in respect thereof, shall be satisfied and paid out of the revenues of India.

Saving of certain Rights of the Company.—L. It shall be lawful for the president and council to pay to the said Company, out of the revenues of India, such annual sum as her majesty, by warrant under her royal sign-manual countersigned by the chancellor of the exchequer, may direct, for defraying the expenses of and incident to the payment to the proprietors of the capital stock of the said Company of their respective shares of the dividend on such stock, and of keeping the books of the said Company for transfers, and otherwise in relation to such stock.

LI. Nothing herein contained shall affect the right of the said Company to demand the redemption of the dividend on their capital stock secured by the said act of the 3rd and 4th years of King William the Fourth; and all the provisions of the said act concerning the security fund thereby created shall remain in force, save that when the approbation of the commissioners for the affairs of India is required in relation to the disposal of the said security fund, the approbation of the president and council for the affairs of India shall be required.

Commencement of the Act.—LII. Save as herein otherwise provided, this act shall commence and take effect on the expiration of thirty days after the passing thereof.

By the proposed bill the question of Indian reform became wonderfully simplified. The changes actually proposed were so few, so obviously called for, and so evidently calculated to expedite the transaction of affairs, and improve the administration of India, that it became a matter of difficulty to meet them with any valid objection. The only question, indeed, raised by the leader of the opposition in this matter (Mr. Baring), being simply, and solely, "whether the present was the proper time for entertaining such a measure;" and there was no ground whatever for deprecating the interference of parliament by any appeal on the score of the rights, privileges, or deserts of the East India Company, which stood acquitted, by the ministerial admissions, of any such special misrule or misconduct as might have directly provoked the intervention of the imperial legislature. The reforms proposed had long been contemplated as among inevitable events: they had been deferred from various considerations; but the necessity had acquired such urgency from the existing rebellion, that further procrastination by the government was impossible. The necessity for immediate action was established by the strongest arguments; one of which, based upon the cumbrous machinery of the double government, exhibited it as a positive clog upon business—a plain, tangible impediment in the way of dispatch; and such it had ever been found when a necessity for prompt and vigorous action arose. It is true Mr. Baring challenged the government to state "whether they had been impeded in any of their measures by the Company;" but that was not the species of impediment complained of. It was not asserted that the directors wilfully opposed the action of the ministry, but that the ministry found the co-ordinate functions of the Court of Directors a serious drawback on the efficiency of their own acts; and the struggle then shaking India to its centre, so completely exposed the defects of the co-administrative organisation, that sufferance was no longer endurable.

Besides this, the arguments to be drawn from the then actual position of India, and the probable sentiments of its population, told decidedly, as far as they had been ascertained, in favour of immediate legislation, and not against it. It was urged by the opponents of the measure, that the Hindoo mind would be seriously disturbed by the announcement, ill-understood, of a proposed change in the government under which it had existed for a century; that the natives would associate this change of government with some projected and mysterious change of policy, and would anticipate therein some diminution of the toleration and indulgence with which their institutions had been theretofore regarded. But this was merely conjectural; and it was equally fair to anticipate impressions diametrically opposite, as being equally likely to be produced. But admitting that any political or administrative revolution might operate with uncertain effect on the Asiatic mind, it was still hardly possible that a better season for such changes could be selected than one at which the commotion was already so deep and universal as scarcely to admit of aggravation. As regarded the grand objection to the assumption of the direct government of India by the crown on the score of patronage, the bill altogether disposed of it. By its provisions the civil service was assigned to the

public at large; and the military service, besides being greatly circumscribed in amount, instead of affording patronage to the crown, gave it to the new council, after reserving a portion of the appointments for the sons of public servants in India, whether military or civil. In India itself, it was proposed that the local appointments should continue to be made as they had been, with the exception that certain officers formerly nominated by the Court of Directors, were thenceforth to be nominated by the governor-general. In fine, the effect of the proposed measure tended to establish the fact, that the government would gain no such addition of patronage as ought to excite jealousy; that the actual administration of Indian affairs would be scarcely interfered with; but that the authority of the crown, long since theoretically recognised as paramount, would in future be practically exercised without the impediments of a circuitous machinery, and with such a direct responsibility to parliament and the public, as was necessary for the permanent welfare of British India and its teeming millions.

The bill of Lord Palmerston had, as we have seen, reached its first stage, when, on Friday, the 19th of February, an unfavourable division of the Commons, on the "Conspiracy to Murder Bill," led to a change in the cabinet, and, for a time, put a stop to further legislation on Indian affairs. The announcement of the resignation of her majesty's ministers was made by Viscount Palmerston, in his place in parliament, on Monday, the 22nd of February; and, the same evening, the Earl of Malmesbury, in the House of Peers, informed their lordships that the Earl of Derby, in obedience to the command of her majesty, was then occupied in forming an administration.

On the following Friday, the new ministry, under the leadership of the Earl of Derby and Mr. Disraeli, took their places in parliament; and after some merely formal business had been alluded to, the houses adjourned until the 12th of March, for the necessary re-election of those members who had accepted office under Lord Derby's administration. On that day, therefore, parliament again assembled; and, on the order of the day for the second reading of the Government of India Bill, Viscount Palmerston said he understood that the government intended to bring in a bill of their own upon the subject. He, however, was unwilling to drop the measure he had introduced, until the house should be enabled to see the bill of the new government, and therefore proposed that the second reading of his bill should be postponed until Thursday, the 22nd of April. The motion was agreed to without any discussion. On the 16th, Mr. Disraeli, in explaining the general policy of the new government, said, with respect to Indian affairs—"We were opposed to the introduction of the bill of the noble lord (Palmerston), upon the ground that it was inopportune in the present state of India, and that it was unwise to weaken the influence of the government in a country where revolt was raging; but, after the vote of this house in favour of that interference, we consider it a duty to deal with the question; and, at present, it is the intention of the government to lay upon the table a bill for the government of India."—On the 11th of March, Mr. Rich, member for Richmond (Yorkshire), called the attention of the house to the treatment of the mutinous sepoys, and other insurgents in India, and adverted to reports of cruelties and mutilations attributed to them, which he believed to be exaggerations or altogether without foundation; observing, that "we had only heard one side;" and in referring to the probable causes of the mutiny, he censured strongly the conduct of the Indian government in the matter of the cartridges, asking why no inquiry had taken place in relation to the proceedings at Meerut, which had so much to do with the outbreak; and insisting that it was not a preconcerted revolt, but arose from a combination of circumstances, which, with due prudence, might have been averted. He commended the instructions of Lord Canning with reference to the treatment of the insurgents and deserters, and referred to published statements which showed, he thought, that some of our officers had not acted in accordance with the spirit of those instructions. He concluded with moving for copies of any report or despatch relative to the protection afforded by Maun Sing and others to fugitive Europeans at the outbreak of the sepoy mutiny; of any instructions given to officers in command of troops as to the treatment of mutinous sepoys or deserters; and, as to natives of Oude, not being sepoys, found in arms within the territory of Oude.—The motion was seconded by General Thompson.—Mr. Baillie expressed his surprise that,

upon such a motion, Mr. Rich should have entered upon a general discussion of the origin and causes of the Indian mutiny. With respect to the manner in which martial law had been carried out, the proper authority to execute that law, he observed, was the commander-in-chief in India. Sir C. Campbell was fully aware of the views of the governor-general; and he (Mr. Baillie) thought that few of the excesses to which Mr. Rich had referred had taken place. He had no objection to the production of the papers asked for.—Mr. W. Vansittart differed from Mr. Rich. All India, he said, was looking with anxiety to see whether the outrages committed by the sepoys would be avenged. Lord Canning, he thought, had carried his conciliatory policy too far.—Mr. Buxton, on the contrary, thought that Lord Canning ought to be supported, not in sparing the guilty, but in keeping down the exasperation naturally felt by those on the spot. The dreadful stories of mutilations by the sepoys, had turned out, upon investigation, almost, if not entirely, without foundation. He read reports of excesses stated to have been committed by subordinate officers in India, showing, he said, a spirit not to be trusted; and he asked whether the house was prepared to lay down the principle that it was right to hang, in cold blood, men who fought to free their fatherland from the stranger, or for disaffection to our rule.—Mr. Mangles thought that Mr. Rich had made more excuses for the sepoys than they were fairly entitled to. As to the cartridges, the fact was, he said, that the greased cartridges were not issued to any native regiment, as a regiment, in our provinces. The cartridges at Meerut were the same as had been used by the troops without remonstrance for years. He declared that the statements of excesses which had appeared in the newspapers were exaggerations, and some of them inventions; and that so long as Lord Canning remained at the head of the Indian government, the country might be assured that no system of indiscriminate punishment would be adopted. Distinction would be made between offences, and justice would be tempered with mercy.—Captain Scott mentioned acts of atrocity perpetrated by the sepoys upon an English officer and his sister in Oude.—Mr. Adams observed, that a scant measure of justice had been dealt out to British officers in India, who, upon the authority of odd scraps cut out of newspapers, had been assumed to have committed acts utterly inconsistent with their character. He reminded the house of what the insurgents really were, and thought that too much of a maudlin sensibility was manifested on their behalf.—Sir H. Rawlinson remarked, that the operations against the mutineers had now lasted ten months, and there was not a single prisoner in our hands; the inference was that no quarter was given. He looked, he said, from this discussion for such an expression of the opinion of that house as would react upon India, and teach the people that, in England, it was considered that the moment for the exercise of mercy had arrived.

The motion having afforded opportunity for some expression of opinion, was then withdrawn.

The same evening, in reply to a question by Mr. Kinnaird, Mr. H. Baillie said, that the six months' *batta*, awarded by the governor-general in council to the army which captured Delhi, was the largest sum that he was by law entitled to grant; but that the case of the army, and also of the garrison of Lucknow, were both under the consideration of government. With regard to this question of recompense to the captors of Delhi, it might be observed that, as the matter then stood, one of the most astonishing and important achievements on record—an achievement which saved the empire of India, and exalted the renown of England in all the countries of the world—characterised by patience, resolution, and intrepidity almost without parallel—had been acknowledged by a concession so paltry, that nothing but the usage of Indian campaigning could have rendered such an offer other than an insult to the army. Stripped of technical terms, the arrangement amounted to this—that every man who fought and conquered at Delhi, was to have a sum equal to thirty-six shillings English money accorded to him, in testimony and requital of his services! This was felt to be totally inadequate and unsatisfactory; and the question to be solved was—what course could be adopted for the satisfaction of the troops, under the peculiar circumstances of that remarkable victory. No possible doubt existed in any quarter as to the inadequacy of the reward awarded for the services rendered.

In defence of the arrangement as it stood, it was observed, that if Delhi had been an enemy's capital, and the besieging force

had represented a British army encamped on hostile territory, and waging regular war, the capture of the city would have entitled the victors to prize-money from the spoils it might contain. But then Delhi was not, in the *strictly legal* sense of the term, an enemy's capital, nor were its contents an enemy's property. The riches and public stores of the place were, it was contended, all our own. Our own munitions of war filled the arsenal; our own rupees were accumulated in the treasury; and even the private property in the streets and houses was that of our own subjects. In the phraseology, therefore, of international jurists, there was no enemy in the case—no belligerent, at whose expense either plunder or prize-money could be acquired. Certain battalions, in British pay, had revolted, and seized a town upon British territory: they were subdued, after a tremendous struggle, by other British troops; but both armies were composed of subjects of the same sovereign. The war might be called a civil war, or a servile war; but it was not a war of the kind to which the ordinary usages of warfare, as regards prize-money, could be held to apply. Further, it was urged that the city being nominally our own, a right could not possibly be acquired by our own troops over the treasures it contained, any more than if, at any other Indian town or station, a dozen lacs of rupees which had been seized by a mutinous garrison, were recovered by a company of European troops opportunely arriving; in which case it would not be argued that the soldiers were entitled to divide the silver on the spot! And so, in the present instance, it was held that no title to prize-money existed, or could be created. Such was the substance of the case, as urged against the claims of the soldiers: but how disgraceful did it look when estimated by the known practical deserts of the conquerors! If the struggle was really so divested of all those attributes which confer glory and gain upon military success; if it was nothing more than a mere suppression of domestic disturbances, by which nothing could be won, it might have been asked on what principle was it held to require any acknowledgment at all? Why were the thanks of parliament voted to the troops engaged? Why was the general in command raised, with the approval of all, to a baronetcy; and not only to a baronetcy, but to one with a title taken from this very city? What could be the meaning of Sir Archdale Wilson *of Delhi*, if that same Delhi was not a city conquered from the enemy? Again, upon looking at the whole course of public proceedings in the matter, it was unquestionable that the struggle symbolised and expressed by the one critical operation of the siege of Delhi, occupied in the minds of Englishmen such a place as had scarcely ever been taken by any incident even of European war. The anxieties of the nation were profoundly absorbed in the tremendous struggle between a handful of our countrymen and an army of mutineers, on which an empire depended. We put up prayers in our churches; we held a solemn fast; and we raised subscriptions without stint. As long as the issue was in suspense, public anxiety was unbounded; and when at length the victory fell, against the most terrific odds, to British valour, it seemed there would be no bounds to the gratitude of the nation. The instincts of the country, in this matter, outstripped the deliberations of the authorities, and deemed the rewards of the government parsimoniously bestowed; but if all this was reasonable, what became of the argument about war and no war? How could a *war*, manifestly regarded in such a light while raging, be described as no war when we came to consider the recompense of the conquering troops? What consistency was there in beginning to award honours and rewards, and then, in stopping half-way down? Either there should have been no acknowledgments at all, or they ought to have included the private soldiers' share in the form of prize-money and medals. No one would have hesitated over this alternative. All should have shared, or all should have been withheld.

But admitting that the government treasure found in the coffers at Delhi did not become the lawful spoil of that government's troops, yet how much ought to have been considered fairly due to those troops from their government, for the recapture of the city? Surely more than thirty-six shillings per man! Besides, the very allowance, miserable as it was, destroyed the whole argument against a greater one. Either the troops were engaged upon an unrecognisable service (in which case the donation of eighteen rupees was improper), or their exploits admitted of recognition and estimate (in which case the offer was contemptible). The true question, after all, was not merely what were the technical rights

of the captors of Delhi, in and over certain lacs of rupees; but what ought to be done for men who, at the cost of most heroic endurance and valour, had saved the British empire in Hindostan, by converting a contingency of disastrous ruin into a campaign of imperishable renown.

Neither the East India Company or the home government were insensible to the fact of the utter disproportion between the services rendered by the army and the recompense awarded; and, at a quarterly general court of the Company, held in Leadenhall-street, on the 25th of March, the chairman of the Court of Directors stated, in reply to a question upon the subject, that an arrangement had been come to for settling the question in a manner which he believed would be satisfactory alike to the court, the country, and the army itself. There had not occurred the slightest difference of opinion between her majesty's government and the Court of Directors on the subject, nor had any reluctance been shown by either party to do ample justice to the army engaged in the capture of the city of Delhi. The governor-general had granted six months' *batta* to the troops. That was considered by some to be a very niggardly grant, and opprobrium had been cast upon the governor-general for having made it. But that was unjust, for it was all he was competent to grant under the orders of the Court of Directors. It should be remembered that all prize-money was in the gift of the crown. The East India Company had no power to grant a shilling. What, then, had been agreed upon was this—that all which could be justly considered prize, viz., all the property that had belonged to the mutineers and rebels, should be distributed among the captors; but that the property which had previously belonged to the government, and which had only been recovered, should not be so distributed. Everything taken from the mutineers would be prize. Besides that, the Court of Directors, with the sanction of the government, had granted another six months' *batta*, in compensation for that which could not be justly regarded as prize; such as the property of the government, and also of those loyal subjects who had behaved faithfully and well. It would be unjust to grant the property of the latter as prize, after having already suffered so much. There would also be a medal struck, and given to the men who served in the army at Delhi, Lucknow, and Cawnpore—not three medals, but one medal for the three victories; and clasps would be granted for all services in the field. At the same court, the chairman also gave notice that it was the intention of the Court of Directors to propose a grant of £1,000 a-year to the eldest son of the late Sir Henry Lawrence, with remainder to the second son in succession.

At length, on Friday, the 26th of March, Mr. Disraeli (chancellor of the exchequer), in his place in the House of Commons, moved for leave to bring in a bill to transfer the government of India from the East India Company to the queen. The right honourable gentleman began his address with a justification of the administration of which he was a member, for now introducing the measure, after having opposed such a proceeding when submitted to parliament by the preceding ministry; and said that the vote by which the House of Commons had declared, by an overwhelming majority, that in its opinion the government of India should be transferred to her majesty, appeared to the present ministry to be conclusive as to one point—namely, the termination of the authority of the East India Company—an institution which, though it had fallen, having for some time rested on a foundation that was sapped and hollow, had in its day done great service to the country. The task of devising a proper substitute was full of difficulties, and could only be accomplished with the assistance of parliament. He then proceeded to describe the form of the home government for India which was embodied in the bill. It was proposed, in the first place, that there should be a high officer of state—a minister of the crown, who should occupy the rank and fulfil the duties of a secretary of state, to be president of a council of India. That council would consist of eighteen persons, half to be nominated by warrant from the crown, under the royal sign-manual; the other moiety to be elected. It was proposed that each of the nine nominated members should represent some great interest in India; so that, in fact, they would be representative men. They would be appointed in this manner: each of the presidencies would be represented by a member of its civil service who had served ten years; one in the Upper Provinces of India, or in the countries under the authority of the governor-general of India; another in the Lower Provinces of Bengal; a

third for Madras, and a fourth for Bombay. The fifth member would have a peculiar qualification. It was thought that there should be in the council of India a member possessing personal experience of the character and feelings of native princes, as resident or political agent at a native court. The other four nominated members, it was proposed, should represent the military services—one, with a service in India of five years, for the queen's army; and each of the armies of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay, to be represented by an officer who had served at least ten years. It was intended to introduce into the bill itself the names of the nominated members; so that, in the first instance, they would have not only royal, but parliamentary sanction. Another portion of the council of India was to be chosen by popular election. The qualification of four of the elected members would be this: they must be men who had served her majesty or the Indian government in any branch of the Indian service whatever for ten years, or who had resided in India for fifteen years. They would be chosen by a constituency constituted thus: every person who had borne the commission of her majesty or of the government of India for ten years, resident in this country, or who had been in the civil service of either for the same period, or who was a resident proprietor of £2,000 capital stock of an Indian railway or of public works, or possessed of £1,000 of India stock, would have the power of voting for the election of these four members of the council. The number of the electors, it was estimated, would amount to 5,000 persons. As to the other five elected members, their qualifications would be this: they must have been engaged in the commerce of India, or in the export of manufactured articles thither for at least five years, or resident in India for at least ten years. Their election would be confided to the principal seats of trade and industry in this country; one would be elected by each of the following cities—London, Manchester, Liverpool, Glasgow, and Belfast. The constituency to return these members, the government was of opinion, should be the parliamentary constituencies of these places respectively. Mr. Disraeli then read the names of the members of the council to be inserted in the bill, and proceeded to detail the forms of procedure and general duties which the council of India would have to fulfil. The minister for India would have the power of dividing the council into committees, exercising over them a general supervision, and the power to call a meeting of the council. It would likewise be in the power of six councillors to call a council by application in writing to the secretary of state for India. The members of council would not have a seat in parliament, and their salary would be £1,000 a-year. With respect to the exercise and distribution of the patronage, the result would be that there would not be the least alteration. Virtually, the patronage exercised by the East India Company would be exercised in the same way by the council of India. As to the army of India, there would be no change except what resulted from the general scope of the bill, which would, however, contain a clause that would facilitate any future changes in this respect. With regard to the finances, the bill would fix upon the revenues of India alone the expense of the government of India; the accounts would be laid before parliament, and there would be a sufficient audit. But, having said this, he was bound to add, that the relations of this country with the Indian finances remained a source of anxiety; and he believed that the time would soon arrive when parliament must give its serious attention to this subject. Notwithstanding the ability of the administrators of India, the state of its finances had always been involved in obscurity and perplexity; and it would be the duty of ministers to recommend to her majesty (and a clause was inserted in the bill to that effect) to authorise a royal commission to visit India, to investigate the financial condition of every part of our establishments there, and to report generally on the whole subject. Without touching upon details, these, he said, were the principal features of the bill. The plan, he observed in conclusion, was the first ever introduced to parliament for establishing a council of India, which combined, with knowledge and public spirit, complete independence. The right honourable gentleman concluded by moving for leave to bring in the bill, which was granted; and the bill was read a first time, and ordered to be taken into consideration on Monday, the 12th of April.

In the course of the debate, or rather conversation, that ensued upon this motion, Viscount Palmerston gave his cordial assent to it, reserving the opinion which a consideration of the details of the bill might

lead him to entertain of its merits; and Mr. Mangles said, he was persuaded, that after temporary feelings and jealousies should have passed away, it would be universally acknowledged, that the East India Company had deserved well of their country, and that whenever their powers and functions might expire, they would leave to England a noble legacy. As the representative of that great corporation, and as believing that the government of India had been on the whole a good and beneficial one, it would be his duty to oppose the introduction of any bill intended to take from the Company a power which had been so well exercised. But he was bound to state, at the same time, that if it should be the will of parliament to deprive the Company of its functions, he and his colleagues would be prepared, in the fulfilment of their duty to the people both of England and of India, to give their most cordial assistance in rendering the new system of government as good and as efficient as possible.

Numerous enquiries and suggestions were advanced by various members during the evening; in reply to which, the chancellor of the exchequer said, "he had been asked what were to be the duties of the council; and he had to observe upon that point, that the duties of the council were to be the transaction of all business connected with the government of India, that could be transacted in England. They would have the entire transaction of that business; and from the details laid before him, he thought that it would require that which would be exacted from the members of council—the total devotion of their time. No gentleman would be a member of the council who was an active member of a profession, or engaged directly or indirectly in trade or commerce. Of course, with respect to those members who were elected, that rule could not apply; and it was desirable that the council should contain some persons who were familiarly acquainted with the commerce and trade of the country. With respect to the qualifications for members of the council in consequence of residence in India, that applied to all the dominions under the authority of the governor-general; and therefore the Punjab and Scinde were included. He had been asked whether the council was to sit and transact business in Cannon-row. The honourable member who made that inquiry was not so familiar as himself with the quantity of business that must be transacted, and the space required for its transaction. He could assure the honourable gentleman, that the building in Cannon-row would not be able to hold the council. Where, ultimately, the members of council might be collected together, it was not for him to say. No doubt, they would be able to place themselves in some convenient locality; but, for the present, the council must transact its business in Leadenhall-street. Some honourable gentlemen seemed to think that, under the bill, the whole military patronage of India would be handed over to the Horse-guards. Certainly, he must have conveyed his meaning in very ambiguous phraseology if he were misunderstood on that point; but he thought he had clearly stated that the patronage of the military establishment, added to the cadetships, was to be distributed among the council, and by them distributed among the people in the same way as was now done by the Board of Directors. An honourable member had suggested that the members of the council should be elected by ballot. When the people of this country should be unanimous for the adoption of the vote by ballot, the government would then give the honourable member's suggestion the gravest consideration."

Of the relative merits of the two bills thus before the country, there were of course opinions as various as the shades of political principle or party tactics could supply. From the multiplicity of such, the following comparative view, as taken by the *Daily News* of 31st March, appeared to be the most luminous, and impartial also. After premising that the task of legislating for India must be approached in dispassionate mood, and under the deep sense of moral responsibility which befitted so momentous an undertaking, the writer proceeded thus:—"The bill presented to the House of Commons by Lord Palmerston, is the first that calls for notice. The radical vice of that measure is the immense amount of irresponsible power and patronage which it entrusts to the ministers of the crown for the time being, and the inadequate security it affords for the appointment of capable men in India. The bill proposes that the home government of India shall be exclusively vested in a council, composed of a president and eight members, nominated by the crown—the president to hold office during pleasure; the other councillors for a

certain term of years. This council and its president are to be a corporation for the management of Indian affairs. In them are to be combined all the power at present exercised by the directors of the East India Company and the Board of Control conjointly. Except with regard to such affairs as are at present conducted by the secret committee, all business is to be transacted in council. But when the president is present, he may disregard the opinion of the majority of the council, and follow his own if in opposition to it. And he may do the same with regard to any resolution adopted by a majority of the council in his absence, on the condition of his putting his own and their reasons upon record. In two cases only is it necessary that his determination should be sanctioned by the assent of four other members of council; when matters of finance, or when the exercise of patronage is in question. Thus, the whole administration and patronage of India—with some inconsiderable exceptions—is proposed to be vested in nine nominees of the crown, one holding office so long as it suits the arrangements of his political party, the rest for a term of years. Neither the public of India nor of England are to have any voice in the nomination of this council. It is, indeed, liable to be called to account for its actions in parliament; and with a view to this, it is proposed that the president and one secretary appointed by him may have seats in the House of Commons. But parliament has always had the power of examining into and controlling the government of India; and how many days of each session, on an average, have been given to the affairs of India since India was ours? It is an arrant farce to speak of the dread of parliamentary responsibility as likely in the slightest degree to influence the proceedings of the proposed council for India. The common sense of the nation has declared, that the only way to prevent the president and his council from becoming mere tools of the crown and its ministers, is to resort to the elective principle for the appointment of at least a moiety of the council. It is also felt, that for the purposes of intelligent and independent deliberation—as also for an adequate supply of working committees—eight councillors and a president are too few.

"These defects the government which has succeeded Lord Palmerston's, profess to have remedied in their amended bill. They certainly have recognised the principle of election by an independent constituency as regards a moiety of the council; and they have increased the number of councillors. So far, good; but they have at the same time engrafted other modifications on the original bill, which more than neutralise the benefits of these concessions. The council for India, according to Lord Palmerston's bill, however objectionable the mode of its appointment, would have been a reality. It would have had duties to perform, and power to perform them. But the council for India, according to the 'Government of India Bill, No. 2,' is a mere excrescence. Lord Palmerston proposed to vest the government of India in a president and council. The president could only act in council. Lord Ellenborough proposes to vest the government of India in a fifth secretary of state. The secretary of state can act without the council. The council, in fact, can only assemble when he summons it, or complies with its petition to allow it to meet; and, when met, it can only talk. The secretary of state does not need to be supported by a majority of its members even on questions of finance or patronage. Indeed, whereas the greater part of the patronage is, by Lord Palmerston's bill, vested in the president and council, the whole of the patronage is, by Lord Ellenborough's bill, vested in the crown—that is, in the secretary of state for India, and his colleagues of the cabinet. It is also worthy of remark, that while provision is made in Lord Palmerston's bill for the presence of an accredited mouthpiece of the council for India in the House of Commons—a member who can be interrogated as to its doings, and compelled to explain or defend them—nothing of the kind is to be found in Lord Ellenborough's. The latter bill declares, that of the five principal secretaries of state, only four can sit at one time in the House of Commons. The secretary for India may therefore be at any time excluded from that house, and no substitute is provided for him when that shall happen. It is a trifle, and yet not unworthy of note, that while Lord Palmerston's bill declares that the president and council may sue and be sued, Lord Ellenborough's bill exempts the secretary of state from this conjoint liability with the council.

"The inference we would draw from this review of the two measures is, that it would be dangerous to allow Lord Palmerston's

bill to become law, because it vests the entire power and patronage of India in a small and manageable body of nominees of the crown; and that it would be equally dangerous to allow Lord Ellenborough's to become law, because it vests the whole power and patronage of India in a secretary of state, whose tenure of office depends upon that of his party—the council attached to him, although in part the offspring of popular election, being utterly powerless to do or prevent anything. Both of the cabinets who have tried their hands at the experiment of constructing a good government for India have lamentably failed. Were the issue in our power we should say to parliament, postpone legislation till a really unexceptionable measure shall be submitted to you. You already have a government in India which all parties concur in saying has worked not much amiss. Why change it before you have a tolerable certainty of obtaining something decidedly better in lieu of it? But we are told that parliament, having already declared that it will legislate for India this session, must keep its word. The declaration appears to us to belong to the rash and ill-considered class which there is more honour in abandoning than in adhering to. But if parliament will fetter itself by a mistaken pride in unreasonable consistency, let it at least avoid adopting an objectionable bill for no other reason than that it is offered as a substitute for another equally objectionable. The great fault of Lord Palmerston's bill is, that it places India at the mercy of a few irresponsible nominees. The great fault of Lord Ellenborough's bill is, that the council, though sufficiently numerous and not exclusively composed of nominees, is utterly powerless. If no party in the House of Commons is prepared to offer a third and better bill, let the house at least make an attempt to combine the better features of both the bills before it in one. Let the two bills be remitted to a select committee, with instructions to retain that part of Lord Palmerston's bill which delegates the government of India to a president and a real council; to enlarge the council to the number proposed in Lord Ellenborough's bill; to adopt the elective principle embodied in Lord Ellenborough's bill, with an improved constituency; to retain the provisions in Lord Palmerston's bill for ensuring the presence of an official representative of the council of India in the House of Commons; and to make whatever amendments, on this combination of the best parts of both measures, may appear to the said committee advisable."

A special general court of the Company was held on Wednesday, the 7th of April, at which the proposed grant of £1,000 per annum to the eldest son of the late Major-general Sir Henry Lawrence, was adopted by the proprietors; and the chairman then submitted to the meeting the two bills then before parliament for the future government of India; and also a lengthy and elaborate report upon their respective merits. The provisions of each bill were discussed *seriatim*; and the report concluded thus:—

"From this review of the chief provisions of the bills, which embody the attempts of two great divisions of English statesmen to frame an organ of government for India, it will probably appear to the proprietors that neither of them is grounded on any sufficient consideration of past experience, or of the principles applicable to the subject; that the passing of either would be a calamity to India; and that the attempt to legislate while the minds of leading men are in so unprepared a state, is altogether premature.

"The opinion of your directors is, that by all constitutional means the passing of either bill should be opposed; but that if one or the other should be determined on, for the purpose of transferring the administration, in name, from the East India Company to the crown, every exertion should be used in its passage through committee to divest it of the mischievous features by which both bills are now deformed, and to maintain, as at present, a really independent council, having the initiative of all business, discharging all the duties, and possessing all the essential powers of the Court of Directors. And it is the Court's conviction that measures might be so framed as to obviate whatever may be well founded in the complaints made against the present system, retaining the initiative of the council, and that independence of action on their part which should be regarded as paramount and indispensable."—The report having been adopted, Mr. Arbuthnot proceeded to discuss the merits of the two bills. It was clearly the duty of the Court of Directors to use all the means in their power to prevent the passing of either of the bills; but, as that perhaps was not possible, the next best thing they could do was to assist the legislature in passing such a measure

as would best provide for the good of India. If either bill must be accepted in its present shape, he should prefer to accept that of the late government. It would be better to have one authority than the crude and ill-considered plan proposed by the present government. He objected to the mode of appointing the council, and also to the subordinate position which that council was to hold. In every respect the measure was susceptible of great improvements. It appeared to him that the House of Commons had determined to abolish the East India Company. The Court ought to bow to that decision, and, as far as they could, to aid in obtaining the best possible measure for the future government of India.—The chairman said it was distinctly stated in the report which had been read, that if it should be the evident pleasure of parliament and of the country to proceed with the bill for transferring the government of India from the Company to the crown, the directors would feel it their duty to use their best energies to make the bill as perfect as possible.—Mr. Sergeant Gaselee said he had no great predilection for Lord Palmerston; but of the two bills before parliament he thought Lord Palmerston's was the best. The bill of Lord Derby was one of a most cumbrous and complicated character. It preserved all the vices of the old Company without retaining any of its virtues. He objected to the appointment of a council. He thought it would be much better to throw the whole responsibility upon the ministers, who might be assisted by a competent number of clerks. Such was the system in the imperial government; and surely that which was good for England was good for India. The bill proposed by Lord Derby's government was most impracticable. It was said to be the concoction of a noble lord of great Indian experience; but he (Sergeant Gaselee) deprecated that Indian experience. It was always tinctured by prejudices and jealousies arising from the different branches of the service in the several presidencies. The bill was so complicated, that he doubted whether even one cabinet, not to say one man, could have devised its machinery. Let them look to the good of India alone, irrespective of party. His suggestion was, that the collective wisdom of the Court of Directors, assisted by Sir J. Melville and Mr. Mill, should prepare a scheme worthy of the Company, and show to the country that they could give up their government with dignity and honour.

The second reading of the Government of India Bill had been, as before stated, fixed for Monday, the 12th of April; but, upon that day, on the question for going into committee of supply being put, Lord John Russell took the opportunity to suggest that, on account of the great and decided objections urged against the provisions of that bill, it would save much valuable time, and facilitate the decision of the house, if government were to proceed to carry their views on the subject into effect by resolutions, instead of by the more formal and dilatory process of submitting each clause of the bill to the consideration of the whole house. His lordship observed, that the course he proposed involved considerable discussion; but, when the resolutions were agreed to, very little debate need take place on the bill as a whole; and there would be great difficulty in discussing, in a committee of the whole house, the many important questions which, from the wording of the clauses, were mixed up with points of inferior and subordinate interest.—The chancellor of the exchequer fully appreciated the difficulty pointed out by the noble lord, and was quite willing, if the house considered it expedient, to adopt the course suggested—to proceed by resolutions instead of by bill; and as the noble lord possessed in that house an authority which no one could more deservedly exercise, it would be more agreeable to himself (Mr. Disraeli) if the noble lord would propose the resolutions; although, if necessary, he (Mr. Disraeli) would not shrink from the responsibility of doing so. Lord John Russell considered the question was one that ought not to be taken out of the hands of her majesty's government, and declined the honour of proposing the resolutions. After a short discussion, the chancellor of the exchequer stated, that he would prepare and place the resolutions upon the table of the house as speedily as possible.

A special general court of the East India Company was held at their house in Leadenhall-street, on the 13th of the month, when the following resolution, in reference to the two bills and to the report of the Court of Directors,* was unanimously adopted:—

"That this Court concur in the opinion of the Court of Directors—that neither of the bills now

* See preceding page.

before parliament is calculated to secure good government to India; and they accordingly authorise and request the Court of Directors to take such measures as may appear to them advisable for resisting the passing of either bill through parliament, and for introducing into any bill for altering the constitution of the government of India, such conditions as may promise a system of administration calculated to promote the interests of the people of India, and to prove conducive to the general welfare."

On the 20th of April, a series of resolutions affirmatory of the policy proposed to be adopted in the future government of India, were laid upon the table of the House of Commons by the Right Hon. Benjamin Disraeli, who then moved that they should be printed for the consideration of members, previous to a motion for their adoption as a basis for further legislation on Indian affairs. The resolutions were as follow:—

"1. That as the territories under the government of the East India Company are by law to remain under such government only until parliament shall otherwise provide, this house is of opinion that it is expedient that the transfer of such government to the crown should now take place, in order that the direct superintendence of the whole empire may be placed under one executive authority.

"2. That for this purpose it is expedient to provide that her majesty, by one of her principal secretaries of state, shall have and perform all the powers and duties relating to the government and revenues of India which are or may be now exercised and performed by the East India Company, or by the Court of Directors or Court of Proprietors of the said Company, either alone or with the approbation of the commissioners for the affairs of India.

"3. That such secretary of state shall be responsible for the government of India, and the transaction of business in the United Kingdom relating thereto, in the same manner and to the same extent as any of her majesty's principal secretaries of state are responsible in the several departments over which they preside.

"4. That, in order to assist such secretary of state in the discharge of his duties, it is expedient that a council be appointed of not less than twelve nor more than eighteen members.

"5. That, in order to secure the greatest amount of knowledge and experience in the management of the affairs of India, it is advisable that the principal portion of the members of the council shall have served in India for a term of years to be limited by statute.

"6. That, with a view to the efficiency and independence of the council, it is expedient that it should be partly nominated and partly elected.

"7. That the members of the nominated portion of the council shall be selected by her majesty, subject, as a general rule, to the qualification above expressed, and one-half, at the least, of the elected members shall possess the like qualifications.

"8. That the members of the elected portion of the council shall be chosen by a constituency composed of persons who have previously held military commissions or civil appointments in India, in her majesty's service or in that of the government of India, or who may possess a direct interest, to an amount to be specified, in some property charged or secured on the revenues or territories of India.

"9. That the council shall be presided over by the secretary of state, or by some member of the council to be nominated by him as vice-president.

"10. That arrangements shall be made from time to time, by the secretary of state and the council, for the meetings of the council, for the mode of procedure at such meetings, and for the distribution and transaction of business.

"11. That all despatches, letters, orders, and communications shall be addressed to the secretary of state, and shall be open to the inspection of every member of the council, except such as are now by law addressed to the secret committee of the Court of Directors.

"12. That the recommendation of persons for first appointments shall be made to her majesty by the secretary of state, with the concurrence of the council; and the same rules shall be observed in the making of such recommendations as have been followed by the Court of Directors in the making of such appointments.

"13. That, for the purpose of ascertaining the fitness of persons for the several appointments for which they may be so recommended, the same rules for the examination of cadets and of clerks shall be adhered to which are now followed by the Court of Directors of the East India Company, until the same be altered by the secretary of state and council of India.

"14. That provision shall be made for transferring to the crown all the real and personal property of the Company, except their capital stock, and the dividend thereon, so as to vest the same in her majesty, for the purposes of the government of India; for continuing the charge on the revenues of India alone of the dividend on the capital stock of the said Company until the redemption thereof, and of all the territorial and other debts and engagements which are payable by the Company out of the revenues of India; for auditing the accounts of the home government of India, under the direction of her majesty's treasury; for laying such accounts annually before parliament; and for securing the preference given by the 3rd and 4th William IV. to the dividends on the capital stock of the said Company, and the right of the said Company to demand the redemption of such dividends, and their right on the security fund, undiminished and unaffected by the transfer to the crown of the direct government of her majesty's Indian possessions."

Tracing the progress of the Indian government question towards a settlement, we find, on the 26th of the month, a petition was presented by the Earl of Albemarle, in the upper house of parliament, from the municipality and inhabitants of Birmingham, praying for the immediate establishment of an equitable system of government for India; upon which occasion his lordship expressed his entire disapproval of the ministerial plan; and said, from all he had read, and all he had heard, he felt quite confident that her majesty's ministers were

not competent to frame a scheme for the government of India which would be satisfactory to that country, would be compatible with the principles of the constitution, and would tend to promote what ought to be the whole and sole object of every government—namely, the prosperity and welfare of the governed. In the course of the same evening, the chancellor of the exchequer moved that, on the following Friday, the house should resolve itself into a committee to consider the act of the Queen, which provided for the government of India, when he would formally propose the resolutions he had already laid upon the table of the house. The right honourable gentleman discussed at some length the relative merits of the two bills then before the house, and naturally gave the palm to the one introduced by the administration of which he was himself a member; and, deprecating the hostile opinions that had been expressed with reference to it, he urged upon the house that, unless an efficient council were appointed as provided for in his bill, equal in knowledge and experience to the Court of Directors, it would be better not to disturb the existing machinery.—After some severe remarks by Lord Palmerston, Mr. Gladstone said he did not think that, after the decision of the house in February in favour of terminating the existing form of government for India, the best mode of proceeding was by resolutions, which had the effect of making a new commencement of the work. No progress had been made in the settling of this question since it was first introduced; and Lord Palmerston seemed to imply that the present session would not see its settlement. Looking at the state of public affairs and of public opinion upon this subject, he respectfully protested against affirming the motion before the house. He had heard from Mr. Disraeli an ingenious and elaborate defence of his bill; but whatever scruples he felt towards the measure had not been removed by it. In neither plan, however, could he see any elements of a good scheme; and there was great difficulty in attempting to govern by one people another people separated not only by distance, but by blood and by institutions. The Court of Directors had been practically a body protective of the people of India, and there ought not to be a less efficient provision for that object. He looked in vain, however, he said, in either plan for any protective power that could be compared with the Court of Directors. There should be a protection afforded to the people of India against the ignorance, error, or indiscretion of the people and parliament of England.—Mr. Gregory (Galway) said he considered the house had not sufficient information to legislate upon the subject; and moved as an amendment—"That at this moment it is not expedient to pass any resolutions for the future government of India." The amendment was seconded, and gave occasion for a lengthened discussion; but was eventually withdrawn.

The public mind now began to show symptoms of weariness with this protracted question; and it was by many considered peculiarly disgraceful both to parliament and the country, that the House of Commons should have spent half a session in working its way to a scheme of Indian government, and then break down with a confession of its own utter incompetence to handle the subject. It was urged, that if the change originally proposed was either unimportant or complex; if it related only to the construction of a department, or to the forms of office, then it would not greatly signify whether a bill which few understood or cared for was pressed or postponed. But the change originally proposed, and then accepted by all parties in the house, was at the same time supremely important and perfectly intelligible; being simply the transfer of the government of India from the East India Company to the crown, and the adoption of measures necessary to carry out that change; and it was considered, that were the house then, after returning again and again to the work, and after finally resolving on a course especially designed to secure unanimity, suddenly to bethink itself that it would be better to do nothing—not only would it weaken the hands of the authorities in India, and the energies of the army in that quarter, but the people of India and of the whole civilised world would conclude that we had at last discovered either our political depravity or our national decrepitude. Such, it was contended, would have been the effect of the course advocated by the member for Oxford university. He protested against the resolutions and against both of the bills, upon the extraordinary ground that they provided no protection for the people of India against the ignorance, indiscretion, and errors of the

executive, the parliament, and the people of this country. In what position, then, it was asked, would these stand before the world were his views adopted?

On Friday, the 30th of April, in the House of Commons, on the order of the day being read for going into committee upon the resolutions on the government of India, an attempt was made to shelve the whole subject by Lord H. Vane (South Durham); who moved a resolution, "That the change of circumstances since the first proposal by her majesty's late advisers, to transfer the government of India to the crown, renders it inexpedient to proceed further with legislation on the subject during the present session." The motion was consistently seconded by Mr. Gregory (Galway), but was strenuously opposed by Lord Palmerston, Mr. Mills, Sir F. Baring, Lord Stanley, and other influential members of every shade of political opinion; and, upon a division, the motion of Lord H. Vane was negatived by 447 to 57; and the house went into committee upon the resolutions. The chancellor of the exchequer thereupon moved—"That it is expedient to transfer the government of India to the crown." A discussion ensued upon the question of expediency; in the course of which, the chairman of the Board of Directors of the East India Company entered at much length upon a defence of the Company's administration, and vindicated their rule from imputations that had been cast upon it. Ultimately, the first resolution was agreed to amid much cheering, and the consideration of the others was postponed.

By the adoption of this resolution, the house was distinctly pledged to legislate for the future government of India; and it addressed itself to the task with apparent earnestness: but before the second resolution had been formally propounded, an incident in the upper house of parliament, on the 7th of May, led to disclosures and explanations that had the effect of depriving Lord Derby of the advantage of the Earl of Ellenborough's services as a member of his cabinet, and, at the same time, excited a considerable degree of public indignation at his conduct. The circumstances were as follow:—

On Thursday, the 6th of May, Earl Granville, in his place in parliament, said that it had come to his knowledge that the right honourable gentleman—the leader of the government in the other house—had there stated that Lord Canning's proclamation from Allahabad, of the 14th of March, addressed to the people of Oude upon the reduction of Lucknow, was disapproved *in toto* by her majesty's government; and he wished to know if that statement had the sanction of the colleagues of the right honourable gentleman.—The Earl of Ellenborough (president of the council of India), in reply, stated that there had been no communication whatever between himself and the members of the other house as to the terms of the answer which had been given. The right honourable gentleman who had given the answers to which Earl Granville referred, had read the letter which had been written in regard to that proclamation, and was competent to speak upon the matter. The proclamation and the letter of the government should be laid on the table on the following day.

Accordingly, on Friday, the 8th of May, the Earl of Ellenborough stated to their lordships, that he proposed to place before them the proclamation of the governor-general to the people of Oude,* a letter from the secretary to the government of India to the chief commissioner of Oude, by which that proclamation was accompanied,† and extracts of a letter from the secret committee of the East India Company to the governor-general in council. On looking carefully through the latter document, he found there were a few paragraphs which it would be inconvenient to make public. Those paragraphs would not appear; but their lordships might rest assured that the substance of the despatch would be placed in their hands. Lord Ellenborough then moved for the production of the papers mentioned.

Earl Granville had asked for these papers because he thought it was important that some explanation should be given by the government with regard to the course they had thought it right to take upon the information of Lord Canning's despatch reaching them. He had heard, since the intention to produce the despatch had been arrived at, that it had been in the hands of independent members of parliament, and that a copy of it had been shown at the Reform Club. Therefore, as the noble lord only thought it right now to give portions of that despatch, he regretted that the government had not kept the other portions of it within their own

* See *ante*, p. 276.

† *Ibid.*, p. 277.

bosoms. He (Lord Granville), in common with their lordships, of course only knew so much of the circumstances of this proclamation as had appeared in the public prints; and looking at that proclamation as it there appeared, he certainly must say, that it seemed to him consistent with the principles which Lord Canning had theretofore carried out. He must add, that the proclamation appeared to him to place a strong weapon in the hands of the government, by means of which they might use their influence upon those of the inhabitants of Oude who might be disposed to stand out, but who yet, upon a force of this kind being brought into operation against them, would rather trust to the clemency of the government than run the risk of the confiscation of their estates. But what he wished most particularly was this—to be understood as not in any way venturing to express any approval or disapproval of the proclamation—in fact, he could not properly do so, for he was perfectly unacquainted with the circumstances of the case, except as they appeared in unauthorised sources of information. The public prints state that the proclamation was accompanied by instructions from Lord Canning as to the mode of putting it into force. He presumed that those instructions would be placed before them; and he considered the course adopted by the government altogether unprecedented. They had not merely passed censure on the conduct of Lord Canning hastily, and, as he thought, without full information even before they had received an official copy of the document; but had promulgated in England (whence it would at once be forwarded to India) their own secret despatch, with which even the directors of the Company had only been made acquainted that morning. The consequences, he apprehended, would be the resignation of the governor-general—an event, in his opinion, fraught with serious injury to India, as depriving that country of the services of a statesman who had, under most peculiar circumstances, displayed consummate skill, and acquired among the nations an exalted reputation for justice and firmness.—The Earl of Derby explained the principles on which the government had acted. They believed that the proclamation, which threatened an almost general confiscation of the land in Oude, would drive the great landowners to despair, and tend to exasperate and prolong the contest in that province. The inhabitants of Oude ought not to be treated like mutinous sepoys. In writing to Lord Canning, however, they had studiously avoided using any expression calculated to necessitate his resignation. They had not even required him to recall his proclamation; simply intimating their wish that, in acting upon it, he should to a wide extent mitigate its severity.—The Duke of Argyll believed the government had fully admitted the principle that the government of India should be in India, yet it had taken the first opportunity to throw over the governor-general, and that in the most offensive manner.—The Earl of Ellenborough remarked, as to the despatch being in the hands of certain members of parliament, that it had been given to Earl Granville, at his own request, as an act of courtesy. In the course the government had taken, it had been influenced more by regard to the welfare of India than consideration for Lord Canning. No government deserved to stand a day that did not mark with disapprobation the general confiscation of land threatened by the proclamation. He did not desire the return of Lord Canning, neither did he fear it; the government would not have done its duty had it acted otherwise.—Earl Grey strongly condemned the course taken by the government; and, rejecting the idea that it was the attempt of a weak ministry to obtain a little cheap popularity by a few well-turned phrases in favour of justice and moderation, could only ascribe it to some extraordinary inadvertence it was impossible to explain. —The motion was then affirmed, and the papers in question were eventually laid upon the table.

The proclamation of the governor-general, with the letter accompanying it to the commissioner of Oude, are inserted in accordance with their respective dates.* The secret condemnatory despatch of Lord Ellenborough, *in extenso*, was as follows:—

The Secret Committee of the Court of Directors of the East India Company to the Governor-general of India in Council.

"April 19th, 1858.

"Our letter of the 24th of March, 1858, will have put you in possession of our general views with respect to the treatment of the people in the event of the evacuation of Lucknow by the enemy.

"2. On the 12th instant, we received from you a copy of the letter, dated the 3rd of March, addressed by your secretary to the secretary to the chief

* See pp. 267 and 277, *ante*.

commissioner in Oude, which letter enclosed a copy of the proclamation to be issued by the chief commissioner, as soon as the British troops should have command of the city of Lucknow, and conveyed instructions as to the manner in which he was to act with respect to different classes of persons, in execution of the views of the governor-general.

"3. The people of Oude will see only the proclamation.

"4. That authoritative expression of the will of the government informs the people that six persons, who are named as having been steadfast in their allegiance, are henceforward the sole hereditary proprietors of the lands they held when Oude came under British rule, subject only to such moderate assessment as may be imposed upon them; that others in whose favour like claims may be established will have conferred upon them a proportionate measure of reward and honour; and that with these exceptions the proprietary right in the soil of the province is confiscated to the British government.

"5. We cannot but express to you our apprehension that this decree, pronouncing the disinherison of a people, will throw difficulties almost insurmountable in the way of the re-establishment of peace.

"6. We are under the impression that the war in Oude has derived much of its popular character from the rigorous manner in which, without regard to what the chief landholders had become accustomed to consider as their rights, the summary settlement had, in a large portion of the province, been carried out by your officers.

"7. The landholders of India are as much attached to the soil occupied by their ancestors, and are as sensitive with respect to the rights in the soil they deem themselves to possess, as the occupiers of land in any country of which we have a knowledge.

"8. Whatever may be your ultimate and undisclosed intentions, your proclamation will appear to deprive the great body of the people of all hope upon the subject most dear to them as individuals, while the substitution of our rule for that of their native sovereign, has naturally excited against us whatever they may have of national feeling.

"9. *We cannot but in justice consider that those who resist our authority in Oude, are under very different circumstances from those who have acted against us in provinces which have been long under our government.*

"10. *We dethroned the king of Oude, and took possession of his kingdom, by virtue of a treaty which had been subsequently modified by another treaty, under which, had it been held to be in force, the course we adopted could not have been lawfully pursued; but we held that it was not in force, although the fact of its not having been ratified in England, as regarded the provision on which we rely for our justification, had not been previously made known to the king of Oude.*

"11. *That sovereign, and his ancestors, had been uniformly faithful to their treaty engagements with us, however ill they may have governed their subjects.*

"12. *They had more than once assisted us in our difficulties, and not a suspicion had ever been entertained of any hostile disposition on their part towards our government.*

"13. *Suddenly the people saw their king taken from amongst them, and our administration substituted for his, which, however bad, was at least native; and this sudden change of government was immediately followed by a summary settlement of the revenue, which, in a very considerable portion of the province, deprived the most influential landholders of what they deemed to be their property; of what certainly had long given wealth, and distinction, and power to their families.*

"14. We must admit that, under these circumstances, the hostilities which have been carried on in Oude have rather the character of legitimate war than that of rebellion, and that the people of Oude should rather be regarded with indulgent consideration than made the objects of a penalty exceeding in extent and in severity almost any which has been recorded in history as inflicted upon a subdued nation.

"15. Other conquerors, when they have succeeded in overcoming resistance, have excepted a few persons as still deserving of punishment, but have, with a generous policy, extended their clemency to the great body of the people.

"16. You have acted upon a different principle. You have reserved a few as deserving of special favour, and you have struck with what they will feel as the severest of punishment the mass of the inhabitants of the country.

"17. We cannot but think that the precedents from which you have departed will appear to have been conceived in a spirit of wisdom superior to that which appears in the precedent you have made.

"18. We desire that you will mitigate in practice the stringent severity of the decree of confiscation you have issued against the landholders of Oude.

"19. We desire to see British authority in India rest upon the willing obedience of a contented people; there cannot be contentment where there is a general confiscation.

"20. Government cannot long be maintained by any force in a country where the whole people is rendered hostile by a sense of wrong; and if it were possible so to maintain it, it would not be a consummation to be desired."

In the copy of the despatch laid before the House of Lords, the paragraphs in *italics* (9 to 13, inclusive) were omitted; but it happened that, in the copy presented to the House of Commons by the secretary to the Board of Control, the despatch had been given unmutilated; and hence the double dilemma in which ministers were placed by the inadvertency of two of their colleagues. In addition to the papers laid on the table by Lord Ellenborough, the following copy of a letter from the secret committee of the Court of Directors of the East India Company, to the governor-general of India in council, relative to the policy to be pursued towards the natives of provinces lately in a state of hostility, was also produced:—

The Secret Committee of the Court of Directors of the East India Company to the Governor-general of India in Council.

"March 24th, 1858.

"The telegram from Calcutta, dated the 22nd ult. which arrived this morning, conveys intelligence

of the concentration of the force under the commander-in-chief, and of that under Jung Bahadoor, upon Lucknow; and we trust we may indulge the expectation that, ere this, that city has been evacuated by the rebels, and that no considerable corps remains united against us in the field.

"2. If this happy result should have been attained, it will be very satisfactory to us to learn that you have deemed yourself sufficiently strong to be enabled to act towards the people with the generosity as well as the justice which are congenial to the British character.

"3. Crimes have been committed against us which it would be a crime to forgive, and some large exceptions there must be, of the persons guilty of such crimes, from any act of amnesty which could be granted; but it must be as impossible as it would be abhorrent from our feelings to inflict the extreme penalty which the law might strictly award upon all who have swerved from their allegiance.

"4. To us it appears that, whenever open resistance shall have ceased, it would be prudent, in awarding punishment, rather to follow the practice which prevails after the conquest of a country which has defended itself to the last by desperate war, than that which may perhaps be lawfully adopted after the suppression of mutiny and rebellion—such acts always being exempted from forgiveness or mitigation of punishment as have exceeded the license of legitimate hostilities.

"5. While we may be unable to forget the insanity which, during the last ten months, has pervaded the army and a large portion of the people, we should at the same time remember the previous fidelity of a hundred years, and so conduct ourselves towards those who have erred as to remove their delusions and their fears, and re-establish, if we can, that confidence which was so long the foundation of our power.

"6. It would be desirable that in every case the disarming of a district, either by the seizure of arms or by their surrender, should precede the application to it of any amnesty; but there may be circumstances which would render expedient a different course of proceeding. Upon these exceptional cases you and the officers acting under your orders must decide.

"7. The disarming of a district having been effected, with exceptions under your license in favour of native gentlemen whose feelings of honour would be affected by being deprived of the privilege of wearing arms, and of any other persons in whom you may confide, we think the possession of arms should be punished in every case by a severe penalty; but unless the possession of arms should be combined with other acts leading to the conclusion that they were retained for the perpetration of crimes, that penalty should not be death. Of course the possession of arms by Englishmen must always remain lawful.

"8. Death has of late been too common a punishment. It loses whatever terror it might otherwise have when so indiscriminately applied; but, in fact, in India there is not commonly a fear of death, although there ever must be a fear of pain.

"9. In every amnestied district the ordinary administration of the law should, as soon as possible, be restored.

"10. In carrying these views into execution, you may meet with obstructions from those who, maddened by the scenes they have witnessed, may desire to substitute their own policy for that of the government; but persevere firmly in doing what you may think right; make those who would counteract you feel that you are resolved to rule, and that you will be served by none who will not obey.

"11. Acting in this spirit, you may rely upon our unqualified support."

This letter, it will be observed, refers to events in March, already recorded in previous chapters of this work;* but, for obvious reasons, its existence was unknown to the public, until produced in obedience to a resolution of the House of Lords in May, 1858.

On Monday, the 10th of May, the Oude proclamation and the secret despatch (Lord Ellenborough's, of the 19th of April, 1858) again came under discussion in the House of Lords; and the Earl of Shaftesbury gave notice that, on the following Friday, he would move a resolution condemnatory of the publication of the secret despatch of the government to Viscount Canning. The indignation excited by the unworthy attempt to insult the governor-general and paralyse his efforts, was not confined to the House of Lords only. The measure was felt by the country as unwise and uncalled for, and prompted rather by personal motives than by a consideration for the interests of India. The expression of public dissatisfaction was general; and notice of a vote of censure upon the government, on account of the secret despatch, was given in the Commons on the 10th of May, by Mr. Cardwell, the member for the city of Oxford.

A further complication of the difficulty in which government had become entangled in this matter, was occasioned by a statement of Lord Granville, that the late president of the Board of Control (Mr. Vernon Smith) had, some time previous, received a private letter from the governor-general, in which his lordship stated, that he considered his proclamation to the people of Oude required an explanatory despatch; but that, owing to the great pressure of business, he had not been able then to send it. This communication, from inadvertence or design, had been withheld by the late president from his successor at the Board of Control; and Lord Ellenborough and the present government felt they had just grounds of complaint at the unusual reserve, by which, it was contended, the noble

* See *ante*, pp. 270; 276; 278.

earl had been placed in a false position with respect to the governor-general's proclamation; and the occasion was seized to divert at least a portion of the popular censure from the existing government.

On Tuesday, the 11th of May, the Oude proclamation, the secret despatch condemning it, and the private letter from Lord Canning to Mr. Vernon Smith, again became the subjects of a discussion in the House of Lords, which derived additional interest from an announcement made by the Earl of Ellenborough, that he had tendered the resignation of his office, as president of the India Board, to her majesty, and that it had been accepted. His lordship was succeeded in office by Lord Stanley.

The vote of censure, of which notice had been given by Lord Shaftesbury, was embodied in the following resolutions, which were moved by the noble earl on the 14th of May:—

"1. That it appears from papers laid upon the table of this house, that a despatch has been addressed by the secret committee of the Court of Directors to the governor-general of India, disapproving a proclamation which the governor-general had informed the Court he intended to issue after the fall of Lucknow.

"2. That it is known only from intelligence that has reached this country by correspondence published in newspapers, that the intended proclamation has been issued, and with an important modification, no official account of this proceeding having yet been received; that this house is therefore still without full information as to the grounds on which Lord Canning has acted; and his answer to the objections made to his intended proclamation in the despatch of the secret committee cannot be received for several weeks.

"3. That under these circumstances this house is unable to form a judgment on the proclamation issued by Lord Canning, but thinks it right to express its disapprobation of the premature publication by her majesty's ministers of the despatch addressed to the governor-general, since this public condemnation of his conduct is calculated to weaken the authority of the governor-general of India, and to encourage those who are now in arms against this country."

In the discussion that ensued, Lord Ellenborough vindicated the course he had taken and the language adopted, for which he claimed the entire responsibility, and deprecated further reference to the subject in the existing state of Indian affairs. Several peers spoke for and against the resolutions, which ultimately were rejected by a majority of nine.

On Friday, the 14th, Mr. Cardwell, pursuant to notice, moved his condemnatory resolution as follows:—

"That this house, whilst in its present state of information it abstains from expressing an opinion on the policy of any proclamation which may have been issued by the governor-general of India, in relation to Oude, has seen with regret and serious apprehension that her majesty's government have addressed to the governor-general, through the secret committee of the Court of Directors, and have published, a despatch condemning in strong terms the conduct of the governor-general; and is of opinion that such a course on the part of the government must tend, in the present circumstances of India, to produce the most prejudicial effect, by weakening the authority of the governor-general, and encouraging the further resistance of those who are in arms against us."

A very animated debate followed, an amendment being moved by Mr. Dillwyn (Swansea).

"That the house generally approves of Lord Canning's policy up to the time of the Oude proclamation, and is satisfied with the firmness and judgment he has evinced during the crisis in India; but declines to give any opinion upon the proclamation itself until it has had further information on the state of Oude when it was issued, and also Lord Canning's reasons for issuing it."

The discussions of the resolutions and amendment was continued during the sittings of the 14th, 15th, 17th, 20th, and 21st; and then, by the consent of all parties, both were withdrawn without any result whatever, other than that the consideration of the resolutions which were to form the basis of future legislation for the government of India, was thereby unnecessarily and mischievously retarded.

On the 28th of May, the following letter of instructions from the Court of Directors to the governor-general in council, was presented to parliament, and ordered to be printed. It apparently referred to the proclamation and correspondence respecting Oude,* and to the letter of the secret committee of the Court of Directors, dated the 24th of March.†

"May 5th, 1858.

"1. You will have received, by the mail of the 25th of March, a letter from the secret committee, which has since been laid before us, respecting the policy which it becomes you to pursue towards those natives of India who have recently been in arms against the authority of the British government.

"2. That letter emphatically confirms the principles which you have already adopted, as set forth in your circular of the 31st of July, 1857, by impressing upon you the propriety of pursuing, after the conquest of the revolted provinces, a course of

* See *ante*, pp. 276 and 278.

† *Ibid.*, p. 480.

policy distinguished by a wise and discriminating generosity. You are exhorted to temper justice with mercy; and, except in cases of extreme criminality, to grant an amnesty to the vanquished. In the sentiments expressed by the secret committee we entirely concur. While there are some crimes which humanity calls upon you to punish with the utmost severity, there are others of a less aggravated character which it would be equally unjust and impolitic not to pardon and to forget.

"3. The offences with which you will be called upon to deal are of three different kinds. First, high crimes, instigated by malice prepense, and aggravated by treachery and cruelty. Secondly, offences the results rather of weakness than of malice, into which it is believed that many have been drawn by the contamination of example, by the fear of opposing themselves to their more powerful countrymen, or by the belief that they have been compromised by the acts of their associates, rather than by any active desire to embarrass the existing government. And, thirdly, offences of a less positive character, amounting to little more than passive connivance at evil, or at most, to the act of giving such assistance to the rebels as, if not given, would have been forcibly extorted, and which, in many cases, it would have been death to refuse to bodies of licentious and exasperated mutineers.

"4. It is the first only of these offences, the perpetrators of which, and their accomplices, it will be your duty to visit with the severest penalty which you can inflict; and it is, happily, in such cases of exceptional atrocity that you will have the least difficulty in proving both the commission of the offence and the identity of the offender. In the other cases you might often be left in doubt, not only of the extent of the offence committed, but of its actual commission by the accused persons; and, although we are aware that the retribution which may be righteously inflicted upon the guilty may be in some measure restricted by too much nicety of specification, and that, in dealing with so large a mass of crime, it is difficult to avoid the commission of some acts of individual injustice, we may still express our desire that the utmost exertion may be made to confine, within the smallest possible compass, these cases of uncertain proof and dubious identity, even though your retributory measures should thus fall short of what in strict justice might be inflicted.

"5. As soon as you have suppressed the active hostility of the enemy, your first care will be the restoration of public confidence. It will be your privilege, when the disorganised provinces shall no longer be convulsed by intestine disorder, to set an example of toleration and forbearance towards the subject people, and to endeavour, by every means consistent with the security of the British empire in the East, to allay the irritation and suspicion which, if suffered to retain possession of the minds of the native and European inhabitants of the country, will eventually lead to nothing less calamitous than a war of races.

"6. In dealing with the people of Oude, you will doubtless be moved by special considerations of justice and of policy. Throughout the recent contest we have ever regarded such of the inhabitants of that country as, not being sepoys or pensioners of our own army, have been in arms against us, as an exceptional class. They cannot be considered as traitors, or even rebels; for they had not pledged their fidelity to us, and they had scarcely become our subjects. Many, by the introduction of a new system of government, had necessarily been deprived of the maintenance they had latterly enjoyed; and others feared that the speedy loss of their means of subsistence must follow from the same course. It was natural that such persons should avail themselves of the opportunity presented by the distracted state of the country, to strike a blow for the restoration of the native rule, under which the permitted disorganisation of the country had so long been to them a source of unlawful profit. Neither the disbanded soldiers of the late native government, nor the great talookdars and their retainers, were under any obligation of fidelity to our government for benefits conferred upon them. You would be justified, therefore, in dealing with them as you would with a foreign enemy, and in ceasing to consider them objects of punishment after they have once laid down their arms.

"7. Of these arms they must for ever be deprived. You will doubtless, in prosecution of this object, address yourself, in the first instance, to the case of the great talookdars, who so successfully defied the late government, and many of whom, with large bodies of armed men, appear to have aided the efforts of the mutinous soldiery of the Bengal army. The destruction of the fortified strongholds of these powerful landholders, the forfeiture of their remaining guns, the disarming and disbanding of their followers, will be among your first works. But, whilst you are depriving this influential and once dangerous class of people of their power of openly resisting your authority, you will, we have no doubt, exert yourselves by every possible means to reconcile them to British rule, and encourage them, by liberal arrangements made in accordance with ancient usages, to become industrious agriculturists, and to employ in the cultivation of the soil the men who, as armed retainers, have so long wasted the substance of their masters, and desolated the land. We believe that these landholders may be taught that their holdings will be more profitable to them under a strong government, capable of maintaining the peace of the country, and severely punishing agrarian outrages, than under one which perpetually invites, by its weakness, the ruinous arbitration of the sword.

"8. Having thus endeavoured, on the re-establishment of the authority of the British government in Oude, to reassure the great landholders, you will proceed to consider, in the same spirit of toleration and forbearance, the condition of the great body of the people. You will bear in mind that it is necessary, in a transition state from one government to another, to deal tenderly with existing usages, and sometimes even with existing abuses. All precipitate reforms are dangerous. It is often wiser even to tolerate evil for a time than to alarm and to irritate the minds of the people by the sudden introduction of changes which time can alone teach them to appreciate, or even, perhaps, to understand. You will be especially careful, in the readjustment of the fiscal system of the province, to avoid the imposition of unaccustomed taxes, whether of a general or of a local character, pressing heavily upon the industrial resources, and affecting the daily comforts of the people. We do not estimate the successful administration of a newly-acquired province

according to the financial results of the first few years. At such a time, we should endeavour to conciliate the people by wise concessions, and to do nothing to encourage the belief that the British government is more covetous of revenue than the native ruler whom it has supplanted."

In the House of Lords, on Tuesday, the 1st of June, Earl Granville observed, that it had been stated by a member of her majesty's government, that a telegraphic message had been sent to Lord Canning subsequent to the resignation of Lord Ellenborough, conveying an assurance that the former nobleman, in his important position of governor-general of India, should receive the support of her majesty's government; and he (Lord Granville) wished to know if there would be any objection to the production of that communication. He also desired to know whether the government had any objection to the production of the vote of confidence of the directors of the East India Company, transmitted to Lord Canning, and of the despatch covering that vote? With regard to the first question, the Earl of Derby said, the only communication that had taken place was contained in a telegraphic message sent by him to Lord Canning, with a view to its overtaking the mail which had gone out on the 10th of May. It was a personal communication; because he had no right to enter into any official communication with Lord Canning. In that communication, he informed him of the change that had taken place in the government by the resignation of Lord Ellenborough; the regret of the government that the secret despatch which his noble friend had addressed to him had been made public; and expressed the determination of the government to give him the most cordial support in their power. It also expressed the hope of the government, that while they approved the policy laid down in the secret despatch of the 19th of April, Lord Canning would not in practice find it greatly to differ from the policy recommended by his (Lord Derby's) noble friend in the former despatch. It would not be possible to produce the private communication alluded to; but with regard to the despatch, and the vote of confidence passed by the Court of Directors, there would not be the least objection to lay those on the table immediately.

The following are the documents referred to by Lord Granville upon this occasion:—

"Political Department, May 18th (No. 2).

"Our Governor-general of India in Council.

"1. The secret committee has communicated to us the governor-general's secret letter, dated the 5th of March, 1858, with its enclosures, consisting of a letter addressed to the chief commissioner of Oude, dated the 3rd of March, and of the proclamation referred to therein, which was to be issued by Sir James Outram to the chiefs and inhabitants of Oude as soon as the British troops should have possession or command of the city of Lucknow.

"2. We have also received communication of the letter addressed to your government by the secret committee, under date the 19th of April last, on the subject of the draught of the proclamation.

"3. Our political letter of the 5th of May has apprised you of our strong sense of the distinction which ought to be maintained between the revolted sepoys and the chiefs and people of Oude, and the comparative indulgence with which, equally from justice and policy, the insurgents of that country (other than sepoys) ought to be regarded. In accordance with these views, we entirely approve the guarantee of life and honour given by the proposed proclamation to all talookdars, chiefs, and landholders, with their followers, who should make immediate submission, surrender their arms, and obey the orders of the British government, provided they have not participated in the murder of Englishmen or Englishwomen.'

"4. We are prepared to learn that in publicly declaring that, with the exception of the lands of six persons who had been steadfast in their allegiance, the proprietary right in the soil of the province was confiscated to the British government, the governor-general intended no more than to reserve to himself entire liberty of action, and to give the character of mercy to the confirmation of all rights not prejudicial to the public welfare, the owners of which might not, by their conduct, have excluded themselves from indulgent consideration.

"5. His lordship must have been well aware that the words of the proclamation, without the comment on it which we trust was speedily afforded by your actions, must have produced the expectation of much more general and indiscriminate dispossession than could have been consistent with justice or with policy. We shall doubtless be informed, in due course, of the reasons which induced the governor-general to employ those terms, and of the means which, we presume, have been taken of making known in Oude the merciful character which, we assume, must still belong to your views. In the meantime, it is due to the governor-general that we should express our entire reliance that, on this as on former occasions, it has been his firm resolution to show to all whose crimes are not too great for any indulgence, the utmost degree of leniency consistent with the early restoration and firm maintenance of lawful authority.

"We accordingly have to inform you that, on receiving communication of the papers now acknowledged, the Court of Directors passed the following resolution:—

"'Resolved,—That, in reference to the despatch from the secret committee to the governor-general of India, dated the 19th ult., with the documents therein alluded to, and this day laid before the Court of Directors, this Court desires to express its continued confidence in the governor-general (Lord Canning), and its conviction that his measures for

the pacification of Oude and the other disturbed districts in India, will be characterised by a generous policy, and by the utmost clemency that is found to be consistent with the satisfactory accomplishment of that important object.'—We are, &c.,

"F. Currie,
"W. J. Eastwick," &c.

The adjourned debate, in committee, on the Indian resolutions was resumed on Monday, the 7th of June, and continued, at intervals, until Thursday, the 17th of the month, when, with several amendments, they were reported to the house, and leave was given to bring in a bill for the future government of India.

With regard to the proceedings of government and the legislature in reference to this important subject, as they were connected with the several propositions of the late and existing government, the following remarks of the *Times* very succinctly expressed the popular opinion. That journal, in an editorial article of the 21st of June, observed—"For the third time we have come to a full stop in the matter of Indian legislation, and found ourselves compelled to begin over again. Lord Palmerston's bill could not get on because Lord Palmerston was turned out of office; Lord Derby's bill could not get on because of its intrinsic absurdity; and now the resolutions, that were to have settled everything, have come to a dead lock, and cannot by any means be induced to carry us a single step further. The waste of time that has been incurred is, we believe, unexampled, even in the annals of that most apt contrivance for the expenditure of human life—the House of Commons. It is now more than two months since the infelicitous ingenuity of Lord John Russell originated the clever scheme of stopping short in the middle of a bill, in order to settle, if possible, by a collateral investigation, what the contents of that bill ought to be. The thing was done and decided on at once by one of those sudden and impulsive movements which have made the present House of Commons the wonder, if not always the admiration, of its constituents. With the same kind of dash with which it threw out the late ministry and fell spontaneously to pieces on the proposition to censure Lord Ellenborough's despatch, the House of Commons, which had previously allowed the introduction of two bills, resolved by acclamation to drop them both, in order to relieve itself from the definiteness of the issue involved, and to expatiate freely on the wider field of resolution. Everybody, except the house itself, saw at once the full effect of such a step. It relieved the government from all responsibility, and threw it upon the house at large. It was to go into committee on a bill the principle of which had not been decided upon. It was to come to a number of decisions, none of which were final or binding, and every one of which might be reconsidered whenever the real time for settling matters arrived. It gave tempting opportunity for delay, and encouraged, to an unprecedented extent, the faculty of wandering as far as possible from the point in debate. However, the price has now been paid. We have lost two months of the session. We have filled our columns to repletion with long and irrelevant speeches. Let us see what we have got in exchange. That the government was to be vested in the crown and placed in the hands of a responsible minister was conceded before the debate began, so that on that point there was no difference on either side. The resolutions embodying these two propositions were therefore merely formal, and made no advance whatever. The first point decided was, that the new council should not be less than twelve, nor more than fifteen—a whimsical conclusion by which nobody feels himself bound, and which will probably be more heartily contested than any point in the forthcoming bill. The house will very likely adhere to the decision at which it has arrived; but the debate will only furnish new grounds for argument, and provide the advocates of the smaller and of the larger number with better and more accurate knowledge of the strength and weakness of their respective positions, and equip them with new arms for attack and defence. Not much has been gained, therefore, either in point of time or knowledge by affirming this proposition, the narrow limits of which give it an air of pedantry and dogmatism ridiculously inconsistent with its really tentative and indeterminate character. The next proposition which the house has established is, that part of the members of the council shall be nominative and part elective. This proposition was accepted by the house in a fit of enthusiastic devotion to the will of the minister, which, we must say, he had scarcely earned. Lord Ellenborough's bill, as our readers will recollect, contained two methods of election—one by five chosen parliamentary constituencies, the other by

preference shareholders in stock and railways, merchants, Indian officials, and so forth. In this respect the bill differed as widely as possible from the council proposed by Lord Palmerston, which was wholly nominated by the crown. The first wave that broke over the ministerial ship carried away the five constituencies, to appear no more; and it soon became evident that the proposed Indian constituency was utterly repugnant to almost every one, its own proposers and advocates not excluded. What, then, was to be done? Formally to reject the elective principle was to destroy almost the whole difference between the resolutions and Lord Palmerston's bill, and to admit that a second time government had failed in finding the right principle, and, in its eagerness to find grounds of difference from its antagonists, had taken up an untenable position. On the other hand, to retain the words as they stood, threw upon government the duty of finding some species of election—an undertaking which held out no chance of success. The government were perplexed between admitting themselves to be wholly wrong, and taking up a position which they could not support. Candour pleaded for the one course, pride and consistency for the other. The government did not hesitate, having made up its mind to give up the elective principle, to obtain from the house a pledge that it should be carried out. This answered very well for one evening, and the affirmation of the principle was carried by a large majority, amid tremendous cheers. From that moment the fate of the resolutions was sealed. The house could not be asked to rescind what it had done, and neither it nor the ministry had the slightest idea of giving effect to the proposition which they had affirmed. Here, then, things had arrived at a point where it was possible to go no further without contradicting what had been decided upon. The manner in which ministers met this untoward position, was to sketch out a scheme of alternate nomination and self-election, and, without venturing to propose it, to proceed to resolutions on different and less important matters. Then the patience of the house at last gave way, and it was agreed to drop the proceeding by resolution with the same precipitancy and the same unanimity with which the plan had been adopted.

"This is but a sorry account of the labour of so many weeks; but it is actually all that has been done—all the assistance that has been afforded towards the construction of the bill by many nights of debate upon the resolutions. A number of members of council has been declared by approximation which nobody seems inclined to adopt, and a principle of election has been laid down from which everybody distinctly dissents. Such are the solid foundations we have gained for the future bill. We are to have an election, only there is to be no constituent body: and the council itself seems likely to be rejected from dislike to the principle of co-optation, and also of election. It seems not improbable that the seven elected members may disappear altogether for want of electors, and leave us nothing but the eight nominated members of Lord Palmerston's bill. Such a result would be worthy of the course hitherto taken. Let us, at any rate, rejoice that we are at last free from these weary resolutions, and about to advance, however slowly, in the course of practical law-making, when, it is to be hoped, we shall have more of purpose and less of empty declamation."

A third bill for the better government of India, known as Lord Stanley's Bill, was at length, on the 22nd of June, printed for the consideration of the members of both houses of parliament. The following is an abstract of the provisions of Bill No. 3:—

The preamble states, that it is expedient that the territories in the possession of the East India Company should be governed by and in the name of her majesty.

By clause 1, the government of the territories now in the possession or under the government of the East India Company, and all powers in relation to government vested in or exercised by the said Company in trust for her majesty, shall cease to be vested in or exercised by the said Company; and all territories in the possession or under the government of the said Company, and all rights vested in, or which if this act had not been passed might have been exercised by, the said Company in relation to any territories, shall become vested in and be exercised on behalf of her majesty; and for the purposes of this act India shall mean the territories vested in her majesty as aforesaid, and all territories which may become vested in her majesty by virtue of any such rights as aforesaid.

II. India shall be governed by and in the name of her majesty; and all rights in relation to any territories, which might have been exercised by the said Company if this act had not been passed, shall and may be exercised on behalf of her majesty as rights incidental to the government of India.

III. Save as herein otherwise provided, one of her majesty's principal secretaries of state shall have and perform all such or the like powers and duties in anywise relating to the government or revenues of India, and all such or the like powers over all

officers appointed or continued under this act, as might or should have been exercised or performed by the East India Company, or by the Court of Directors or Court of Proprietors of the said Company.

IV. After the commencement of this act any four of her majesty's principal secretaries of state for the time being, and any four of the under-secretaries for the time being to her majesty's principal secretaries of state, may sit and vote as members of the House of Commons; but not more than four such principal secretaries, and not more than four such under-secretaries, shall sit as members of the House of Commons at the same time.

Clause 5 provides, that if the person who immediately before the commencement of the act is the president of the commissioners for the affairs of India be appointed a principal secretary of state, he need not vacate his seat in the House of Commons. By clause 6, the salaries of one secretary of state and his under-secretaries, are to be paid out of the revenue of India. Clause 7 states that a council of India is to be established, to consist of fifteen members. Clauses 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, and 16, refer to the mode by which the members of the council are to be elected, the way in which vacancies are to be filled up, the time of the tenure of office, the salaries, and other particulars.

XVII. It shall be lawful for her majesty, by warrant under her royal sign-manual, countersigned by the chancellor of the exchequer, to grant to any secretary, officer, or servant on the home establishment of the said Company, or on the establishment of the said commissioners, who in consequence of such reduction as aforesaid by the secretary of state, or under such order in council, is not retained on the establishment of the council of India, any compensation either by way of a gross or annual payment, as, having regard to the circumstances, may seem just.

Clause 18 relates to retiring allowances to officers.

XIX. The council shall, under the direction of the secretary of state, and subject to the provisions of this act, conduct the business transacted in the United Kingdom in relation to the government of India and the correspondence with India; but every order or communication sent to India shall be signed by one of the principal secretaries of state, and—save as expressly provided by this act—every order in the United Kingdom in relation to the government of India under this act shall be signed by such secretary of state; and all despatches from governments and presidencies in India, and other despatches from India, which if this act had not been passed should have been addressed to the Court of Directors or to their secret committee, shall be addressed to such secretary of state.

XX. It shall be lawful for the secretary of state to divide the council into committees for the more convenient transaction of business, and from time to time to rearrange such committees, and to direct what departments of the business in relation to the government of India under this act shall be under such committees respectively, and generally to direct the manner in which all such business shall be transacted.

XXI. The secretary of state shall be the president of the council, and it shall be lawful for such secretary of state to appoint from time to time any member of such council to be vice-president thereof, and any such vice-president may at any time be removed by the secretary of state.

Clauses 22 and 23 define the mode of proceeding to be adopted at meetings of the council.

XXIV. Every order or communication proposed to be sent to India, and every order proposed to be made in the United Kingdom by the secretary of state, under this act, shall, unless the same has been submitted to a meeting of the council, be placed in the council-room for the perusal of all members of the council during seven days before the sending or making thereof, except in the cases hereinafter provided.

XXV. If a majority of the council record as aforesaid their opinions against any act proposed to be done, the secretary of state shall, if he do not defer to the opinions of the majority, record his reasons for acting in opposition thereto.

XXVI. Provided that where it appears to the secretary of state that the dispatch of any order or communication, or the making of any order, is urgently required, the communication may be sent or order given, notwithstanding the same may not have been submitted to a meeting of the council or deposited for seven days as aforesaid, the urgent reasons for sending or making the same being recorded by the secretary of state; and notice thereof being given to every member of the council, except in the cases hereinafter mentioned.

XXVII. Provided, also, that all such orders and communications as might, if this act had not been passed, have been sent by the commissioners for the affairs of India through the secret committee of the Court of Directors to governments or presidencies in India, or to the officers or servants of the said Company, may, after the commencement of this act, be sent to such governments or presidencies, or to any officer or servant in India, by the secretary of state, without having been submitted to a meeting or deposited for the perusal of the members of the council, and without the reasons being recorded or notice thereof given as aforesaid.

XXVIII. Any despatches to Great Britain which might, if this act had not been passed, have been addressed to the secret committee of the Court of Directors, may be marked "Secret" by the authorities sending the same, and such despatches shall not be communicated to the members of the council, unless the secretary of state shall so think fit and direct.

Clauses 29, 30, 31, 32, and 33, regulate the manner in which appointments to offices in India are to be made. Appointments now made in India to continue to be made there.

By clause 34 there is to be a competitive examination for cadetships in the engineers and artillery.

Clauses 35, 36, and 37, relate to the removal of officers by her majesty, and the disposal of the real and personal estate of the Company.

XXXVIII. The dividend on the capital stock of the said Company, secured by the Act of the 3rd and 4th years of King William IV., chap. 85, until the redemption thereof, and all the bond, debenture, and other debt of the said Company in Great Britain, and all the territorial debt, and all other debts of the said Company, and all sums of money, costs, charges, and expenses, which, if this act had not been passed, would, after the time appointed for the commencement thereof, have been payable by the said Company out of the revenues of India, in respect or by reason of any treaties, covenants, contracts, grants, or liabilities then existing, and all

expenses, debts, and liabilities which, after the commencement of this act, shall be lawfully contracted and incurred on account of the government of India, and all payments under this act, shall be charged and chargeable upon the revenues of India alone, as the same would have been if this act had not been passed, and such expenses, debts, liabilities, and payments as last aforesaid had been expenses, debts, and liabilities lawfully contracted and incurred by the said Company, and such revenues shall not be applied to any other purpose whatsoever; and all other moneys vested in or arising or accruing from property or rights vested in her majesty under this act, or to be received or disposed of by the council under this act, shall be applied in aid of such revenues.

XXXIX. Such part of the revenues of India as shall be from time to time remitted to Great Britain, and all moneys of the said Company in their treasury or under the care of their cashier, and all other moneys in Great Britain of the said Company, or which would have been received by them in Great Britain if this act had not been passed, and all moneys arising or accruing in Great Britain from any property or rights vested in her majesty by this act, or from the sale or disposition thereof, shall be paid to the council, to be by them applied for the purposes of this act; and all moneys to be paid to the council, except as hereinafter otherwise provided, shall be paid into the Bank of England, to the credit of an account to be opened by the governor and company of the Bank of England, to be entitled "The Account of the Council of India."

Clauses 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, and 45, relate to the transfer of stock, the disposal of exchequer bills, and the power of borrowing money.

XLVI. All provisions now in force in anywise relating to the offence of forging, or altering, or offering, uttering, disposing of, or putting off, knowing the same to be forged or altered, any East India bond, with intent to defraud, shall extend and be applicable to and in respect of any bond, debenture, or security issued by the council of India under the authority of this act.

By clause 47, the present system of issuing warrants for payments is to be continued.

XLVIII. It shall be lawful for her majesty, by warrant under her royal sign-manual, countersigned by the chancellor of the exchequer, to appoint from time to time a fit person to be auditor of the accounts of the council, and to authorise such auditor to appoint and remove from time to time such assistants as may be specified in such warrant.

By clause 49, the council accounts are to be annually laid before parliament.

By clause 50, commissioners may proceed to India to enquire into the finances and accounts.

LI. The military and naval forces of the East India Company shall be deemed to be the Indian military and naval forces of her majesty, and shall be under the same obligation to serve her majesty as they would have been under to serve the said Company, and shall be liable to serve within the same territorial limits only, for the same terms only, and be entitled to the like pay, pensions, allowances, and privileges, and the like advantages as regards promotion and otherwise, as if they had continued in the service of the said Company: such forces, and all persons hereafter enlisting in or entering the same, shall continue and be subject to all acts of parliament, laws of the governor-general of India in council, and articles of war, and all other laws, regulations, and provisions relating to the East India Company's military and naval forces respectively, as if her majesty's Indian military and naval forces respectively had throughout such acts, laws, articles, regulations, and provisions, been mentioned or referred to, instead of such forces of the said Company; and the pay and expenses of and incident to her majesty's Indian military and naval forces shall be defrayed out of the revenues of India.

Clause 52 makes provision for persons hereafter entering her majesty's Indian forces.

Clause 53 provides that servants of the Company are to be deemed servants of her majesty.

By clause 54, all orders of the Court of Directors or Board of Control are to remain in force.

LV. All functions and powers of Courts of Proprietors and Courts of Directors of the said Company in relation to the government of India, and all appointments of such of the directors of the said Company as have been appointed by her majesty, shall cease, and the yearly sums payable to the chairman, deputy-chairman, and other directors of the said Company, shall cease to be payable, and all powers vested in her majesty of appointing directors of the said Company shall cease and determine.

LVI. The appointments and powers of appointment of commissioners for the affairs of India shall cease and determine.

Clauses 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, and 64, refer to existing contracts and pending suits, and continue certain rights of the Company.

LXV. Save as herein otherwise provided, this act shall commence and take effect upon the expiration of thirty days after the day of the passing thereof.

LXVI. This act shall be proclaimed in the several presidencies and governments of India as soon as conveniently may be after such act has been received by the governor-general of India; and until such proclamation be made, all acts, matters, and things done, ordered, directed, or authorised in India in the name of the East India Company, or otherwise in relation to the government of India, shall be as valid and effectual as if this act had not been passed.

The most meritorious feature in this measure of Lord Stanley's, consisted in the fact that it was the bill of Lord Ellenborough divested of its most prominent and startling absurdities. The territories of the East India Company were by it to be vested in the Queen; and in her name the future government was to be carried on. The responsible minister for such government, it was proposed should be a fifth secretary of state: so that, after all the verbiage exhausted upon the subject of an official title, the government adhered to the original proposition rather than to the designation of president. From this point the bills materially diverged from each other. The three great constituencies—the proprietors of East India stock, the guaranteed railway shareholders, and the retired valetudinarians from the East—were thrown overboard; the

qualifications followed the constituencies; the nicely-balanced machinery so artistically designed by Mr. Disraeli, by which every presidency, every service, every trade, and every condition was to be represented, was also swept away, leaving behind only the simple provision that the major part of the council must be persons who had resided ten years in India, while the remainder need possess no qualification at all. Then, it will be observed, the number follows the qualification. The council was to consist of fifteen instead of eighteen, as Lord Ellenborough proposed, or eight, as intended by Lord Palmerston. Of this fifteen, eight would be nominated by the crown, and seven by the present East India directors, from their own body. Lord Palmerston's bill, with certain very narrow exceptions, vested all the powers created by it, in the president and council: Lord Stanley's gave some powers to the secretary of state; others to the council in their own right; and again, others to the council, under the direction of the secretary of state—an arrangement admirably adapted to lead to confusion, if not to collisions. The council would be called together at the will of the secretary of state, or on the requisition of five of its members; and was not, therefore, an ordinary consultative body, but only to be convoked on extraordinary occasions; and, upon the whole, it was objected that the bill involved two principles inconsistent with each other—the responsibility of the minister and the independent action of the council—and would not meet the requirements of the crisis which had called for legislative interference.

On the 23rd of June a quarterly general court of the East India Company was held at their house in Leadenhall-street, when, after some routine business had been disposed of, the chairman (Sir F. Currie) stated, the court had been made special for the purpose of laying before the proprietors a resolution unanimously passed by the Court of Directors on the 9th instant, granting to Sir Colin Campbell an annuity of £2,000. The directors having been informed that her majesty intended to confer a peerage on Sir Colin Campbell for his services in the relief and capture of Lucknow, and in the restoration of British supremacy in that city and in Oude, had felt it to be their duty to propose a grant to him, by which he might be able to support that dignity. The resolution was as follows:—

"Resolved unanimously,—With reference to the gracious intention of her majesty to confer upon General Sir Colin Campbell, G.C.B., commander-in-chief in India, the dignity of the peerage, that as a special mark of the high sense entertained by the East India Company of the eminent services of Sir Colin Campbell, in planning and conducting the several brilliant military operations which, under the blessing of Divine Providence, resulted in the rescue of the garrison of the residency at Lucknow, and in the restoration of British supremacy in that capital and in Oude, an annuity of £2,000, commencing from the date of the final occupation of Lucknow, be granted to Sir Colin Campbell for the term of his natural life, subject to the approval of the general Court of Proprietors, and to the approval and confirmation of the Board of Commissioners for the affairs of India."

The resolution was agreed to; and the chairman then said, that the Court of Directors had received a letter from the president of the Board of Control, announcing that her majesty had been pleased to confer the dignity of a baronetcy on Sir James Outram, one of their own officers, whose name did not come before the court for the first time. He had, therefore, much pleasure in proposing the following resolution:—

"That, as a special mark of the high sense entertained by the East India Company of the services of Major-general Sir James Outram, G.C.B., in the course of his long and brilliant career, and more particularly those connected with the memorable defence of the residency at Lucknow, the occupation and defence of the important post of Alumbagh, and the final conquest of Lucknow, under the command of General Sir Colin Campbell, G.C.B., and with the view of enabling him to maintain the dignity of a baronet, which her majesty has been graciously pleased to confer upon him, Sir J. Outram be granted an annuity of £1,000 for the term of his natural life, commencing from the date of the final occupation of Lucknow."

This resolution having been seconded in a warm eulogium upon the services of Major-general Outram, was also adopted by the meeting; and notice was given that, at the next court, a motion would be submitted for extending the annuity to the eldest surviving son of Sir James.

The chairman then laid before the proprietors a draft of the Bill No. 3, for the better government of India, which had been received the day but one previous; and said that, as the president of the Board of Control expected to send the bill to the House of Lords by the 2nd of July, no time must be lost by the court in considering what steps should be taken.

The second reading of the Bill No. 3, was moved in the House of Commons by Lord Stanley, on Thursday, the 24th of June, and carried after a short discussion.

On the following evening the house went into committee on the bill, when the 1st and 2nd clauses were agreed to without debate; but the amendments proposed to the subsequent clauses, as they progressed through committee, were so extensive as almost to constitute a new measure. A lengthened series of observations and suggestions, in aid of the efforts of her majesty's ministers to provide for the better government of India, was also submitted to the consideration of the legislature by the Board of Directors of the East India Company; which, on the 24th of June, were printed with the votes of the House of Commons. On the 8th of July, the bill, as amended, was read a third time, and passed; and, on the following evening, it was introduced to the House of Lords, and read a first time; the second reading being appointed for the 15th of the month. Upon the introduction of the bill, the Earl of Shaftesbury presented the following petition from the East India Company, against its passing into a law:—

"1. That at the commencement of the present session of parliament your petitioners did address your right honourable house, praying that you would not 'give your sanction to any change in the constitution of the Indian government without full previous inquiry into the present system,' an inquiry extending into 'every branch of Indian administration;' and that your petitioners did at the same time 'challenge the most searching investigation into the mutiny of the Bengal army, and the causes, whether remote or immediate, which produced that mutiny.'

"2. That, nevertheless, without any such inquiry or investigation whatsoever having taken place, a bill has been introduced into your right honourable house, and read a first time, entirely abrogating that constitution of government for India which has existed from the first—viz., the government of this Company, at whose expense, and by whose exertions, British authority was originally established in India.

"3. That your petitioners cannot but regard such a measure as having in public estimation a penal character, and its adoption as calculated to lead to the general inference that they have abused their trust, and have been deservedly cashiered for misconduct. Your petitioners submit to your right honourable house that they cannot, without dishonour, acquiesce in their own condemnation without having obtained a trial, or so much as the production of a single charge against them. In 1853 it was decided by parliament, after an inquiry the most minute and laborious, that the government of India by your petitioners should continue 'until parliament should otherwise provide;' it is now declared by the preamble of the bill before your right honourable house to be 'expedient' to make such other provision for the government of India, without reason given or cause assigned, or any inquiry whatsoever.

"4. That, in the opinion of your petitioners, the circumstances of the rebellion in India do make inquiry by parliament necessary, and such inquiry ought to be into the conduct of individuals, as the chief means whereby misconduct, if proved, can in future be prevented. Your petitioners submit to your right honourable house, that it is at least possible that one result of such an inquiry might be to implicate functionaries of the Indian government who are not servants of this Company, but whom it is now proposed to relieve from that practical although limited control to which they have hitherto been subjected by the existence of this Company. Your petitioners submit to your right honourable house, that in passing the proposed measure without full previous inquiry, you do incur the danger of increasing that power of the servants of the crown which, as exerted in the affairs of India, may have already been too great, and require to be diminished.

"5. That your petitioners cannot but consider the rejection of their prayer for inquiry as not only an act of injustice towards themselves, but an act of injustice towards the people of India, and a most lamentable precedent for the future conduct of the legislature under great national calamities. In their former petition your petitioners did respectfully claim such an inquiry, because when, for the first time in this century, the thoughts of every public man in the country were fixed on India, an inquiry would be more thorough, and its results would carry much more instruction to the mind of parliament and the country than at any preceding period. Your petitioners apprehend that the rejection of this their prayer is the neglect of a precious opportunity which may never recur. The bill now under consideration by your right honourable house, contrary to all former precedent, contains no mention whatever of the people of India.

"6. That your petitioners did represent to your right honourable house, in their former petition, that 'they could not well conceive a worse form of government for India than a minister with a council, whom he should be at liberty to consult or not at his pleasure;' a principle which the proposed form of government adopts to a very serious extent, it being one of the main provisions of the bill 'for the better government of India,' that the president of the council shall be at liberty to receive secret communications from India, and send out secret orders, whenever in his judgment such secrecy may be required, without submitting the same to the members of the council. It is the belief of your petitioners that inquiry by your right honourable house into the operation and results of the power of secret action which has been exercised by the president of the Board of Control since the institution of that board, through the medium of the secret committee of the directors of the Company, would make it impossible for your right honourable house to place in the hands of a secretary of state still greater powers for mischief than heretofore, by passing an enactment the effect of which is nothing less than to give the sanction of parliament to the dangerous practice of transacting the public business by means of private letters.

"7. That the capital stock and debts of this Company amount in the aggregate to £113,000,000 sterling—a liability from which it is proposed by parliament to relieve your petitioners, and which parliament does not propose to take upon itself, but, on the contrary, by the insertion of the word 'alone' after 'Indian revenues,' in clause 42 of the

aforesaid bill, to expressly disclaim. Your petitioners beg respectfully to represent to your right honourable house that such an enactment cannot but tend to mislead the English people on a matter of the most vital importance, inasmuch as your petitioners cannot see how the national credit can be kept separate from the credit of the Indian government, save by continuing this Company in its administrative functions.

"8. That in the year 1773, when the chartered rights of your petitioners were first invaded, and powers and patronage which they had hitherto exercised were otherwise vested, certain of the members of your lordships' house did protest against the course that was at that time entered upon, predicting that the boundless fund of corruption furnished by that bill to the servants of the crown, would efface every idea of honour, public spirit, and independence from every rank of people; consequences which, in the belief of your petitioners, the proposed bill (which is the sequel to that of 1773) renders more imminent than ever.

"9. That, having regard to all these considerations, and seeing that that full inquiry which your petitioners before prayed your right honourable house to institute has become impossible during the present session of parliament, your petitioners do humbly pray your right honourable house not to suffer the bill for the 'better government of India' now before you to become law; and your petitioners do further pray your right honourable house to allow this Company to be heard by counsel against the said bill, and in defence of the Company's rights and privileges.

"And your petitioners will ever pray."

Notwithstanding this petition, or protest, the bill went through its various stages in the House of Peers with comparatively little discussion, although several amendments were introduced. On the 23rd of July it was declared to have passed the Lords, and was remitted back to the House of Commons, for its consideration of the amendments proposed. The attention of the house was directed to these amendments on the 26th of the month, when Colonel Sykes, on moving that they should be considered "that day three months," entered upon an elaborate vindication of the administration of the East India Company, and complained of the harsh measure that had been dealt out to it by the bill which put an end to its political existence. Some of the Lords' amendments were then considered and allowed; others were objected to; and a committee was appointed to draw up a minute of the reasons on which the House of Commons sustained their objections. The Lords, on the 29th of July, resolved not to insist upon more than one of their amendments, which related to the mode of admission to the scientific branches of the Indian service; and, on the 30th, the clerk of the house reported that the Commons did not intend to further persevere in their objections to the Lords' amendments. The bill then passed; and on Monday, the 2nd of August, the royal assent gave vitality to the measure by which the future destinies of British India were to be guided.

The dropped bill, introduced by Lord Palmerston, has already been recorded in this volume, as essential to show the principle upon which the administration, of which he was chief, was prepared to legislate for the two hundred millions of human beings about to pass under the direct government of the British crown. The bill of Lord Stanley (Bill No. 3), which superseded the proposed measure of Lord Ellenborough (Bill No. 2), has also been given *in extenso*, as exhibiting the points on which, while aiming at the same result, a different school of statesmen thought it expedient to diverge from the scheme of their predecessors in office; and although much space is necessarily occupied by the introduction of the bill as it ultimately passed and received the royal assent, still, as an historical document to which it may be hereafter necessary to refer in connection with the government of India, it has been deemed essential to the completeness of the present work, that *the* bill should likewise be preserved in these pages. The following are the provisions of the East India Bill, 21 & 22 Victoria, cap. 106.

Whereas by an act of the session holden in the sixteenth and seventeenth years of her majesty, chapter ninety-five, "to provide for the government of India," the territories in the possession and under the government of the East India Company were continued under such government, in trust for her majesty, until parliament should otherwise provide, subject to the provisions of that act and of other acts of parliament, and the property and rights in the said act referred to are held by the said Company in trust for her majesty for the purposes of the said government: and whereas it is expedient that the said territories should be governed by and in the name of her majesty: be it therefore enacted by the Queen's most excellent majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons, in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows; that is to say—

Transfer of the Government of India to Her Majesty.—I. The government of the territories now in the possession or under the government of the East India Company, and all powers in relation to government vested in or exercised by the said Company in trust for her majesty, shall cease to be vested in or exercised by the said Company, and all territories in the possession or under the government of the said Company, and all rights vested in or which if this act had not been passed might have been exercised by the said Company in relation

to any territories, shall become vested in her majesty, and be exercised in her name; and for the purposes of this act India shall mean the territories vested in her majesty as aforesaid, and all territories which may become vested in her majesty by virtue of any such rights as aforesaid.

II. India shall be governed by and in the name of her majesty, and all rights in relation to any territories which might have been exercised by the said Company if this act had not been passed, shall and may be exercised by and in the name of her majesty as rights incidental to the government of India; and all the territorial and other revenues of or arising in India, and all tributes and other payments in respect of any territories which would have been receivable by or in the name of the said Company if this act had not been passed, shall be received for and in the name of her majesty, and shall be applied and disposed of for the purposes of the government of India alone, subject to the provisions of this act.

III. Save as herein otherwise provided, one of her majesty's principal secretaries of state shall have and perform all such or the like powers and duties in anywise relating to the government or revenues of India, and all such or the like powers over all officers appointed or continued under this act as might or should have been exercised or performed by the East India Company, or by the Court of Directors or Court of Proprietors of the said Company, either alone or by the direction or with the sanction or approbation of the commissioners for the affairs of India in relation to such government or revenues, and the officers and servants of the said Company respectively, and also all such powers as might have been exercised by the said commissioners alone; and any warrant or writing under her majesty's royal sign-manual, which by the act of the session holden in the seventeenth and eighteenth years of her majesty, chapter seventy-seven, or otherwise, is required to be countersigned by the president of the commissioners for the affairs of India, shall, in lieu of being so countersigned, be countersigned by one of her majesty's principal secretaries of state.

IV. After the commencement of this act, any four of her majesty's principal secretaries of state for the time being, and any four of the under-secretaries for the time being to her majesty's principal secretaries of state, may sit and vote as members of the House of Commons; but not more than four such principal secretaries, and not more than four such under-secretaries, shall sit as members of the House of Commons at the same time.

V. In case the person who immediately before the commencement of this act is the president of the commissioners for the affairs of India be appointed, upon or within one month after the commencement of this act, one of her majesty's principal secretaries of state, and be at the time of such appointment a member of the House of Commons, he shall not by reason of such appointment vacate his seat in parliament.

VI. In case her majesty be pleased to appoint a fifth principal secretary of state, there shall be paid out of the revenues of India to such principal secretary of state, and to his under-secretaries respectively, the like yearly salaries as may for the time being be paid to any other of such secretaries of state and his under-secretaries respectively.

Council of India.—VII. For the purposes of this act a council shall be established, to consist of fifteen members, and to be styled "The Council of India;" and henceforth the council in India now bearing that name shall be styled "The Council of the Governor-general of India."

VIII. Within fourteen days after the passing of this act, the Court of Directors of the East India Company shall, from among the persons then being directors of the said Company, or having been theretofore such directors, elect seven persons to be with the persons to be appointed by her majesty as hereinafter mentioned the first members of the council under this act, and the names of the persons so elected by the Court of Directors shall be forthwith, after such election, certified to the Board of Commissioners for the affairs of India, under the seal of the said Company; and it shall be lawful for her majesty, by warrant under her royal sign-manual, within thirty days after the passing of this act, to appoint to be members of such council eight persons: provided always, that if the Court of Directors of the East India Company shall refuse, or shall for such fourteen days neglect to make such election of such seven persons, and to certify the names of such persons as aforesaid, it shall be lawful for her majesty, by warrant under her royal sign-manual, within thirty days after the expiration of such fourteen days, to appoint from among the said directors seven persons to make up the full number of the said council: provided also, that if any person being or having been such director, and elected or appointed as aforesaid, shall refuse to accept the office, it shall be lawful for her majesty, by warrant under her royal sign-manual, to appoint in the place of every person so refusing some other person to be a member of the council, but so that nine members of the council at the least shall be persons qualified as hereinafter mentioned.

IX. Every vacancy happening from time to time among the members of the council appointed by her majesty, not being members so appointed by reason of the refusal or neglect of the Court of Directors or the refusal to accept office hereinbefore mentioned, shall be filled up by her majesty, by warrant under her royal sign-manual, and every other vacancy shali be filled up by the council by election made at a meeting to be held for that purpose.

X. The major part of the persons to be elected by the Court of Directors, and the major part of the persons to be first appointed by her majesty after the passing of this act to be members of the council, shall be persons who shall have served or resided in India for ten years at the least, and (excepting in the case of late and present directors and officers on the home establishment of the East India Company who shall have so served or resided) shall not have last left India more than ten years next preceding the date of their appointment; and no person other than a person so qualified shall be appointed or elected to fill any vacancy in the council unless at the time of the appointment or election nine at the least of the continuing members of the council be persons qualified as aforesaid.

XI. Every member of the council appointed or elected under this act shall hold his office during good behaviour; provided that it shall be lawful for her majesty to remove any such member from his office upon an address of both houses of parliament.

XII. No member of the council appointed or elected under this act shall be capable of sitting or voting in parliament.

XIII. There shall be paid to each member of the

council the yearly salary of one thousand two hundred pounds, out of the revenues of India.

XIV. Any member of the council may, by writing under his hand, which shall be recorded in the minutes of the council, resign his office; and it shall be lawful for her majesty, by warrant under her royal sign-manual, countersigned by the chancellor of the exchequer, to grant to any person who, having held the office of member of the council for the period of ten years or upwards, shall so resign by reason of infirmity disabling him from a due execution of the duties of the office, a retiring pension during life of five hundred pounds: provided, that if at any time hereafter it should appear to parliament expedient to reduce the number or otherwise deal with the constitution of the said council, no member of council who has not served in his office for a period of ten years, shall be entitled to claim any compensation for the loss of his office, or for any alteration in the terms and conditions under which the same is held.

XV. The secretaries and other officers and servants on the home establishment of the said Company and on the establishment of the commissioners for the affairs of India, immediately before the commencement of this act, shall on such commencement be and form the establishment of the secretary of state in council; and the secretary of state shall, with all convenient speed, make such arrangement of the said establishments, and such reductions therein, as may seem to him consistent with the due conduct of the public business, and shall within six months after the commencement of this act, submit a scheme for the permanent establishment to her majesty in council; and it shall be lawful for her majesty, by the advice of her privy council, upon the consideration of such scheme, to fix and declare what shall constitute and be the establishment of the secretary of state in council, and what salaries shall be paid to the persons on the establishment, and the order of her majesty in council shall be laid before both houses of parliament within fourteen days after the making thereof, provided parliament be then sitting, or otherwise within fourteen days after the next meeting thereof; and after such establishment has been formed by such order in council, no addition of persons shall be made to such establishment, nor any addition made to the salaries authorised by such order, except by a similar order in council, to be laid in like manner before both houses of parliament.

XVI. After the first formation of the establishment, it shall be lawful for the secretary of state in council to remove any officer or servant belonging thereto, and also to make all appointments and promotions to and in such establishment; provided that the order of her majesty in council of the twenty-first day of May, one thousand eight hundred and fifty-five, or such other regulations as may be from time to time established by her majesty for examinations, certificates, probation, or other tests of fitness, in relation to appointments to junior situations in the civil service, shall apply to such appointments on the said establishment.

XVII. It shall be lawful for her majesty, by warrant under her royal sign-manual, countersigned by the chancellor of the exchequer, to grant to any secretary, officer, or servant on the home establishment of the said Company, or on the establishment of the said commissioners, who, in consequence of such reduction as aforesaid by the secretary of state or under such order in council, is not retained on the establishment of the secretary of state in council, any compensation, either by way of a gross or annual payment, as, having regard to the circumstances, may seem just.

XVIII. It shall be lawful for her majesty, by warrant, countersigned as aforesaid, to grant to any such secretary, officer, or servant as aforesaid, retained on such last-mentioned establishment, such compensation, superannuation, or retiring allowance on his ceasing to hold office as might have been granted to him if this act had not been passed, and the transfer of any person to the service of the secretary of state in council shall be deemed to be a continuance of his previous appointment or employment, and shall not prejudice any claims which he might have had in respect of length of service if his service under the said Company or commissioners had continued; and it shall be lawful for her majesty, by warrant, countersigned as aforesaid, to grant to any secretary, officer, or servant appointed on the said establishment after the first formation thereof, such compensation, superannuation, or retiring allowance as, under the act of the session holden in the fourth and fifth years of King William the Fourth, chapter twenty-four, or any other act for the time being in force concerning superannuations and other allowances to persons having held civil offices in the public service, may be granted to persons appointed on the establishment of one of her majesty's principal secretaries of state.

Duties and Procedure of the Council.—XIX. The council shall, under the direction of the secretary of state, and subject to the provisions of this act, conduct the business transacted in the United Kingdom in relation to the government of India and the correspondence with India, but every order or communication sent to India shall be signed by one of the principal secretaries of state; and, save as expressly provided by this act, every order in the United Kingdom in relation to the government of India under this act, shall be signed by such secretary of state; and all despatches from governments and presidencies in India, and other despatches from India, which if this act had not been passed should have been addressed to the Court of Directors or to their secret committee, shall be addressed to such secretary of state.

XX. It shall be lawful for the secretary of state to divide the council into committees for the more convenient transaction of business, and from time to time to rearrange such committees, and to direct what departments of the business in relation to the government of India under this act shall be under such committees respectively, and generally to direct the manner in which all such business shall be transacted.

XXI. The secretary of state shall be the president of the council, with power to vote, and it shall be lawful for such secretary of state in council to appoint from time to time any member of such council to be vice-president thereof, and any such vice-president may at any time be removed by the secretary of state.

XXII. All powers by this act required to be exercised by the secretary of state in council, and all powers of the council, shall and may be exercised at meetings of such council, at which not less than five members shall be present; and at every meeting, the secretary of state, or, in his absence, the vice-president, if present, shall preside; and in the absence

of the secretary of state and vice-president, one of the members of the council present shall be chosen by the members present to preside at the meeting; and such council may act notwithstanding any vacancy therein; meetings of the council shall be convened and held when and as the secretary of state shall from time to time direct; provided that one such meeting at least shall be held in every week.

XXIII. At any meeting of the council at which the secretary of state is present, if there be a difference of opinion on any question other than the question of the election of a member of council, or other than any question with regard to which a majority of the votes at a meeting is hereinafter declared to be necessary, the determination of the secretary of state shall be final; and in case of an equality of votes at any meeting of the council, the secretary of state, if present, and in his absence the vice-president or presiding member, shall have a casting vote; and all acts done at any meeting of the council in the absence of the secretary of state, except the election of a member of the council, shall require the sanction or approval in writing of the secretary of state; and in case of difference of opinion on any question decided at any meeting, the secretary of state may require that his opinion, and the reasons for the same, be entered in the minutes of the proceedings, and any member of the council who may have been present at the meeting may require that his opinion, and any reasons for the same that he may have stated at the meeting, be entered in like manner.

XXIV. Every order or communication proposed to be sent to India, and every order proposed to be made in the United Kingdom by the secretary of state, under this act, shall, unless the same has been submitted to a meeting of the council, be placed in the council-room for the perusal of all members of the council during seven days before the sending or making thereof, except in the cases hereinafter provided; and it shall be lawful for any member of the council to record in a minute-book, to be kept for that purpose, his opinion with respect to each such order or communication, and a copy of every opinion so recorded shall be sent forthwith to the secretary of state.

XXV. If a majority of the council record as aforesaid their opinions against any act proposed to be done, the secretary of state shall, if he do not defer to the opinions of the majority, record his reasons for acting in opposition thereto.

XXVI. Provided, that where it appears to the secretary of state that the dispatch of any communication, or the making of any order, not being an order for which a majority of the votes at a meeting is hereby made necessary, is urgently required, the communication may be sent or order given notwithstanding the same may not have been submitted to a meeting of the council or deposited for seven days as aforesaid, the urgent reasons for sending or making the same being recorded by the secretary of state, and notice thereof being given to every member of the council, except in the cases hereinafter mentioned.

XXVII. Provided also, that any order, not being an order for which a majority of votes at a meeting is hereby made necessary, which might, if this act had not been passed, have been sent by the commissioners for the affairs of India through the secret committee of the Court of Directors to governments or presidencies in India, or to the officers or servants of the said Company, may, after the commencement of this act, be sent to such governments or presidencies, or to any officer or servant in India, by the secretary of state, without having been submitted to a meeting or deposited for the perusal of the members of the council, and without the reasons being recorded or notice thereof given as aforesaid.

XXVIII. Any despatches to Great Britain which might, if this act had not been passed, have been addressed to the secret committee of the Court of Directors, may be marked "Secret" by the authorities sending the same, and such despatches shall not be communicated to the members of the council, unless the secretary of state shall so think fit and direct.

Appointments and Patronage.—XXIX. The appointments of governor-general of India, fourth ordinary member of the council of the governor-general of India, and governors of presidencies in India, now made by the Court of Directors with the approbation of her majesty, and the appointments of advocate-general for the several presidencies, now made with the approbation of the commissioners for the affairs of India, shall be made by her majesty by warrant under her royal sign-manual; the appointments of the ordinary members of the council of the governor-general of India, except the fourth ordinary member, and the appointments of the members of council of the several presidencies, shall be made by the secretary of state in council; the appointments of the lieutenant-governors of provinces or territories shall be made by the governor-general of India, subject to the approbation of her majesty; and all such appointments shall be subject to the qualifications now by law affecting such offices respectively.

XXX. All appointments to offices, commands, and employments in India, and all promotions, which by law, or under any regulations, usage, or custom, are now made by any authority in India, shall continue to be made in India by the like authority, and subject to the qualifications, conditions, and restrictions now affecting such appointments respectively; but the secretary of state in council shall have the like power to make regulations for the division and distribution of patronage and power of nomination among the several authorities in India, and the like power of restoring to their stations, offices, or employments, officers and servants suspended or removed by any authority in India as might have been exercised by the said Court of Directors, with the approbation of the commissioners for the affairs of India, if this act had not been passed.

XXXI. Sections thirty-seven, thirty-eight, thirty-nine, forty, forty-one, and forty-two of the act of the sixteenth and seventeenth Victoria, chapter ninety-five, are hereby repealed, so far as the same apply to or provide for the admission or appointment of persons to the civil service of the East India Company.

XXXII. With all convenient speed, after the passing of this act, regulations shall be made by the secretary of state in council, with the advice and assistance of the commissioners for the time being, acting in execution of her majesty's order in council of twenty-first May, one thousand eight hundred and fifty-five, "for regulating the admission of persons to the civil service of the crown," for admitting all persons being natural-born subjects

of her majesty (and of such age and qualification as may be prescribed in this behalf), who may be desirous of becoming candidates for appointment to the civil service of India, to be examined as candidates accordingly, and for prescribing the branches of knowledge in which such candidates shall be examined, and generally for regulating and conducting such examinations under the superintendence of the last-mentioned commissioners, or of the persons for the time being entrusted with the carrying out of such regulations as may be from time to time established by her majesty for examination, certificate, or other test of fitness in relation to appointments to junior situations in the civil service of the crown, and the candidates who may be certified by the said commissioners or other persons as aforesaid to be entitled under such regulations, shall be recommended for appointment according to the order of their proficiency as shown by such examinations, and such persons only as shall have been so certified as aforesaid shall be appointed or admitted to the civil service of India by the secretary of state in council: provided always, that all regulations to be made by the said secretary of state in council under this act shall be laid before parliament within fourteen days after the making thereof, if parliament be sitting; and, if parliament be not sitting, then within fourteen days after the next meeting thereof.

XXXIII. All appointments to cadetships, naval and military, and all admissions to service not herein otherwise expressly provided for, shall be vested in her majesty; and the names of persons to be from time to time recommended for such cadetships and service shall be submitted to her majesty by the secretary of state.

XXXIV. With all convenient speed after the commencement of this act, regulations shall be made for admitting any persons being natural-born subjects of her majesty (and of such age and qualifications as may be prescribed in this behalf), who may be desirous of becoming candidates for cadetships in the engineers and in the artillery, to be examined as candidates accordingly, and for prescribing the branches of knowledge in which such candidates shall be examined, and generally for regulating and conducting such examinations.

XXXV. Not less than one-tenth of the whole number of persons to be recommended in any year for military cadetships (other than cadetships in the engineers and artillery) shall be selected according to such regulations as the secretary of state in council may from time to time make in this behalf from among the sons of persons who have served in India in the military or civil services of her majesty, or of the East India Company.

XXXVI. Except as aforesaid, all persons to be recommended for military cadetships shall be nominated by the secretary of state and members of council, so that out of seventeen nominations the secretary of state shall have two, and each member of the council shall have one; but no person so nominated shall be recommended unless the nomination be approved of by the secretary of state in council.

XXXVII. Save as hereinbefore provided, all powers of making regulations in relation to appointments and admissions to service and other matters connected therewith, and of altering or revoking such regulations, which if this act had not been passed might have been exercised by the Court of Directors or commissioners for the affairs of India, may be exercised by the secretary of state in council, and all regulations in force at the time of the commencement of this act in relation to the matters aforesaid shall remain in force, subject nevertheless to alteration or revocation by the secretary of state in council as aforesaid.

XXXVIII. Any writing under the royal sign-manual, removing or dismissing any person holding any office, employment, or commission, civil or military, in India, of which, if this act had not been passed, a copy would have been required to be transmitted or delivered within eight days after being signed by her majesty to the chairman or deputy-chairman of the Court of Directors, shall, in lieu thereof, be communicated within the time aforesaid to the secretary of state in council.

Transfer of Property.—XXXIX. All lands and hereditaments, monies, stores, goods, chattels, and other real and personal estate of the said Company, subject to the debts and liabilities affecting the same respectively, and the benefit of all contracts, covenants, and engagements, and all rights to fines, penalties, and forfeitures, and all other emoluments which the said Company shall be seized or possessed of, or entitled to at the time of the commencement of this act, except the capital stock of the said Company and the dividend thereon, shall become vested in her majesty, to be applied and disposed of, subject to the provisions of this act, for the purposes of the government of India.

XL. The secretary of state in council, with the concurrence of a majority of votes at a meeting, shall have full power to sell and dispose of all real and personal estate whatsoever for the time being vested in her majesty under this act, as may be thought fit, or to raise money on any such real estate by way of mortgage, and make the proper assurances for that purpose, and to purchase and acquire any land or hereditaments, or any interests therein, stores, goods, chattels, and other property, and to enter into any contracts whatsoever, as may be thought fit, for the purposes of this act; and all property so acquired shall vest in her majesty for the service of the government of India: and any conveyance or assurance of or concerning any real estate to be made by the authority of the secretary of state in council, may be made under the hands and seals of three members of the council.

Revenues.—XLI. The expenditure of the revenues of India, both in India and elsewhere, shall be subject to the control of the secretary of state in council, and no grant or appropriation of any part of such revenues, or of any other property coming into the possession of the secretary of state in council by virtue of this act, shall be made without the concurrence of a majority of votes at a meeting of the council.

XLII. The dividend on the capital stock of the said Company, secured by the act of the third and fourth years of King William the Fourth, chapter eighty-five, until the redemption thereof, and all the bond, debenture, and other debt of the said Company in Great Britain, and all the territorial debt and all other debts of the said Company, and all sums of money, costs, charges, and expenses, which if this act had not been passed would after the time appointed for the commencement thereof have been payable by the said Company out of the revenues of India, in respect, or by reason of any treaties, covenants, contracts, grants, or liabilities then existing,

and all expenses, debts, and liabilities, which, after the commencement of this act shall be lawfully contracted and incurred on account of the government of India, and all payments under this act, shall be charged and chargeable upon the revenues of India alone, as the same would have been if this act had not been passed, and such expenses, debts, liabilities, and payments as last aforesaid had been expenses, debts, and liabilities lawfully contracted and incurred by the said Company, and such revenues shall not be applied to any other purpose whatsoever; and all other monies vested in or arising or accruing from property or rights vested in her majesty under this act, or to be received or disposed of by the council under this act, shall be applied in aid of such revenues: provided always, that nothing herein contained shall lessen or prejudicially affect any security to which the said Company, or any proprietor or creditor thereof, now is or may be entitled upon the fund called "The Security Fund of the India Company," and mentioned in the act of the third and fourth years of his late majesty King William the Fourth, chapter eighty-five, section fourteen.

XLIII. Such part of the revenues of India as shall be from time to time remitted to Great Britain, and all monies of the said Company in their treasury or under the care of their cashier, and all other monies in Great Britain of the said Company, or which would have been received by them in Great Britain if this act had not been passed, and all monies arising or accruing in Great Britain from any property or rights vested in her majesty by this act, or from the sale or disposition thereof, shall be paid to the secretary of state in council, to be applied for the purposes of this act; and all such monies, except as hereinafter otherwise provided, shall be paid into the Bank of England, to the credit of an account to be opened by the governor and company of the Bank of England, to be intituled "The Account of the Secretary of State in Council of India;" and all monies to be placed to the credit of such account under this act shall be paid out upon drafts or orders signed by three members of the council, and countersigned by the secretary of state or one of his under-secretaries, and such account shall be a public account: provided always, that the secretary of state in council may cause to be kept, from time to time, under the care of their cashier, in an account to be kept at the Bank of England, such sum or sums of money as they may deem necessary for the payments now made out of money under the care of the cashier of the said Company.

XLIV. Such amount of money as at the time of the commencement of this act may be standing to the credit of the East India Company at the Bank of England shall be transferred by the governor and company of the Bank of England to the credit of the account to be opened in the name of the secretary of state in council as aforesaid.

XLV. There shall be raised in the books of the governor and company of the Bank of England such accounts as may be necessary in respect of any stock or stocks of government annuities, and all such accounts respectively shall be intituled "The Stock Account of the Secretary of State in Council of India," and every such account shall be a public account.

XLVI. Such government stock or stocks as at the time of the commencement of this act may be standing in the name of the East India Company in the books of the said governor and company, shall be transferred by the chief cashier or the chief accountant of the said governor and company to the proper account or accounts to be raised as aforesaid.

XLVII. The secretary of state in council, by letter of attorney, executed by three members of the council, and countersigned by the secretary of state, or one of his under-secretaries, may authorise all or any of the cashiers of the Bank of England to sell and transfer all or any part of the stock or stocks standing, or that may thereafter stand in the books of the said bank to the several accounts of the secretary of state in council, and to purchase and accept stock on the said accounts, and to receive the dividends due and to become due on the several stocks standing, or that may thereafter stand on the said accounts, and by any writing signed by three members of the council, and countersigned as aforesaid, may direct the application of the monies to be received in respect of such sales and dividends; but no stock shall be purchased or sold and transferred by any of the said cashiers under the authority of such general letter of attorney, except upon an order in writing directed to the said chief cashier and chief accountant from time to time, and duly signed and countersigned as aforesaid.

XLVIII. All exchequer bills, exchequer bonds, or other government securities, or other securities, of whatsoever kind, not hereinbefore referred to, which shall be held by the governor and company of the Bank of England in trust for or on account of the East India Company at the time of the commencement of this act, shall thenceforward be held by the said governor and company in trust for and on account of the secretary of state in council; and all such securities as aforesaid, and all such securities as may thereafter be lodged with the said governor and company by or on behalf of the secretary of state in council, shall and may be disposed of, and the proceeds thereof applied, as may be authorised by order in writing signed by three members of the council, and countersigned by the secretary of state, or one of his under-secretaries, and directed to the said chief cashier and chief accountant.

XLIX. All powers of issuing bonds, debentures, and other securities for money in Great Britain which, if this act had not been passed, might have been exercised by the said Company, or the Court of Directors, under the direction and control of the commissioners for the affairs of India, or otherwise, shall and may be exercised by the secretary of state in council, with the concurrence of a majority of votes at a meeting; and such securities as might have been issued under the seal of the said Company shall be issued under the hands of three members of the council, and countersigned by the secretary of state or one of his under-secretaries.

L. All provisions now in force in anywise relating to the offence of forging or altering, or offering, uttering, disposing of, or putting off, knowing the same to be forged or altered, any East India bond, with intent to defraud, shall extend and be applicable to and in respect of any bond, debenture, or security issued by the secretary of state in council of India under the authority of this act.

LI. The regulations and practice now acted on by the Court of Directors on the issue of warrants or authorities for the payment of money, shall be maintained and acted on by the secretary of state in council of India under this act until the same be

altered by the authority of her majesty in council: provided, that where a warrant or authority for the payment of money passes through the audit department at the East India House before payment, it shall be countersigned by such officer or officers of that audit department as the secretary of state in council may direct before payment shall be made; and that warrants or authorities which have heretofore been signed by two directors of the East India Company, shall, after the commencement of this act, be signed by three members of the council of India.

LII. It shall be lawful for her majesty, by warrant under her royal sign-manual, countersigned by the chancellor of the exchequer, to appoint from time to time a fit person to be auditor of the accounts of the secretary of state in council, and to authorise such auditor to appoint and remove from time to time such assistants as may be specified in such warrant; and every such auditor shall hold office during good behaviour; and there shall be paid to such auditor and assistants, out of the revenues of India, such respective salaries as her majesty, by warrant as aforesaid countersigned as aforesaid, may direct; and such auditor shall examine and audit the accounts of the receipt, expenditure, and disposal in Great Britain of all moneys, stores, and property applicable for the purposes of this act; and the secretary of state in council shall, by the officers and servants of the establishment, produce and lay before such auditor from time to time all such accounts, accompanied by proper vouchers for the support of the same, and shall submit to his inspection all books, papers, and writings having relation thereto; and such auditor shall have power to examine all such officers and servants in Great Britain of the establishment as he may see fit in relation to such accounts, and the receipt, expenditure, or disposal of such moneys, stores, and property, and for that purpose, by writing under his hand, to summon before him any such officer or servant; and such auditor shall report from time to time to the secretary of state in council his approval or disapproval of such accounts, with such remarks and observations in relation thereto as he may think fit, specially noting any case, if such there shall be, in which it shall appear to him that any money arising out of the revenues of India has been appropriated to other purposes than those of the government of India, to which alone they are declared to be applicable; and shall specify in detail in his reports all sums of money, stores, and property which ought to be accounted for, and are not brought into account or have not been appropriated, in conformity with the provisions of this act, or have been expended or disposed of without due authority, and shall also specify any defects, inaccuracies, or irregularities which may appear in such accounts, or in the authorities, vouchers, or documents having relation thereto; and all such reports shall be laid before both houses of parliament by such auditor, together with the accounts of the year to which the same may relate.

LIII. The secretary of state in council shall, within the first fourteen days during which parliament may be sitting next after the first day of May in every year, lay before both houses of parliament an account for the financial year preceding that last completed, of the annual produce of the revenues of India, distinguishing the same under the respective heads thereof, at each of the several presidencies or governments, and of all the annual receipts and disbursements at home and abroad on account of the government of India, distinguishing the same under the respective heads thereof, together with the latest estimate of the same for the last financial year, and also the amount of the debts chargeable on the revenues of India, with the rates of interest they respectively carry, and the annual amount of such interest, the state of the effects and credits at each presidency or government, and in England or elsewhere, applicable to the purposes of the government of India, according to the latest advices which have been received thereof, and also a list of the establishment of the secretary of state in council, and the salaries and allowances payable in respect thereof; and if any new or increased salaries or pensions of fifty pounds a-year or upwards have been granted or created within any year, the particulars thereof shall be specially stated and explained at the foot of the account of such year; and such account shall be accompanied by a statement prepared from detailed reports from each presidency and district in India, in such form as shall best exhibit the moral and material progress and condition of India in each such presidency.

LIV. When any order is sent to India directing the actual commencement of hostilities by her majesty's forces in India, the fact of such order having been sent shall be communicated to both houses of parliament within three months after the sending of such order, if parliament be sitting, unless such order shall have been in the meantime revoked or suspended, and if parliament be not sitting at the end of such three months, then within one month after the next meeting of parliament.

LV. Except for preventing or repelling actual invasion of her majesty's Indian possessions, or under other sudden and urgent necessity, the revenues of India shall not, without the consent of both houses of parliament, be applicable to defray the expenses of any military operation carried on beyond the external frontiers of such possessions by her majesty's forces charged upon such revenues.

Existing Establishments.—LVI. The military and naval forces of the East India Company shall be deemed to be the Indian military and naval forces of her majesty, and shall be under the same obligations to serve her majesty as they would have been under to serve the said Company, and shall be liable to serve within the same territorial limits only, for the same terms only, and be entitled to the like pay, pensions, allowances, and privileges, and the like advantages as regards promotion and otherwise, as if they had continued in the service of the said Company: such forces, and all persons hereafter enlisting in or entering the same, shall continue and be subject to all acts of parliament, laws of the governor-general of India in council, and articles of war, and all other laws, regulations, and provisions relating to the East India Company's military and naval forces respectively, as if her majesty's Indian military and naval forces respectively had throughout such acts, laws, articles, regulations, and provisions been mentioned or referred to, instead of such forces of the said Company; and the pay and expenses of and incident to her majesty's Indian military and naval forces shall be defrayed out of the revenues of India.

LVII. Provided, that it shall be lawful for her majesty from time to time by order in council to alter or regulate the terms and conditions of service

under which persons hereafter entering her majesty's Indian forces shall be commissioned, enlisted, or entered to serve; and the forms of attestation and of the oath or declaration to be used and taken or made respectively on attesting persons to serve in her majesty's Indian forces, shall be such as her majesty with regard to the European forces, and the governor-general of India in council with regard to the native forces, shall from time to time direct: provided, that every such order in council shall be laid before both houses of parliament within fourteen days after the making thereof, if parliament be sitting, and if parliament be not sitting, then within fourteen days after the next meeting thereof.

LVIII. All persons who at the time of the commencement of this act shall hold any offices, employments, or commissions whatever under the said Company in India shall thenceforth be deemed to hold such offices, employments, and commissions under her majesty as if they had been appointed under this act, and shall be paid out of the revenues of India; and the transfer of any person to the service of her majesty shall be deemed to be a continuance of his previous service, and shall not prejudice any claims to pension, or any claims on the various annuity funds of the several presidencies in India, which he might have had if this act had not been passed.

LIX. All orders, regulations, and directions lawfully given or made before the commencement of this act by the Court of Directors or by the commissioners for the affairs of India shall remain in force; but the same shall, from and after the commencement of this act, be deemed to be the orders, regulations, and directions under this act, and take effect and be construed and be subject to alteration or revocation accordingly.

LX. All functions and powers of Courts of Proprietors and Courts of Directors of the said Company in relation to the government of India, and all appointments of such of the directors of the said Company as have been appointed by her majesty, shall cease, and the yearly sums payable to the chairman, deputy-chairman, and other directors of the said Company shall cease to be payable, and all powers vested in her majesty of appointing directors of the said Company shall cease and determine.

LXI. The appointments and powers of appointment of commissioners for the affairs of India shall cease and determine.

LXII. All books, records, and archives of the said Company, except such books and documents as concern the ownership of shares in the capital stock of the said Company, and the payments to the proprietors of such capital stock of their respective shares of the dividend thereon, shall be delivered into the care and custody of the secretary of state in council as they may direct.

LXIII. In case the person who shall be entitled under any provisional appointment to succeed to the office of governor-general of India upon a vacancy therein, or who shall be appointed absolutely to assume that office, shall be in India (upon or after the happening of the vacancy, or upon or after the receipt of such absolute appointment, as the case may require), but shall be absent from Fort William, in Bengal, or from the place where the council of the governor-general of India may then be, and it shall appear to him necessary to exercise the powers of governor-general before he shall have taken his seat in council, it shall be lawful for him to make known by proclamation his appointment, and his intention to assume the said office of governor-general; and after such proclamation, and thenceforth until he shall repair to Fort William, or the place where the council may assemble, it shall be lawful for him to exercise alone all or any of the powers which might be exercised by the governor-general in council, except the power of making laws and regulations; and all acts done in the exercise of the said powers, except as aforesaid, shall be of the same force and effect as if they had been done by the governor-general in council; provided that all acts done in the said council after the date of such proclamation, but before the communication thereof to such council, shall be valid, subject, nevertheless, to revocation or alteration by the person who shall have so assumed the said office of governor-general; and when the office of governor-general is assumed under the foregoing provision, if there be at any time before the governor-general takes his seat in council no vice-president of the council authorised to preside at meetings for making laws and regulations (as provided by section twenty-two of the act of the sixteenth and seventeenth years of her majesty), the senior ordinary member of council then present shall preside therein, with the same powers as if a vice-president had been appointed and were absent.

Continuance of Existing Enactments.—LXIV. All acts and provisions now in force, under charter or otherwise, concerning India, shall, subject to the provisions of this act, continue in force, and be construed as referring to the secretary of state in council, in the place of the said Company and the Court of Directors and Court of Proprietors thereof; and all enactments applicable to the officers and servants of the said Company in India, and to appointments to office or admissions to service by the said Court of Directors, shall, subject to the provisions of this act, remain applicable to the officers and servants continued and to the officers and servants appointed or employed in India, and to appointments to office and admissions to service under the authority of this act.

Actions and Contracts.—LXV. The secretary of state in council shall and may sue and be sued as well in India as in England by the name of the secretary of state in council as a body corporate; and all persons and bodies politic shall and may have and take the same suits, remedies, and proceedings, legal and equitable, against the secretary of state in council of India as they could have done against the said Company; and the property and effects hereby vested in her majesty for the purposes of the government of India, or acquired for the said purposes, shall be subject and liable to the same judgments and executions as they would while vested in the said Company have been liable to in respect of debts and liabilities lawfully contracted and incurred by the said Company.

LXVI. The secretary of state in council shall, with respect to all actions, suits, and all proceedings by or against the said Company pending at the time of the commencement of this act, come in the place of the said Company, and that without the necessity of substituting the name of the secretary of state in council for that of the said Company.

LXVII. All treaties made by the said Company shall be binding on her majesty, and all contracts, covenants, liabilities and engagements of the said Company made, incurred, or entered into before the commencement of this act, may be enforced by and

against the secretary of state in council in like manner and in the same courts as they might have been by and against the said Company if this act had not been passed.

LXVIII. Neither the secretary of state nor any member of the council shall be personally liable in respect of any such contract, covenant, or engagement of the said Company as aforesaid, or in respect of any contract entered into under the authority of this act, or other liability of the said secretary of state or secretary of state in council in their official capacity; but all such liabilities, and all costs and damages in respect thereof, shall be satisfied and paid out of the revenues of India.

LXIX. After the commencement of this act such of the directors as have been elected by the general court of the said Company, or who shall from time to time be so elected, shall be the directors of the said Company, and the major part of such directors for the time being shall form a Court of Directors; and where the presence, signature, consent, or concurrence of ten directors is now requisite, the presence, signature, consent, or concurrence of the major part of the directors for the time being shall be sufficient; and to the intent that the number of directors may be reduced to six, two directors only shall be elected by the general court of the said Company at each biennial election to fill the vacancies occasioned by the expiration of the term of office of directors; and so much of the said act of the sixteenth and seventeenth years of her majesty as requires any of the directors to be persons who have resided ten years in India shall be repealed, and in the oath to be taken by a director of the said Company, under section thirteen of the said act, the words "in the administration of the government of India in trust for the crown" shall be omitted.

LXX. It shall no longer be obligatory on the directors to summon four general quarterly courts in every year as heretofore.

LXXI. Except claims of mortgages of the security fund hereinbefore mentioned, the said Company shall not, after the passing of this act, be liable in respect of any claim, demand, or liability which has arisen or may hereafter arise out of any treaty, covenant, contract, grant, engagement, or fiduciary obligation made, incurred, or entered into by the said Company before the passing of this act, whether the said Company would, but for this act, have been bound to satisfy such claim, demand, or liability out of the revenues of India, or in any other manner whatsoever.

Saving of certain Rights of the Company.—LXXII. It shall be lawful for the secretary of state in council to pay to the said Company out of the revenues of India such annual sum as her majesty, by warrant under her royal sign-manual, countersigned by the chancellor of the exchequer, may direct for defraying the expenses of and incident to the payment to the proprietors of the capital stock of the said Company of their respective shares of the dividend on such stock, and of keeping the books of the said Company for transfers, and otherwise in relation to such stock.

LXXIII. Nothing herein contained shall affect the preference secured by the said act of the third and fourth years of King William the Fourth to the dividend on the capital stock of the said Company or the right of the said Company to demand the redemption of the said dividend secured by such act; and all the provisions of the said act concerning the security fund thereby created shall remain in force, save that when the approbation of the commissioners for the affairs of India is required in relation to the disposal of the said security fund, the approbation of the secretary of state in council shall be required.

Commencement of the Act.—LXXIV. Save as herein otherwise provided, this act shall commence and take effect on the expiration of thirty days after the day of the passing thereof.

LXXV. This act shall be proclaimed in the several presidencies and governments of India as soon as conveniently may be after such act has been received by the governor-general of India; and until such proclamation be made, all acts, matters, and things done, ordered, directed, or authorised in India in the name of the East India Company, or otherwise in relation to the government of India, shall be as valid and effectual as if this act had not been passed.

Such, then, was the legislative and royal act by which, on the 2nd day of August, 1858, one of the great powers of the civilised world became extinguished. An important chapter in the annals of human existence, and perhaps the most romantic of the whole, had been closed by the fiat of an earthly sovereign, upon whom the mantle of victory had descended, and whose sceptre extended to the confines of the habitable globe. The great ruler before whom Eastern potentates had been taught to bend as tributaries, and to serve as vassals—the mighty Company, whose mere name and shadow had been a spell on the imagination of two hundred millions of men for long generations—was now deposed, powerless and extinct. Its lust of power, and pride of place, had suddenly, by stronger hands, been wrested from its grasp; and henceforth the political and territorial acquisitions of nearly two centuries became the patrimony of strange rulers; and the destinies of the teeming millions that had grown up in subjection to the merchant princes of Leadenhall-street, passed, like household chattels, into the hands of a more powerful owner. Such, in effect, was the result of the sepoy mutiny of 1857, as connected with the domination of "The Company of Merchant Adventurers trading to the East Indies."

"So falls, so languishes, grows dim and dies
All that this world is proud of. From their spheres
The stars of human glory are cast down:
Faded the pageantry, and pomp of kings,
Princes, and chiefs; the dazzling crowns and palms
Of all these mighty, prostrate and bedimmed."

For the sake of chronological accuracy, it is proper here to observe, that during the discussions which ensued in the early stages of the India Bill in the House of Peers, it was

incidentally mentioned by the premier (the Earl of Derby), that her majesty had signified her intention to record her appreciation of the meritorious services of Sir Colin Campbell, as commander-in-chief in India, by elevating that officer to the dignity of the peerage; and that the official announcement of the royal pleasure was only retarded by the necessity that had arisen for communicating with Sir Colin upon the subject of the title to be conferred upon him. His lordship also stated, that as soon as the reply of the gallant veteran was received, an *Extraordinary Gazette* would make known the distinction he had so richly earned. Accordingly, on the 6th of August, the following announcement appeared in the *London Gazette*:—

"Whitehall, August 3rd.

"The Queen has been pleased to direct letters-patent to be passed under the great seal, granting the dignity of a baron of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland unto General Sir Colin Campbell, G.C.B., commander-in-chief in the East Indies, and the heirs male of his body lawfully begotten, by the name, style, and title of Baron Clyde, of Clydesdale, in that part of the said United Kingdom called Scotland."

The same *Gazette* also notified that the dignity of a baronet of the United Kingdom had been conferred upon Sir John Laird Muir Lawrence, G.C.B., chief commissioner, and agent to the governor-general of India for the affairs of the Punjab, and his heirs male, in recognition of his distinguished services. A pension of £2,000 was conferred upon him by the East India Company, at a special court, held on the 24th of August.

The close of the proceedings in the House of Lords, in connection with the India Bill, was marked by some incidents of peculiar interest, well deserving remark. Before the bill left the house, certain lords and prelates embraced the occasion to deliver themselves of opinions which, taken either as warnings or protests, were not without importance. The Earls of Ellenborough and Shaftesbury, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishops of London and Oxford, successively addressed themselves with much earnestness to points intimately affecting the future practical administration of the Eastern empire. By those speakers it was solemnly urged, that the policy till then pursued by the Indian government in matters of religion should be essentially modified, and that the sentiments of animosity entertained towards the native population, should be succeeded, as speedily as possible, by feelings of a more conciliatory and Christian spirit. The solicitude expressed on these points, it was contended, was exceedingly natural; as, upon the future policy of the British government and its representatives in those two respects, the success or failure of the new Indian administration would mainly depend. To this source, opened up by misconception on the score of religious intolerance, it was alleged the origin and motive for the revolt might be correctly ascribed; as, whatever other elements of evil might have entered accidentally into the spirit of the rebellious movement, it was beyond all doubt that the religious policy of the European government had created, and also fed, the antagonism of the native mind; while its administrative system rendered the appeal to physical force practicable. The sepoys, it was said, were exposed to delusions on the subject of Christianity, because they had never been permitted to understand what Christianity really was; and they were enabled to take the field in arms against their rulers, because the latter, in their boundless confidence, had invested them with every attribute and appliance of military power.

As regarded the religious branch of the question, it was contended that the policy of the government admitted of a double interpretation, according to the spirit in which it was practised, or the light in which it was viewed. The "perfect neutrality" professed by the Company, often took the form of positive injustice to their own faith. In their excessive anxiety to keep the native mind at ease, the Indian authorities went any lengths that the credulity or fanaticism of their Hindoo or Mohammedan subjects might think fit to require. Thus anything at which a Hindoo took fright, or might be expected to take fright, was at once forbidden; and it was not merely that the prejudices of those people were inordinately studied, but they were also actually suffered to prescribe terms to their masters, lest the religion of the latter should become offensively demonstrative. They had invested Christianity with a false character, and believed that Christians could make others such, by devices that involved loss of caste. To enlighten them on this subject, the Archbishop of Canterbury proposed that, in future, the Bible should be read in all the schools of India to which government aid was contributed—the Bible being the

best proclamation which the Indian government could issue to the people; since all who read it would learn at once that the religion it inculcated could never be propagated by artifice or by violence.

Upon the other point—namely, the revival of confidence between the European and native populations, there were, however, good reasons for doubting the expediency, or even the possibility, of its restoration to the extent that had formerly prevailed. Lord Shaftesbury complained that a strong antipathy had, for some time past, been growing up in India between Europeans and natives. "I fear," observed his lordship, "that it will be long before the confidence which formerly prevailed between them will be again restored. Perhaps half a century may elapse before an Englishman may be able to settle down in security in the interior provinces of India." In those apprehensions there was much reason, but not upon the grounds assumed by the noble lord, who appeared to lay the blame chiefly upon European shoulders; for, in truth, all confidence had been reposed in the people of India, without reserve, qualification, or drawback; the trust in them had been so implicit, that it might justly have been described as resembling infatuation, rather than an exercise of sober reason. To the very last minute the officers who, with their wives and little ones, had been marked out for destruction, believed in the loyalty and attachment of men who thirsted for their blood. In the hands of those treacherous assassins everything was unsuspectingly lodged—everything; even their very lives: and how was this confidence rewarded? Without a particle of justification—with a ferocity only to be compared to that of the untamed brutes of the jungle—those petted, pampered, and trusted servants rose upon their confiding masters, and foully murdered every creature of European lineage within their reach! To say that they were bereft of reason when they so acted, may possibly, to some extent, be correct; but though maniacs and tigers might be exculpated on such a plea, it could scarcely be supposed to justify "confidence" in our future dealings with a people capable of such atrocities. After their most unprovoked revolt, directed against the very existence of European society and government in India—a revolt characterised by unspeakable barbarity; and while it was still, as it were, smouldering under the feet of the survivors of their treachery, it was surely somewhat unreasonable, on the part of any one, to complain that confidence no longer existed between the native and European races, or to ascribe the natural and justifiable distrust that succeeded to it, to the mere influence of a retributive spirit.

Much time necessarily elapsed before any communication could be received in this country from the governor-general (who was still holding his seat of government temporarily at Allahabad), in reference to the secret despatch of Lord Ellenborough, dated April 19th, 1858:* and, in fact, the reply of Lord Canning did not reach this country until the supreme power so long held by the Court of Directors had passed from their hands. The document transmitted, embraced a lucid exposition of the whole policy of Lord Canning's administration in reference to the war in India; and its introduction to these pages, as a state paper of historical importance, is indispensable. The first despatch, it will be observed, was written previous to the arrival in India of the vote of confidence adopted by the Court of Directors on the 18th of May,† which was intended, if practicable, to have reached the governor-general simultaneously with the Ellenborough despatch; and was as follows:—

To the Hon. the Secret Committee of the Hon. the Court of Directors.

"Foreign Department, Secret, Allahabad, 17th of June, 1858.

"Hon. Sirs,—I have the honour to reply to your despatch, No. 1,954, of the 19th of April.

"That despatch condemns in the strongest terms the proclamation which, on the 3rd of March, I directed the chief commissioner of Oude to issue from Lucknow.

"2. Although written in the secret committee, the despatch was made public in England three weeks before it reached my hands. It will in a few days be read in every station in Hindostan.

"3. Before the despatch was published in England, it had been announced to parliament by a minister of the crown as conveying disapproval in every sense of the policy indicated by the governor-general's proclamation. Whether this description was an accurate one or not I do not inquire. The telegraph has already carried it over the length and breadth of India.

"4. I need scarcely tell your honourable committee that the existence of such a despatch, even had it never passed out of the records of the secret department, would be deeply mortifying to me, however confident I might feel that your honourable committee would, upon reconsideration, relieve me of the censure which it casts upon me. Still less necessary is it for me to point out that the publication of the document, preceded as it has been by an authoritative declaration of its meaning and spirit,

* See *ante*, p. 479. † *Ibid.*, p. 484.

is calculated greatly to increase the difficulties in which the government of India is placed, not only by weakening the authority of the governor-general, but by encouraging resistance and delusive hopes in many classes of the population of Oude.

"5. So far as the despatch and the mode in which it has been dealt with affect myself personally, I will trouble your honourable committee with very few words.

"No taunts or sarcasms, come from what quarter they may, will turn me from the path which I believe to be that of my public duty. I believe that a change in the head of the government of India at this time, if it took place under the circumstances which indicated a repudiation on the part of the government in England of the policy which has hitherto been pursued towards the rebels of Oude, would seriously retard the pacification of the country. I believe that that policy has been from the beginning merciful without weakness, and indulgent without compromise of the dignity of the government. I believe that wherever the authority of the government has been established, it has become manifest to the people in Oude, as elsewhere, that the indulgence to those who make submission, and who are free from atrocious crime, will be large. I believe that the issue of the proclamation which has been so severely condemned was thoroughly consistent with that policy, and that it is so viewed by those to whom it is addressed. I believe that that policy, if steadily pursued, offers the best and earliest prospect of restoring peace to Oude upon a stable footing.

"6. Firm in these convictions, I will not in a time of unexampled difficulty, danger, and toil, lay down of my own act the high trust which I have the honour to hold; but I will, with the permission of your honourable committee, state the grounds upon which those convictions rest, and describe the course of policy which I have pursued in dealing with the rebellion in Oude. If, when I have done so, it shall be deemed that that policy has been erroneous, or that, not being erroneous, it has been feebly and ineffectually carried out, or that, for any reason the confidence of those who are responsible for the administration of Indian affairs in England should be withheld from me, I make it my respectful but urgent request, through your honourable committee, that I may be relieved of the office of governor-general of India with the least possible delay.

"7. I desire to say, that I shall in that case resign my great charge into the hands of the Hon. Court of Directors, with a deep and abiding sense of gratitude for the generous support, the unreserved confidence, and the considerate courtesy which I have at all times received from them.

"I have nothing more to add upon the personal part of this question.

"8. But, before I speak of the proclamation, I beg to call the attention of your honourable committee to certain paragraphs of the despatch before me, which are pregnant with a signification far more momentous than the censure of any recent act or policy of the governor-general of the day. These paragraphs are numbered from 10 to 14 inclusive, and I believe that I shall not misrepresent their import by describing it as follows:—

"9. They begin by pointing out a doubt whether the British government was justified in taking possession of the kingdom of Oude. The doubt is pointed out, but is not resolved, nor is a distinct opinion expressed upon it.

"10. Certain facts are then referred to, which, though they do not directly affect the question of our right to take possession of Oude are cited as leading, in conjunction with the doubt above mentioned, to the conclusion, that the hostilities which the people of Oude have been carrying on against us have rather the character of legitimate war than that of rebellion, and that the people of Oude should be regarded with indulgent consideration.

"11. It is altogether beyond my duty to discuss whether the course pursued by the British government in taking possession of Oude was a lawful and justifiable one; still less does it belong to me to say what line of conduct the British government ought to follow if it be now determined that that course was not lawful or justifiable. But as to the indulgence due to the people of Oude, your honourable committee will, I am sure, do me the justice to admit that no misgiving as to the character of our dealings with the Oude state was necessary to induce me to declare, without any injunction from yourselves, that the talookdars and landholders of Oude must be viewed in a very different light from that in which rebels in our old provinces are to be regarded. I found sufficient reason for this in the facts that the allegiance of these men, when they broke into rebellion, was little more than a year old, and that they had become British subjects by no act of their own; that our rule had brought loss of property upon many of them, and upon some an unjust loss; and that it had diminished the importance and arbitrary power of all. I considered these facts to be a palliation of rebellion, even where hostility to us had been most inveterate; and therefore I put aside altogether the punishments of death, transportation, and imprisonment; and while marking those who had rebelled with the penalty which in India, as elsewhere, has been again and again recognised as a fitting punishment of rebels—namely, the forfeiture of their rights in the soil—I promised indulgence to those who should make prompt submission.

"I felt that considerations of policy and mercy, and the newness of our rule, prescribed this course. I recorded this in a paper already in the hands of your honourable committee; and I hope, before closing this despatch, to show that the indulgence has been accorded promptly and liberally.

"12. But it is my first duty earnestly to beg your honourable committee to consider the effect which will be produced upon the province of Oude when it shall become generally known that the British government speaks hesitatingly of its right to rule that country. I cannot but fear that it will make a turbulent and warlike people more impatient than ever of subjection to authority and order. I fear that it will furnish a pretext for resistance to the government, of which many bad spirits will not be slow to avail themselves now and hereafter.

"13. But more especially do I fear its immediate effect. It cannot have escaped the notice of your honourable committee, that, although the rising against our authority in Oude has been general—almost universal—it has been singularly devoid of a national character. Except for the purpose of reducing our garrison in Lucknow, and afterwards of holding the city against us, there appears to have been no common cause among our assailants. Since the capture of Lucknow, we have had against us the party of the begum and her son, claiming to represent the royal family of Oude; the party of

the moulvie, a Mohammedan fanatic; the party of the nazim, an adventurer without rights or property in the province; the sepoys, who have passed from one leader to another, according as they have been able to extort the highest pay; and a number of the talookdars and zemindars, some few of whom, at the head of bands of their own, have plundered and oppressed their enemies and those whom they believed to be our friends; while others, generally of less influence, have been tempted or coerced into joining the ranks of the begum or the moulvie.

"There is little concert or cohesion between any of these parties. Indeed, between those of the begum and the moulvie there has been not only complete separation, but open hostility.

"14. I cannot think that this want of unity will long continue, if it shall once become manifest that the British government hesitates to declare its right to possess Oude, and that it regards itself as a wrongful intruder into the place of the dynasty which the begum claims to represent. I believe that this would draw to the side of the begum many who have hitherto shown no sympathy with the late ruling family, and that it is just what is wanting to give a national character to her cause.

"15. An uncompromising assertion of our authority in Oude is perfectly compatible with a merciful exercise of it; and I respectfully submit, that if the government of India is not supported in making this assertion, and in declaring that the recent acts of the people of Oude are acts of rebellion, and that they may in strict right be treated as such, a powerful temptation will be offered to them to maintain their present struggle or to renew it.

"16. I now proceed to offer some remarks upon the proclamation, and I believe that the spirit in which the proclamation was conceived and has been acted upon, will be best shown by the following statement:—

"17. When, in January last, about the time at which the army of the commander-in-chief began to concentrate upon Lucknow, I left Calcutta for Allahabad, one of my chief motives for doing so was the obtaining full, accurate, and recent information in regard to the temper and disposition of the chiefs and people of Oude; the extent to which they felt themselves aggrieved by the government; how far that feeling was just; the nature of the influences at work among them; and other points requiring consideration before a decision could be taken as to the mode of dealing with the province. These were matters upon which formal references and reports would have thrown very tardy and inadequate light, seeing the condition to which our archives and official establishments had been reduced; and, therefore, in addition to the information received by government from the usual civil and military sources, I sought information and opinions from those who, from having filled posts within the province or upon its frontiers, had had opportunities of becoming personally and, in some cases, intimately acquainted with the talookdars and zemindars, and their followers.

"18. The conclusions at which I arrived were, firstly, that all question of punishing with death, or even with transportation or imprisonment, rebels who, however inveterate and unceasing their hostility had been, were free from the stain of murder, should be set aside. I need not at present defend this decision, although at the time it was very far from meeting with general approval.

"19. Secondly, that the one declared punishment for rebellion should be the confiscation to the state of proprietary rights in the soil.

"I have already said, that this is a punishment which has been repeatedly enforced against rebels in India, as well by native rulers as by the British government. It is one which admits of being easily tempered and relaxed with more or less of lenity, according as considerations of policy or mercy, and the past or future conduct of the persons to be punished, may prescribe. It in no way affects the honour of the most sensitive Rajpoot or Brahmin. It would provide the government with the means of rewarding, in the manner which is most acceptable to the natives of India, the services of those who should be found to deserve reward. It would tend to the final settlement of many of those disputes respecting landed rights, which have been the source of so much strife and animosity in Oude.

"20. Finally, I came to the conclusion, that if a proclamation were issued on the capture of Lucknow (a point upon which I entertained doubts up to the last moment), it should be one not threatening confiscation as a possible contingency, but declaring it, pointing out, however, the means by which relaxation and indulgence might be obtainable; and, further, that no attempt should be made to indicate the measure of relaxation and indulgence which might be conceded in particular cases.

"21. I will offer a few words in explanation of these last points.

"I believe that the issue of proclamations is not the surest or safest mode of influencing the natives of India. The experience of the past year has furnished examples of the ingenuity with which the meaning of such documents can be perverted, or their language misrepresented by the enemies of the state; and it is a fact, several instances of which have come to my knowledge of late, that the word of an English officer of the government, even though a stranger, is more trusted than a printed paper. I should therefore have preferred to take, in Oude, the course which was afterwards taken in Rohilcund, and to place instructions in the hands of the officers attached to the columns which marched through the country, leaving it to them to carry out those instructions, and to explain in each district through which they passed, the spirit in which the government desired to deal with the people. But I knew it to be very probable that no columns would be available for the purpose in Oude, and that in that case, much time might elapse before English officers would be able to penetrate the province. I therefore had recourse to a proclamation which might be disseminated by native agency.

"22. That proclamation was made to declare the confiscation, and not to threaten it, because the natives of India, while they attach much weight to a distinct and actual order of the government, attach very little to a vague threat, whether conveyed by proclamation or otherwise; while it might safely be assumed, that the spirit in which the clause treating of indulgence would be acted upon in the districts which should be recovered, would gradually become known throughout the province, and have conciliatory effect.

"Precaution was taken against perversion and mistranslation by publishing in the first instance none but vernacular versions of the proclamation.

"23. I have said that the different measures of not attempt to point out the different measures of

indulgence which would be conceded in different cases. This and some other preceding observations will be best explained by a brief reference to the recent condition of the talookdars and other landholders, as regards their rights in the soil.

"24. When we assumed the government of Oude, in 1856 the greater part of the province was held by talookdars, who represented its aristocracy. They have been called the 'barons of Oude;' but this term, applied to them as a class, is misleading. Some had received titles from the kings of Oude, for services rendered, or by court favour. Some few are the representatives of ancient families, but the majority are men distinguished neither by birth, good service, or connexion with the soil; who, having held office under the native government as nazims (*i.e.*, governors), or chuckledars (*i.e.*, collectors of government rents), or having farmed the revenue of extensive tracts, had taken advantage of the weakness of the native government and its indifference to all considerations of justice so long as it received revenue; had abused the authority confided to them by that government; and by means of deeds of sale, sometimes extorted by violence, sometimes obtained by fraud, had become the nominal proprietors and the actual possessors of the villages, or the majority of the villages, which formed what they called their talookdars, or estates.

"25. Owing to the ascendancy which the men of this class acquired, the weakness of the native government, the venality of the courts, and the absence of justice, the condition of the actual occupants of the soil of the province was one of unparalleled depression. Their rights had ceased to exist, or were reduced to a mere shadow; they could get no protection from the government; they were completely in the power of the talookdars, and were subject to every kind of oppression, tyranny, and exaction. In numberless instances they were compelled by the talookdars to execute deeds of sale, alienating whatever proprietary right they nominally possessed; and they lost but little by the act, for the practical fruition of proprietary right they had scarcely known.

"26. Such being the condition of things in Oude, the government of India, perhaps with more of chivalrous justice than political prudence, determined at once to reinstate these proprietary occupants of the soil in what were believed to be their hereditary rights, and to restore the ancient village communities; and upon the annexation of the country the chief commissioner was instructed to make the settlement of the land revenue with the proprietary occupants of the soil, to the exclusion of middlemen. This instruction was carried into execution in some districts with undue haste, harshly, and upon insufficient evidence; and where this took place injustice was done to the talookdars, some of whom were deprived of villages which had long been attached to their talookas, and their titles to which were not satisfactorily disproved.

"The injustice might, and probably would, have been corrected in making the revised settlement; but this does not excuse or palliate the wrong.

"27. The mutinies broke out. It might have been expected, that when insurrection first arose in Oude, and before it had grown to a formidable head, the village occupants who had been so highly favoured by the British government, and in justice to whom it had initiated a policy distasteful to the most powerful class in the province, would have come forward in support of the government who had endeavoured to restore them to their hereditary rights, and with whose interests their interests were identical. Such, however, was not the case. So far as I am yet informed, not an individual dared to be loyal to the government which had befriended him. The village occupants, as a body, relapsed into their former subjection to the talookdar, owned and obeyed his authority as if he had been their lawful suzerain, and joined the ranks of those who rose up in arms against the British government. The endeavour to neutralise the usurped and largely abused power of the talookdars by recognising the supposed proprietary rights of the people, and thus arousing their feelings of self-interest and evoking their gratitude, had failed utterly.

"28. The time arrived when it became necessary to consider how the province should be dealt with upon the re-establishment of our power and authority in its capital. On the one hand was the patent fact that those whom we had desired to benefit, and had to our thinking benefited, did not value the rights which we had restored to them; and that, far from standing up in defence of those rights, and in support of the government which had been the means of reviving them, they had acted in complete subordination to the talookdars, and had been no less forward than these latter in their efforts to subvert the authority of that government, and to expel its officers. On the other hand was the no less certain fact that, with but few honourable exceptions, all the talookdars—many who had not suffered in the smallest degree by our fiscal measures, and some who had benefited by them, having been allowed at the settlement to retain all, or nearly all, the villages composing their talookas on reduced assessments—had taken up arms against the British government, had either themselves participated or had sent their retainers to aid in the relentless attacks on the Lucknow residency, had forcibly resumed the occupation of their talookas, and had in many ways manifested their malignant hostility to the British government.

"29. In these circumstances, to have recalled the condition of things which existed immediately before the rebellion, thereby renewing the experiment which had been attempted in 1856, and restoring the occupants of the soil to the position of proprietary landholders, which they had but just proved themselves wholly unfit and unprepared to maintain, would have been to court failure; and, on the other hand, to have reverted to the state of affairs as we found them upon taking possession of the country, and thus to have acknowledged in the talookdars, after they had, as a body, risen in arms against us, and helped to subvert our authority, rights which had been denied, and in most cases justly denied, when our power was unquestioned and unresisted, would have been to concede a victory to rebels and to put a premium on insurrection—a course which would have lowered the character of the government, and destroyed its influence, not only in Oude, but throughout India.

"30. Regard being had to the history of tenures in Oude, to the failure of the efforts made by the government in 1856 to set up those who were believed to be the hereditary proprietors of the soil, to their unworthy reception of the benefits bestowed upon them, to the rebellious spirit manifested by nearly all the talookdars of the province, and to the inconceivable difficulties which would

have attended the adjudication of claims to proprietary right in the circumstances that have been briefly described, and which would have hampered the administration at every turn, the surest, the safest, the most politic, and a thoroughly just course seemed to be, to declare the proprietary right in the soil (to whomsoever appertaining, for all classes, as such, had sinned equally) confiscated, and to reserve to the government the right of hereafter disposing of it as might seem fitting, at the same time notifying the intention of the government to show indulgence to those who should tender immediate submission and throw themselves upon its mercy.

"31. I apprehended little difficulty, and, so far as experience has gone, little has, I believe, been found, in explaining to the talookdars and landowners with whom our officers have come in contact, that the 'confiscation' does not necessarily operate as a permanent deprivation of their rights, but that it places in the hands of the government the power of punishing those who shall still persist in rebellion after life and honour have been guaranteed to them, of rewarding those who shall promptly come forward and give their support to the government and to the cause of order, of substituting in every case of restoration the undeniable title derived from the will of the government, for the doubtful title which alone could be advanced by the majority of those whom the order affected, and of attaching to the fiat of restoration such conditions of service (political and military), fealty, and good conduct, as the altered circumstances of the province have made essential to the firm establishment of our authority.

"32. I have now stated the considerations which led me to frame the proclamation in the form in which it was transmitted to you.

"33. It was sent to Lucknow on the 3rd of March, and on the 10th I received from the chief commissioner, Major-general Sir James Outram, a letter urging a reconsideration of the terms of the proclamation, mainly on the ground that it would render hopeless the attempt to enlist the talookdars on the side of order, and would drive them to a desperate resistance; and recommending that such landholders and chiefs as had not been accomplices in the cold-blooded murder of Europeans, should be enlisted on our side by the restoration of their ancient possessions, subject to such restrictions as would protect their dependents from oppression.

"34. This letter, and the replies to it, including the additional paragraph which Sir James Outram's opinion of the light in which the talookdars and the chiefs would view the proclamation induced me to add thereto, are before your honourable committee.

"35. I will not trouble your honourable committee with a recapitulation of the reasons which appeared to me to forbid the adoption of Sir James Outram's suggestion; but lest your honourable committee should suppose that I was without any previous expression of Sir James Outram's opinion on the subject, I wish to state, that the unfavourable view taken by that distinguished officer of the substance of the proclamation, was a cause of much disappointment to me.

"36. A very few weeks previously the chief commissioner had sent to the government of India an able and elaborate memorandum upon the system of civil administration to be adopted for Oude after Lucknow should be subjugated. In this memorandum, dated the 15th of January, 1858, are the following passages:—

"'The system of settlement with so-called village proprietors will not answer at present, if ever, in Oude.

"'These men have not influence and weight enough to aid us in restoring order. The lands of men who have taken an active part against us should be largely confiscated, in order, among other reasons, to enable us to reward others in the manner most acceptable to a native. But I see no prospect of returning tranquillity, except by having recourse for the next few years to the old talookdaree system. * * * Talookas should only be given to men who have actively aided us, or who, having been inactive, now evince a true willingness to serve us, and are possessed of influence sufficient to make their support of real value.'

"37. Subject to the understanding that even to those who had been most active against us indulgence should be extended upon their making prompt and complete submission, these opinions accorded exactly with my own; and although I was aware that there might easily be difference of opinion as to the mode of announcing and of carrying out punishment by confiscation, it did not occur to me that any such divergence of views as was subsequently intimated in the chief commissioner's letter of the 8th of March could occur between us. The belief therein expressed, that there are not a dozen landholders in the province who have not borne arms against us, seemed to go far towards justifying the general and sweeping terms of the proclamation, to which alone I expected any objection on Sir James Outram's part.

"38. I afterwards had occasion to send my military secretary, Colonel Stuart, to head-quarters, and I took the opportunity to explain to the chief commissioner that I wished him to give the most liberal interpretation to the proclamation; that, for instance, the proclamation left it free to notify to any talookdar who was deserving of consideration, that if he made submission and supported the government, the confiscation of his lands would not take effect, and that his claims to property of which he might have been deprived upon the annexation of the province would be reheard; and that in the case of these having been resumed by him, he might retain them till the rehearing.

"39. On the 3rd of April, Major-general Sir James Outram being about to take his seat in council at Calcutta, Mr. Montgomery succeeded to the chief commissionership of Oude.

"40. Mr. Montgomery had, at my request, done me the favour of visiting Allahabad before going to Lucknow, in order that I might have an opportunity of communicating unreservedly with him upon the discharge of his new duties.

"I impressed upon the new chief commissioner my wish that his dealings with the chief rebels should be as conciliatory as might be consistent with the dignity of the government, and that he should treat liberally and generously all those who tendered their allegiance and gave support to his authority. Mr. Montgomery expressed his intention to take this matter into his own personal management.

"41. On the 20th of April the chief commissioner wrote to me, in an unofficial letter, as follows:—

"'I enclose a memorandum just given me by Captain Barrow, which will show your lordship the names of talookdars who have attended in person or by vakeel. Generally speaking, indeed invariably.

the feeling shown by the men who come in is excellent. They express great sorrow at the past, and seem grateful for the consideration shown to them.'

"A copy of the memorandum is enclosed.

"It contains the names of twenty-six chiefs of note and influence, in various quarters, some of them at a great distance from Lucknow, who had either openly tendered their allegiance to the government or had taken the first steps towards doing so. So far as I am aware, only one of these has swerved from his first intention.

"At the date of this memorandum, little more than a month had elapsed since the first appearance of the proclamation in Lucknow.

"42. On the 22nd of May, the chief commissioner sent me a further memorandum from Captain Barrow, which is also under this cover.

"It describes the progress made and the state of feeling prevalent.

"It is right, however, that I should observe, that of the three powerful talookdars named in this memorandum, one only (Maun Sing) has sided with us actively. Of the other two, one (Madhoo Sing) is inactive, and the other (Beni Madho) is in arms against us.

"43. From this last date the chief commissioner has furnished weekly reports, which have been forwarded to your honourable committee in regular course.

"44. Latterly these have become less favourable. The rebels, under the leadership in some cases of talookdars, have approached nearer to Lucknow, have threatened, and in some places destroyed, the civil stations which we had established, and have killed some of the native guards. But I am not, neither is the chief commissioner of Oude, disheartened by a temporary check in the progress which had been rapidly achieved.

"In a letter received from Mr. Montgomery as I am writing, that gentleman says:—

"'I had settled some 6,000 villages, and everything was progressing most favourably, when a combination of circumstances prevented the progress of the settlement.'

"But he adds:—

"'I still say that the mass of the people are well inclined to us. I get secret letters and messages; but they dare not come forward in the face of the armed bodies which are hostile to us.'

"45. In an earlier part of this despatch I had occasion to speak of these bodies, which, although without cohesion and combination, are none the less capable of intimidating and persecuting those whom they believe to be well-disposed towards the government. They have latterly been greatly aided in this by the influx of fugitives from Rohilcund and Calpee, who have either joined them or set up as independent marauders.

"46. I never expected it to be otherwise. I never expected that, with the capture and occupation of Lucknow, the province would become submissive; and my anticipation of the contrary is recorded in the letter which, on the 16th of January, the governor-general in council addressed to the commander-in chief, recommending that his excellency's operations should, notwithstanding, be directed against Lucknow. Those operations were carried out with a skill, bravery, and success which have won the admiration of the world. But it is no disparagement of the work of the great soldier who achieved that success, to say that the chastisement thereby inflicted upon the loose bands of mutineers, rebels, and plunderers, who were collected in and about the city, was not such as to expel them from the limits of the province, or to deter them from persevering in their work of murder and pillage in other districts of it.

"47. It is not in reason that, what with the pressure of the mutinous sepoys, now congregated in various parts of the province on the one hand, and the arts and threats of desperate adventurers acting as leaders on the other, violence and rebellion should not be kept alive, and that those who are well inclined to make their peace with the government should not thereby be deterred from doing so.

"48. No man is better acquainted with the eastern districts of Oude and their inhabitants than Mr. Wingfield, who is at present acting on that frontier of the province as special commissioner of Goruckpore. Writing on the 6th of June, Mr. Wingfield says:—

"'Unsupported by the presence of British troops, there are many talookdars who, to my certain knowledge, are deterred from tendering their allegiance, which is their sincere wish. Had the garrison of Lucknow only been distributed about the province, three-fourths of the talookdars would, under the promises held out by the proclamation, have been entirely on our side by this time.'

"Unfortunately, the garrison of Lucknow could not be spared, nor any body of troops at all approaching it in strength.

"49. But when the season shall arrive at which the troops can again move rapidly over the country, when the large police force now being raised by the chief commissioner at Lucknow shall have reached its complement and received further organisation, and when it shall be manifest that we have the means of protecting or supporting those who return to their allegiance, I cannot doubt that the spirit in which the proclamation has been accepted in many quarters will declare itself generally throughout the province.

"50. I have now described to your honourable committee the whole course of my proceedings with regard to the proclamation of the 15th of March. I have at the same time explained the policy which has guided me, and I have informed you generally of its results.

"I respectfully await your judgment.

"I have the honour to be, with the greatest respect, honourable sirs, your most faithful, humble servant,

CANNING."

"Allahabad, June 17th.

The second despatch, forwarded by Lord Canning on receipt of the resolution declaring the confidence of the Court of Directors in his administration, was as follows:—

To the Honourable the Court of Directors of the East India Company.

"Foreign Department, Allahabad, July 4th, 1858.

"Hon. Sirs,—Your despatch, No. 20, of the 18th of May, reached me two days ago.

"I beg your honourable court to accept my warmest thanks for the assurance of your continued confidence which that despatch, and the resolution of your honourable court embodied in it, convey.

"2. Such an expression of the sentiments of your honourable court would be to me a source of gratification and just pride in any circumstances; but the generous and timely promptitude with which you have been pleased to issue it, and the fact that it conveys approval of the past, as well as trust for the future, has greatly enhanced its value. Your honourable court have rightly judged, that in the midst of difficult ties, no support is so cheering to a public servant, or so strengthening, as that which is derived from a declared approval of the spirit by which his past acts have been guided.

"3. I believe that the expectations expressed by your honourable court as to the spirit in which the proclaimed confiscation of proprietary rights in Oude would be used will not be disappointed, when you shall have had cognizance of the despatch which I had the honour to address to the secret committee on the 17th ult., and which, as being the sequel of correspondence already in the hands of your honourable court, will no doubt have been laid before you.

"4. Your honourable court observe, that I must have been well aware that the words of the proclamation, without the comment on it which you trust was speedily afforded by the actions of the government, must have produced the expectation of much more general and indiscriminate dispossession than could have been consistent with justice or with policy.

"Undoubtedly this is so. But it was not without deliberation that, in framing the proclamation, I used the positive, peremptory, and, so to speak, enacting words which declare that the proprietary right in the soil of the province is confiscated to the government, which will dispose of that right in such manner as it may deem fitting.

"5. As this point was scarcely touched upon in my above-mentioned despatch to the secret committee, I will take leave to add a further brief explanation upon it. I have said that it is in the nature of those to whom the proclamation was addressed to care very little for the threats, but to have a great respect for the distinct orders of superior authority. A rebel landholder, to whom no more should be said than that if he did not make submission soon his rights would be liable to confiscation, would be likely to trust for his escape to the chapter of accidents, and to the chance of avoiding or defeating criminatory evidence, and so to delay submission and cling to the cause of those whose immediate influence might be nearest and strongest. Whereas, if he should be made to feel that the withdrawal of his rights is already decreed, that it only remains for the executive officers to give effect to it by placing another proprietor in possession, and that the best hope left to him is to work out as large a claim to proffered indulgence as possible while there is yet time, his manifestation of allegiance would assuredly be quickened.

"6. It was my business to consider what would most stimulate and hasten a return to peace and loyalty on the part of those addressed; and I was of opinion that this would best be done by making it clear and plain that the rewards actually conferred for fidelity were very large; that the punishment actually decreed for rebellion was very heavy, but that from this punishment a door of escape was still open.

"7. To attempt to define more precisely the conditions and degrees according to which indulgence should be awarded and punishment tempered, appeared to me most inexpedient. It would, I submit, have been impossible to put into the proclamation any mitigating or conciliatory words to this effect without incurring the greatest risk of raising false hopes and giving ground for mistaken claims, the disappointment of which hereafter would have gone far to confirm in the minds of many the reproach which the rebel leaders have sedulously thrown out against the English government of a want of good faith, a reproach to which no colour or shadow of truth shall ever be given by any act of mine.

"8. I therefore left the way of escape and the amount of obtainable indulgence to be learned from the treatment which those who should first come in would receive. No explanation in words would have been so certain to spread through the country with little chance of perversion as this. No other course would have left the government so free to use wise discrimination in the remission of punishment.

"9. Your honourable court will of course bear in mind that the proclamation was addressed to a province in arms, throughout which we had not at that time a surviving friend or interest to defend, and that therefore any fear of danger from an outburst of resistance by which matters should be made worse was imaginary.

"10. Upon a careful and, I hope, dispassionate review of the whole subject, I cannot but think that the words in which the proclamation was couched were those most befitting the government of India in its relations with its rebellious province, and best calculated to effect eventually a real and sure pacification. But the question was one of very great difficulty; and I entreat your honourable court not to suppose that I am so presumptuous as to deprecate criticism of the mode in which the difficulty was met.

"11. The reports lately received from Lucknow, and dispatched to your honourable court by this and by the preceding mail, show that one of the chief commissioner's greatest embarrassments is the want of sufficient means to protect the landholders, who are eager to tender their allegiance, but whom we cannot in some places effectually defend until the bands of the more desperate rebels and mutineers which still harass the province shall have been subdued and destroyed, an object which can be attained only by moving the troops through the country at a suitable season. Accordingly, in the cases of many who have declared their desire to make submission, Mr. Montgomery has found it necessary to advise them to remain passive for the present.

"12. The delay is to be regretted; but the fact furnishes proof that the spirit of the proclamation has not been misunderstood, and that the temper of the province is gradually tending towards order and allegiance.

"I have, &c. CANNING."

It has already been observed, that before these despatches reached England, the sovereignty of the East India Company had passed away, and was numbered among the things which *had been.*

On the 9th of August, the Court of

Directors, in exercise of the privilege accorded to it by the 8th section of the act by which their territorial and political existence was brought to a close, elected seven of their members—namely, Sir James Weir Hogg, Charles Mills, John Shepherd, Elliot Macnaghten, Ross Donelly Mangles, William Joseph Eastwick, and Henry Thoby Prinsep, Esqrs., to be members of the first council for India—the remaining eight seats at the council-table being nominees of the crown. On Thursday, September 2nd, the last official meeting of the Court of Directors was held at its house in Leadenhall-street, its final act being an expression of recognition of the faithful services of its officers and dependents. This duty performed, the court was formally dissolved; and, as the clocks of the metropolis struck the hour of noon, the once imperial potency of the East India Company became a tradition of the past.

On the following day (Friday, September 3rd), the Indian council, incorporated under the act of 21st and 22nd Victoria, assembled for the first time at the India House, in Leadenhall-street, in the chamber wherein, for many years, the Court of Directors had been accustomed to hold their councils. Shortly after two o'clock, Lord Stanley, secretary of state for India, and president of the council, took his seat, and announced, in the first place, the names of the eight members whom her majesty had been pleased to nominate to the council of India—viz., Sir John L. M. Lawrence, Bart., G.C.B.;* Sir Frederick Currie, Bart.; Sir Henry C. Montgomery, Bart.; Major-general Sir Robert J. Vivian, K.C.B.; Colonel Sir Proby T. Cautley, K.C.B.; Lieutenant-colonel Sir Henry C. Rawlinson, K.C.B.; and John P. Willoughby, and William Arbuthnot, Esqrs. The remainder of the initiatory sitting was chiefly occupied in arranging the order of future proceedings, the division of the council into committees for the more convenient and effectual transaction of business, and the nomination of a vice-president; for which office Sir Frederick Currie, Bart., the late chairman of the East India Company, was selected. The council was required, by the act of incorporation, to meet at least weekly. According to a provision in the act, the secretaries and other officers and servants on the home establishment of the Company in Leadenhall-street, and on that of the commissioners for the affairs in India, in Cannon-row, immediately before the commencement of the act, were, in the first instance, to form the establishment of the secretary of state in council; who was empowered, with all convenient speed, to make such arrangements and reductions in the two establishments as should seem to him consistent with the due discharge of the public business. Carrying out the directions of the statute in that respect, Sir J. C. Melvill and Mr. Leach—the former acting in the interest of the establishment in Leadenhall-street, and the latter in that of the Board of Control—had, by the direction of the secretary of state for India, prepared a scheme for the consolidation of the two establishments, and a scale of retiring pensions for the officials in the several departments, whose services were no longer required under the new state of things, or who might wish to retire—reference being had in every case to length of service. The scheme recommended, that the period of service entitling the Company's servants to retire on full pay, should be reduced from fifty to forty-five years; and that three-fourths of the salary should be allowed after thirty years' service, and two-thirds after twenty years.

And thus ends a chapter in the world's history, which will remain a record of one of the most remarkable transitions from the very apex of human power, to a condition of comparative obscurity, that the world has ever produced in its wildest mutations. The East India Company, which for nearly two centuries had been growing until it reached imperial dimensions, had now peaceably, and almost without a murmur, put off its greatness, and, in its political character, descended to the tomb. As its career was without a parallel, so its fate was without a precedent. Only once in history has an empire been acquired by men who, at home, were without authority: only once has an imperial power, successful against all external foes, and victorious over all internal treason, been destroyed by a constitutional decree. It is not wonderful that a power so great, so magnificent, and yet so accessible to the voice of reason, should disappear amidst the plaudits of mankind, or that the very parliament by which it was sentenced to die, should gracefully and admiringly strew flowers on its grave.

* Sir John Lawrence had not yet arrived in England.

CHAPTER XVII.

PROGRESS OF THE REBELLION; CONDITION OF THE REBEL FORCES; ATTACK ON POWRIE; NANA SAHIB; MEETING OF ZEMINDARS AT RAHIMABAD; DEFEAT OF INSURGENTS AT SELIMPORE; APPROACH OF THE COLD SEASON; PROBABLE ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE CAMPAIGN IN OUDE; STRENGTH OF THE CONFEDERATED TROOPS; OFFICIAL MEMORANDA; DEPARTURE OF THE HEAD-QUARTERS' DIVISION FROM ALLAHABAD; STATE OF CENTRAL INDIA; TANTIA TOPEE, AND THE NAWAB OF BANDA; THE QUEEN'S GOVERNMENT IN INDIA PROCLAIMED; CEREMONIALS OBSERVED AT CALCUTTA, BOMBAY, ETC.; CONGRATULATORY ADDRESSES; OPINIONS OF THE INDIAN PRESS; LAST ACT OF THE COMPANY IN INDIA.

The successful operations of the British troops against the rebellious armies of Hindostan, have already been traced, in the progress of this work, up to the commencement of the rainy season of 1858. We have now, therefore, to resume and continue the details of further triumphs over the numerous and isolated bands of insurgents, by whom many of the fairest provinces of India were still ravaged and devastated.

At the end of June, the state of matters, as connected with the revolt, was as follows. The enemy in Rohilcund was powerless: the queen of Oude's army, dispirited by continuous defeat and by harassing flight, felt that it had but a few more months of respite before its annihilation: the talookdars of Oude, generally, had been either terrified into submission, or were anxiously awaiting the appearance of a British force to deliver them from the oppression of the insurgent troops: Allahabad and Azimgurh, with the surrounding districts, were slowly settling down to a state of renewed submission: the Gwalior contingent had been finally crushed; and, notwithstanding some treasonable attempts, by emissaries of the Nana, to tamper with the troops of the maharajah (but which, fortunately, were discovered and punished), Scindia was firmly seated in his hereditary states. In Oude, and in the direction of the Punjab, apprehensions of boding mischief were entertained; but, in the latter province, it was in connection with the Sikh levies of 75,000 men, raised by Sir John Lawrence to aid in suppressing the sepoy rebellion, that the cause for disquietude arose—a doubt having been raised, upon grounds that do not appear to have been substantiated, that the hardy warriors by whose aid so much had been accomplished, might think fit to consider that they had reconquered India for themselves, and not for the Europeans. However this might be as to probability, it was deemed necessary by the authorities, to occupy the districts recovered by them more completely with European troops, and to keep a vigilant eye upon the Sikhs, who were intermingled in detachments with the British garrisons, and, whether justly or not, were now regarded with suspicion.

In Central India, the Gwalior rebels, under Tantia Topee and the Banda nawab, had, on the 26th of August, surrounded the town of Jhalra Patun, and taken possession of it after a feeble resistance, most of the troops of the nawab joining them. They levied heavy contributions on the town, and took possession of all the treasure, guns, and munitions of war belonging to the chief of the district, and then marched, with twenty-four guns, in the direction of Rampore. General Michel, with the Mhow field force, went in pursuit, and, on the 15th of September, came up with the enemy, whom he attacked and defeated near Heore, with the loss of most of their guns. On the 5th of the same month, Colonel Roberts, with 200 cavalry and 300 infantry, also totally defeated a body of rebels between Gwalior and Goojerah; 450 dead bodies being left on the field. The British loss consisted of one officer, of H.M.'s 9th regiment, killed; four officers wounded; and four rank and file killed, and ten wounded.

Numerous opportunities occurred during the interval between the close of the hot, and the return of the cold season, for exhibiting the superiority of the European and loyal native troops over the rebellious forces, under their various leaders. Among other instances, a spirited affair may be noticed, which took place at Powrie—a fortified town a few miles west of Gwalior, into which a rebellious chief, named Man Sing, had thrown himself, and became troublesome by presenting a focus for the concentration of the insurrectionary spirit of the surrounding districts. To put an end to his capability for mischief, a brigade, under Colonel Smith, was dispatched, to compel

him to retire from his position; and, as he refused to listen to any terms of pacific arrangement, nothing remained but to enforce his surrender. Some heavy guns, accompanied by a reinforcement under Brigadier-general Napier, were consequently sent for from Gwalior; but this accession to Smith's force, which already consisted of 100 men of her majesty's 86th regiment, 200 of the 25th Bombay native infantry, and some irregular cavalry, artillery, and engineers, although it made the force before Powrie of imposing dimensions, was still inadequate to surround the place: and thus, while on one side batteries were erected; on the other, a difficult piece of ground, intersected by deep ravines and covered with thick jungle, remained available for the retreat of the enemy when they chose to avail themselves of the facility. On the 20th of August the whole force took up a concentrated position near the fort; mortars were placed in position, and a vigorous shelling was kept up on the works. A breaching battery was likewise commenced within 300 yards of the walls—the 95th, with their Enfields, keeping up a galling fire, at 400 yards, on the besieged wherever they showed themselves. The enemy replied actively with musketry and round shot; and Captain Fisher, of the 95th, was shot through the body, but not mortally. The breaching battery was complete on the morning of the 22nd, but became useless; for, in the night, the rebels had fled through the ravines and jungle, taking with them two guns. Colonel Smith's brigade started in pursuit immediately it was known that the rebels had fled south-west to Rajghur, half-way between Indore and Powrie. After a march of twenty-two miles through thick jungle during the day, the force came up with the enemy's camp, which had just been evacuated. The retreat had been so precipitate that the two guns were abandoned, and were found by Colonel Smith in a tank. The force, unable to follow the fugitives through an almost trackless jungle, returned to Powrie on the 23rd. General Napier, however, desirous of catching some of the rebels, sent out another force, comprising part of the 10th and 25th Bombay native infantry, 200 European infantry of the 86th and 95th, and four field guns, part of Mead's troop. These left Powrie by forced marches on the 27th of August; previous to which, all the fort guns, seventeen in number, were destroyed, and part of the strongest side of the works was dismantled and blown up; and so rested the campaign in that part of Central India.

There were expeditions, also, from Jhansie, in the direction of Goona, which were attended with a considerable amount of success. Towards the end of August, two columns were sent out from the scene of Sir Hugh Rose's triumphs—one of them to Mynapore. This column consisted of detachments from the 3rd Europeans and 4th Bombay native infantry, with two guns of the Bhopaul contingent, and fifty 3rd light cavalry, under Captain Montrevir, of the 24th Bombay native infantry. The force was divided; and the 24th, with the cavalry, had the good fortune to fall in with the enemy, and kill a number of them near Mynapore, before the others came up. The second column went out westward, towards Goona, under the command of Colonel Liddell, but had no opportunity of meeting with the enemy.

In Oude, the hunt after rebels was equally vigorous. Sir Hope Grant, having relieved Fyzabad on the 6th of August, marched to Sultanpore, where lay 18,000 of the enemy, under Bainie Madhoo and other chiefs. He occupied the right portion or cantonment without opposition, and subsequently crossed the Goomtee, driving the main body of rebels up the country to the north-east; whilst some descended the stream, and threatened to cross into Shahabad and Behar. Several steamers, however, were sent from Dinapore up to Bulleah, to stop the passage of the Ganges; and all boats that could be found were destroyed.

The rebels, thus ousted from Fyzabad and Sultanpore, appeared to have scattered themselves over the country; large bodies of them finding their way into Shahabad and Behar, in which provinces the restoration of order seemed to be a work beyond the combined powers of the governor-general and commander-in-chief. The rebels, unencumbered with baggage, and assisted and encouraged everywhere by the people, easily eluded the troops, who wore out their strength in fruitless marches. Koer Sing's nephew, again in his home at Jugdespore, was at the same time fortifying it, and collecting men and ammunition with marvellous success. The project of levelling the formidable jungle had been abandoned, and, consequently, a secure retreat was ever ready for the marauders. It was now thought that the plan of the ensuing campaign

would be to invade Oude with numerous small, compact columns, who might take in detail the numerous forts scattered over the country, which might not be a difficult task; for the natives had imbibed a wholesome dread of those small forts, knowing that, once surrounded, they were sure to be taken, and all the defenders bayoneted. Nor was it likely that Sir Colin would meet a large rebel army in the field. He might probably have to engage in a guerilla warfare, which, though terribly harassing to European troops, would not prevent the country from being occupied by numerous and strong posts, and then its pacification must depend upon the completeness of the disarming process. There was at this time little doubt that the Hindoo population of Oude, with the exception of the sepoys, was tired of anarchy, and would gladly purchase peace at any price. The leaders, however, distrusted all promises, and cautiously offered their submission in writing. The Mussulmans of course hated the infidels, and would do so to the end of the chapter. Even those that were passively submissive, maintained a dogged, sullen demeanour, and took no pains to conceal their dislike. But they formed the minority of the population, and would, perhaps, at once have yielded, could the Hindoos have been persuaded to surrender.

At the beginning of September, information was received that the Nana had secreted himself about thirteen miles from Dhorghuree, in Oude, in a jungle of bamboos. His companions were stated to be Bala, Raba Bhut, Oodgir, Abba Dhanwoh Dharee, Rannoo Tantia, Gangadhur Tantia, Baboo Khan Kuttay, Shah Ally, Ahmedoola, and Mahomed Ishaq, of Shahjehanpore. The number of his personal adherents had much decreased since the defeat of the insurgents at Kazeegunge; but it was stated that he had still some 2,200 budmashes hanging about him.

A spirited affair occurred near Lucknow, in which Mr. Kavanagh, who had rendered eminent service upon the advance of Sir Colin Campbell to that city in the previous November,* and, in consequence, had been appointed to the civil charge of the district of Muhiabad, again distinguished himself under the following circumstances:—On the 10th of September, this gentleman, accompanied by Captain Dawson and a body of 550 military police, proceeded to meet an assemblage of zemindars, who had agreed to collect together at Rahimabad. One of the chief men of the district professed to be anxious to assist the English officer in restoring an influential zemindar among them to his right position, and was, consequently, in communication with the advancing party. The police had scarcely reached half-way to the scene of meeting, when a message was received by Captain Dawson from his friend, announcing that the aspect of affairs had suddenly become serious; the malcontent portion of the gathering having been strongly augmented, and mustering at least 3,000 infantry and 1,200 cavalry. Undeterred by this information, the police force quietly advanced until within a mile of the town, when the enemy's cavalry was observed manœuvring in front of their line. As the chance of success depended upon prompt and vigorous action, Captain Dawson instantly charged the enemy, who, after a faint show of defence, broke, and fled into the town, from which they were driven street by street. At one corner a gun, placed in a good position, suddenly opened upon the pursuing party; but, as they came near, it was withdrawn. Determined, however, to secure this, the police dashed after it, and, notwithstanding a heavy fire from loopholed walls, succeeded in reaching it as it was being drawn through a fortified gateway, and, cutting down the gunners, took possession of the trophy. The traces of the draught cattle having been cut in the *mêlée*, the animals had taken to flight; and the captors, who were exposed to a terrific fire, were compelled to withdraw it by hand to a position where it could be used with effect upon its late possessors. The principal buildings of the place were by this time in the possession of the police force, with the exception of the gate-house, the massive doors of which were speedily battered down, and the rebels within then surrendered on promise of their lives. In this brilliant little affair, the English had twelve killed and sixteen wounded; while the loss on the side of the enemy, was seventy killed, twenty-six wounded, and twenty-five prisoners. The troops of the professedly friendly chief, who had marched out with the police to assist them, fled the moment the firing commenced, and only reappeared when the victory was secure; and their chief, Burrud Sing, who had given the information in the first instance, did not show himself at all until the troops were in full possession of

* See *ante*, p. 84.

the place, when he made his salaams, and applied for an escort to protect him. This victory, although a minor affair as compared with the operations of a campaign, was nevertheless important in its influence upon the native mind, since it showed the people of Oude what even raw levies, under English discipline and command, could effect without either guns or cavalry; 550 newly-raised military policemen having driven upwards of 4,000 armed rebels, provided with cavalry and artillery, out of an easily defensible town, where the buildings were loopholed, and almost every house had been converted into a fortress.

A letter from Lucknow, of the 26th of September, gave the following account of a conflict with the rebels at Selimpore, a town about twenty miles from the former city. The writer says—"Since my last, we have had a splendid fight, and killed a very large number of the enemy. On Wednesday, intelligence was received of the approach of a large number of rebels, about 3,000, under Moosahib Ally, in the direction of Gooshaengunj. At nine o'clock that same evening, a force moved out from Lucknow, consisting of portions of H.M.'s 88th and 23rd regiments, police cavalry, and a horse battery. I have not been able to ascertain who took the command. On Thursday morning, the booming of our guns was distinctly audible, and the fire was kept up till about 11 A.M. We were all anxiously looking out for the news of the encounter; for we all made sure that our troops were having a brush with the enemy; but it was not till the following day (Friday) that we became aware of the magnificence of our victory. From the hurried and disjointed accounts which I have yet heard, it appears that our troops came upon the enemy very suddenly on Thursday morning. He had taken possession of a fort on the river side, which, from its position, presented natural obstacles to storming, and was decidedly a good stronghold. Our guns were brought within 400 yards of this fort, and a hot fire opened on the enemy's batteries. Of course this caused much confusion among the Pandies, and some loss also, as we had treated them to shell as well as shot. The infantry were then brought forward; and, with a gallant rush, notwithstanding every obstacle, they carried the place, and then began the work of bayonet and cartridge. Every house within this enclosure was filled with armed men, and not a single one was permitted to escape. Our fellows did the work splendidly. It was one series of shooting and bayoneting; and when it is considered that it took nearly three hours to complete the affair, after the storming, we may well suppose the slaughter was immense. Seven hundred of the enemy, at the lowest computation, were killed within the enclosure, besides those who had remained out of the fort, and who, in their flight, were either killed by the cavalry or drowned in the Goomtee. The fort of Selimpore, where the action took place, is about twenty miles from Lucknow, on the way to Gooshaengunj, towards the south-east. This affair will, no doubt, give a proper lesson to those leaders who have lately been disturbing the peace of the Lucknow district; and who will now, I am inclined to think, beat a retreat in the direction of Gonda, or some other trans-Gogra district. Our loss on this occasion was, I hear, very light; four soldiers killed and seven wounded." The writer further says—"The other day, two officers took a rather longer ride than usual into the country, beyond cantonments. They were encountered by two of the enemy's sowars, who had, no doubt, left their picket with the view of reconnoitring. The sowars discharged their carbines at our two heroes, and one of the latter narrowly escaped being killed, as the ball grazed his shoulders. The sowars, seeing that their fire had proved useless, and fearing a return of the compliment, turned round and bolted. The officers gave chase, and at last came up to the scoundrels. They did not polish them off with their revolvers, but took them prisoners, and led them back to Lucknow, where they will be hanged."

At length the month of October arrived; and, with the cold season, indications of movements preparatory to the ensuing campaign, became visible on all sides. The plans of the commander-in-chief, in accordance with his usual habit, were known only to himself, until the moment should arrive for their prudent development; but among the officers of his staff, the campaign was understood as not likely to be on an extended scale. Large bodies of troops, it was assumed, were to be collected at different points, rather to circumscribe the area of operations, than to share in them—the actual work of clearing Oude being entrusted to two columns, which would enter the

province simultaneously from the north and the south. The first, descending from Rohilcund, under Colonel Troup, would clear Mahomdee and Bareitch, driving in the rebels towards Lucknow. The second, commanded by Sir Hope Grant, was to clear Azimgurh and Goruckpore, then infested by powerful gangs of Dacoits; and then, pouring into Gonda, would drive the section of the rebel force which had found shelter there, also towards Lucknow, the garrison of which was to be increased, and strong bodies of troops stationed at Cawnpore, Futtehpore, and other places along the river frontier. By this arrangement, it was considered the rebels would have but one alternative; namely, either to fly to the north-east, and so bury themselves in the Nepaulese Terai, which eventually they did do; or, by forced marches, endeavour to turn Grant's column at Azimgurh, and so escape into Tirhoot. It was, however, expected, that a force then concentrating in Shahabad, and which amounted to about 7,000 men, would, in such case, be ready to advance across the river for the protection of Tirhoot, that district being chiefly in the hands of Europeans, and covered with much valuable property. At all events, very little fighting was anticipated; although, by the best accounts, the enemy had again collected a force of 68,000 men for a last effort. The facility with which the rebel ranks had been, and continued to be recruited, was almost marvellous. But a few weeks previously, Tantia Topee had but 8,000 under his flag. He had since been beaten about a dozen times; and was then actually marching towards Saugor, with a force of 15,000 well-equipped followers! Again, in Shahabad, where, a short time before, Koer Sing had but 5,000 men, new levies had brought the rebel force around Jugdespore up to nearly 24,000; and so, in every direction, armed men seemed to spring from the earth, to make one last but hopeless effort for the independence of their country.

The extreme limit of territory occupied by the British in Oude at the commencement of the final campaign, might be traced on a map of the country, by a line drawn from Sandilah and Daryabad on the north, to Fyzabad on the east, and Sultanpore and Pertabgarh on the south. Between the places named, communications were open; but there was much territory included within the limits, over which the rebels still exercised control; and this interruption was especially the case between Lucknow and Sultanpore. At Jugdespore, which was almost equi-distant from those cities, the rebels had, as we have seen, gathered in great numbers; as they had also at Amathie, one march to the west of Sultánpore. At Salon, about twenty-five miles west from Amathie, Bainie Madhoo had a numerous army under his command; and the Bareitch districts, with all the country east of the Gogra, were entirely in the enemy's hands, being occupied by the begum, with a force estimated at 6,000 men and twelve guns. Still further in an easterly direction, were the Nana and Bala Rao, with an army of about 13,000. At Mahomdee, one march from the frontier post of Daryabad, was Khan Bahadoor Khan, with about 8,000 men and twelve guns; and numerous smaller parties of rebels occupied the whole country from thence to the frontiers of Nepaul. It was evident, by these details, that the enemy was strong in numbers; but it was also clear, that, by their successive and continuous defeats, they had lost that confidence in their might which constitutes the real strength of armies. It was known and felt that there was not the least chance of these men holding their ground against even the weakest European column that might be opposed to them; and consequently their success depended upon the strategy by which they could elude, rather than encounter, the risks of an engagement.

With a view to prevent any collision between the civil and military authorities during the campaign about to open in Oude, the following memorandum was issued by the chief commissioner of the province:—

To all Civil Officers in Oude.

"*Memorandum.*—The chief commissioner desires to call the particular attention of all commissioners and civil officers to the following remarks. Military operations in Oude may shortly be expected to commence on an extensive scale. The services of every armed servant of the government will be required to aid in the speedy suppression of the rebellion and maintenance of order. Probably several influential zemindars will in like manner aid with their contingent forces.

"In order that the local government may render the services of all aforementioned really efficient in co-operating with the regular army, it is absolutely necessary that parties should, while the campaign lasts, be under no divided authority. The chief commissioner therefore directs that civil officers will not call on any party who may be nominated to perform a part, however small, in the general military operations of the campaign, to act in any way, or move from one position to another, except by

the desire or with the concurrence of the senior military authority in his district.

"With reference to the military police, the chief commissioner deems it necessary to direct that civil officers do not issue any orders to such of the police as may be serving in their districts, unless the police have been specially placed under their orders for district duties.

"Lucknow, October 8th, 1858."

A proclamation was also issued by the authorities, addressed to the people of Oude, in the following terms:—

"*By direction of the Governor-general in Council.*—The chief commissioner of Oude hereby calls upon all talookdars, zemindars, inhabitants, and residents in Oude, of every grade and class, with the exceptions herein enumerated, to deliver up to the servants of government at the nearest police-station, within one month from the date of this proclamation, all cannon, fire-arms, swords, bows, arrows, spears, or other description of weapons whatever; also all gunpowder, shot, shell, sulphur, saltpetre, and munitions of war of every kind.

"II. Failing in obedience to this, or whosoever after the period of one month from this date, shall be convicted of wearing or possessing any of the weapons or warlike stores above mentioned, he shall be subjected to the penalty or fine of 5,000 rs., and of imprisonment for one year, with flogging; and if a landholder, of the confiscation of his lands.

"III. In case of the discovery of concealed arms, the owner of which cannot be traced, the like penalties shall be inflicted upon the talookdar or landholder of the place, or on the village community where they may be discovered.

"IV. Further, it is notified that if any talookdar or other inhabitant of Oude, after the issue of an order for the dismantling of his fort, shall in any way attempt to reconstruct the fortification, or shall have in his possession, or shall make preparation for casting or collecting any cannon or munitions of war, his talooka or lands shall be liable to be confiscated, in addition to such other punishments as may be awarded.

"V. Any person giving information which may lead to the discovery of concealed weapons, gunpowder, or munitions of war, shall be entitled to a moiety of the fine, or, if no fine be imposed, to a reward.

"VI. Deputy-commissioners or officers in charge of districts, will be hereafter authorised to grant, under certain rules, licences duly signed and sealed, to carry and possess or make and sell gunpowder and warlike weapons to parties of approved character.

"VII. Such licences shall confer no right to make, sell, or possess cannon of any description, or ammunition for cannon.

"VIII. Any infringement of the licence will be punished by the penalties above specified.

"IX. The classes exempted from the penalties of this proclamation are European British subjects, British soldiers while present with their regiments or on service, and government officials employed on civil duties.

"(Signed) F. D. FORSYTH,
"Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Oude."

At length, on the 18th of October, 1858, the final campaign, by which the complete subjugation of the discontented millions that formed the population of Oude was to be effected, commenced by the departure, from Allahabad, of a column consisting of the 1st Belooch battalion, the 1st Punjab cavalry, the 9th Punjab infantry, the Lahore light horse, and the 79th highlanders, with four heavy guns and six field-pieces. This head-quarters' division crossed into Oude by a bridge of boats established at Soraon, near Allahabad, and took a southerly direction towards Sultanpore, upon the Goomtee. In Central India hostilities had now recommenced in earnest, and on the 19th of October, a force, under General Michel, overtook and attacked a strong body of the enemy, commanded by Tantia Topee in person, at Scindwa, a town lying south-east from Chundairee, on the route from Tehree to Oozein. So sudden and unexpected was the attack, that the rebel chief had scarcely time to turn and form line before the English troops were in the midst of his men. The left and centre of General Michel's force were covered by the town of Scindwa, and the line from the right was formed by the 8th hussars, 17th lancers, 1st Bombay lancers, Blake's troop of horse artillery, 3rd Bombay cavalry, Mayne's horse, Bengal 9-pounder battery, her majesty's 92nd, her majesty's 71st, 19th native infantry, with two detachments of the 17th lancers and 3rd Bombay cavalry. The enemy vainly attempted to turn the right wing; and his cavalry made similar attempts upon the left of the cavalry line, but were promptly met by the Bengal battery, with infantry in *echelon*. The hussars and 17th lancers made two brilliant charges; but Tantia Topee could not stand their steady advance, and his troops made an orderly retreat. The cavalry then pressed on; the detachment of Mayne's horse, numbering about seventy sabres, making their first charge into the rear of a body of about 1,000, and killing some twenty in all. The ground being unsuited for cavalry movements, the enemy were permitted to escape almost with impunity. The pursuit extended over nine miles, the enemy having lost four guns and about 500 in killed. The loss to the British force consisted of four killed, four officers and fifteen men wounded, and thirteen missing. After this brilliant affair, some uncertainty arose as to the route of the flying enemy; and General Michel lost time by taking a wrong direction for his pursuit. Having at length obtained intelligence of the actual whereabouts of

the rebel chief, he hastily retraced his steps, and, by a desperate effort, the troops, who had marched sixty-two miles in sixty hours, came up with the rear-guard of Tantia Topee on the 27th of the month, at Korrai, and scattered it to the winds—the rebels, who numbered between two and three thousand, scarcely offering a show of resistance; but, throwing away their arms, fled, and were pursued and cut down as far as Chimbassa, a town nine miles from the spot where they were surprised. While his rear-guard was being disposed of in this manner, Tantia Topee, with the main body, was rapidly marching southward, in the direction of the Nerbudda, avoiding Bhopaul, where Brigadier Parke was ready to receive him. His march, however, was not unobserved. Beatson's horse received intelligence of his advance, and 350 sabres were immediately ordered out to reconnoitre. On their arrival at Bagrode, they learned that the enemy mustered exceedingly strong; and as the regiment was young and untried, it was resolved to fall back upon a pass between two hills on the road to Bhopaul, and maintain it until reinforced by Brigadier Parke. Here they bivouacked for the night, and early the following morning retreated three miles more, halting at a village called Garrispore. The enemy not making his appearance, it was resolved again to advance; and about noon the troops re-entered Bagrode. Here information was received that Tantia was encamped about four miles off, and the European officers ascended a neighbouring hill to reconnoitre. They had barely reached the summit when they descried a body of about two hundred cavalry riding straight for their camp, at a distance of not more than three-quarters of a mile. To descend the hill was the work of a moment, and every saddle was in an instant filled. The ground was uneven, and full of holes; but in despite of every impediment, the sowars were soon engaged hand to hand with the enemy. They scarcely stood to receive them, but turned and fled. Beatson's horsemen pursued for four miles, and killed upwards of forty of them, wounding a great number, who managed to escape into the high grass and grain fields. Four prisoners were captured, and shot as soon as the sowars returned to camp. Tantia does not seem to have halted long in the neighbourhood of Bagrode. The place was a dangerous one: Michel was in his rear, Parke on his right flank, and Beatson's horse on his left: he therefore pushed his troops on southward, his sick and wounded marking his line of march; his force, altogether, only amounting to about eight thousand men, composed of cavalry and infantry—the former indifferently mounted, and the latter but poorly equipped. In addition to the force already mentioned as drawing round him, Lord Mark Kerr, with 600 Mahratta horse, had also approached in dangerous proximity from another direction; and, at this juncture, it was reported that Tantia Topee, feeling himself hard pressed, sent a messenger to Kerr, asking the terms on which he might offer his submission to the government. The reply of the officer was simply, that he would preserve his life until he had conferred with the authorities, and obtained instructions as to his disposal; but that, in the meanwhile, if he (Kerr) caught him in the field, he would certainly have him hanged. As these terms were by no means conciliatory, the chief once more availed himself of his unrivalled talent for flight, and, by crossing the Nerbudda, escaped for a time from the awkward companionship that had so nearly been forced upon him.

The following details of the movements of Tantia Topee, Rao Sahib, and the nawab of Banda, after their passage of the Nerbudda, throw further light upon their operations, and rectify the error as to the proposed submission of the first-named chief.

It appears that the army under Tantia, about four thousand strong, reached the northern bank of the Nerbudda on the 30th of October, at a point fifty miles east of Hosungabad. Kerr, with the Southern Mahratta horse, was not at that moment at Hosungabad. After a march from Kulladghee of 650 miles, during which he crossed five large rivers, hundreds of brimfull nullahs, toiled painfully through black soil converted into slime by heavy rains, and only over thirty miles of made road, in thirty-eight days, he crossed the Nerbudda with his force, with orders to push on to Bhilsa, and there act as circumstances required. The road from Hosungabad to Bhilsa was a mere footpath on the hill-sides, offering considerable difficulty to the advance of cavalry. Kerr's force had hardly concluded the second day's march on the 1st of November, when intelligence was received that Tantia Topee had crossed the

river. Orders were accordingly issued to turn back; and at 4 P.M. on the same day, the Southern Mahratta horse found itself again in the town of Hosungabad. The greatest excitement was visible in the camp and city. The troops were retiring into the intrenchment; the citizens shutting up their shops; the whole population, in fact, seemed in considerable trepidation at the idea of Tantia Topee being in the vicinity. Kerr resolved to impose upon Tantia by vigorous measures, and, starting the same night, rode forty miles to Sohagpore, which, by the rapidity of his march, was fortunately saved from plunder. Tantia Topee was then only eighteen miles distant to the eastward. The country into which he had now entered was one of the wildest in Central India—a hilly tract throughout, comprising within its limits the eastern portion of the Vindyah and Mahadeo mountains, and inhabited by that primitive race the Goonds, who are supposed to be the aborigines of Hindostan; having a language unlike that of any other in Hindostan, and whose habits are so far removed from civilisation, that they live in a state of complete nudity. It was at Sohagpore that the first intimation was received that one of the rebel chiefs, at least, desired to surrender. That chief, however, was not Tantia Topee, but the nawab of Banda. A servant of his was arrested at the post-office, in the act of dispatching two letters from his master—one addressed to Sir Robert Hamilton, another to Captain Kerr. In the latter, the nawab declared that he had all along been a prisoner (which was not true; for it was very well known that he commanded Tantia's horse), and that he desired to surrender, if he was assured of protection. The servant seemed to have had instructions, if caught, to corroborate this tale; for he stated, on examination, that the nawab was watched night and day, was much broken in health and spirits, and had been a prisoner to the Rao ever since Sir Hugh Rose's advance on Calpee. It was ascertained from the same source, that the force under the three chiefs still amounted to 2,200 infantry (all mounted on tatoos), and 1,800 cavalry—the 5th and 8th Bengal, and Gwalior irregular cavalry; that the Rao, who usually rode on an elephant preceded by a band of country music, nominally held supreme command, Tantia Topee being only commander-in-chief; that the Banda nawab had left all his jewels behind him, but that his wives and family were with the rebels; that these, however, carried all their wealth with them, and were covered with jewels. As to the condition of the force, it was described as very low, the horses and elephants being much beaten, the men wearied and dispirited, and Tantia comparatively without authority. It was further stated that the sepoys, in their disheartened state, regretted what they called the good old times—laid the mutiny on their officers' shoulders, and cursed them as the cause of their present altered circumstances.

Tantia, it seems, reached the Nerbudda on the 30th of October; crossed it on the 31st; halted the next day; and having won the rajah of Futtehpore to his side, occupied that place on the night of the 2nd of November. The news of Kerr's advance on Bhilsa occasioned his retreat from that place, which, but for this, would infallibly have been plundered. Sohagpore was saved in a similar manner by the advance from Hosungabad. On the 2nd of November Kerr advanced from Sohagpore, ten miles from Hutwas, having a slight skirmish as he did so with a small body of irregular horse in red coats. The rebels were still at Futtehpore—a large town, situated at the foot of a low range of hills, backed by the Putchmurree mountains, which are some forty miles deep, and quite unsuited for cavalry. In front of the town stretched a thick rocky jungle, about two miles and a-half in depth, the town itself being intersected with numerous deep ravines. Against such a position it was vain to hope that 350 horse could do anything; and the wisest course was to wait for the arrival of Michel, then advancing from Bhopaul, having left that place on the 1st, and expecting to be at the Nerbudda on the 6th. Kerr's impatience, under these circumstances, may be easily conceived. But he had one consolation. Once in the Putchmurrees, he knew that the rebels must be lost if the Nagpore, Jubbulpore, Nursingpore, and Baitool forces were moved to a common centre: provisions would utterly fail; and the rebels must be captured. Without such a combination, difficulties of no ordinary kind might be anticipated; for the rajahs having joined Tantia, might afford him all that he required; whilst our force would have to push its way into a country the peasantry of which were disinclined to give information, and were completely unfriendly. Hopes were, however, entertained

that the Goond population might be raised against them by prospects of plunder, especially as a party of ten determined Shikarrees declared themselves confident of successfully assailing Tantia Topee in some narrow gorges through which troops could only pass in single file. They were accordingly sent out to do what they could in those positions. On the 3rd of November the Southern Mahratta horse advanced to Futtehpore, which Tantia Topee had abandoned, and encamped under the very trees whose foliage had shaded Tantia and his confederates but the day before. The rajahs came in and tried to explain their conduct, and several sepoys who were captured were taken and executed.

The position of Tantia had now become little other than desperate, as it was known, from prisoners who surrendered after the battle of Korrai, that his followers, although still numerous, were dispirited and footsore; that many of them had thrown away their arms; and that he had no field guns, and scarcely any small-arm ammunition. Besides these disadvantages, the chiefs of his own people were beginning to discountenance his reckless efforts to prolong a losing game. Thus, when at Bagrode he applied to the ranee of Bhopaul for assistance, in the shape of men and guns, her cool reply was, "If you want them, come and take them;" and at the same time, with the duplicity of her race, she sent information regarding her *quondam* friend to all the British columns in the neighbourhood.

Pursuing his advantage, General Michel, on the 31st of October, reached Bhilsa, *en route* to Bhopaul, Brigadier Beatson being on the march to the same place to join Brigadier Parke; while Colonel Smith was at Leronge;—the troops under each being destined for the further pursuit of the rebel chief, who still, in defiance of misfortune, announced himself viceroy of the Peishwa, Nana Sahib; and summoned the people to resist the British troops in his name.

A letter from General Michel's camp, dated the 31st of October, says—"Prisoners and stragglers are being daily brought in. Their captors are generally their own countrymen, inhabiting the villages along the line of march. They are shot without ceremony; upwards of a hundred having been disposed of in this manner since the engagement at Korrai. At the action of Scindwa, some chief of consequence—probably the nawab of Banda—seems to have been mortally wounded; as, in the pursuit, our troops overtook a richly-ornamented palanquin, the owner of which had been left on the field of battle, being in too dangerous a state to be removed. The four bearers stated that it belonged to his highness; but they were shot down without further inquiry. It is to be hoped that, with the capture or death of Tantia Topee, these scenes of violence and bloodshed will cease, the campaign in Central India having left fearful marks behind it. Every one, however, it is satisfactory to learn, regards the revolt, as far as this leader is concerned, near an end; and, from private intelligence received this morning, I learn that he has at length been surrounded in the Nizam's dominions, and is now suing for terms. This news is from a most reliable source; so that the rebellion in Central India may be considered to be virtually suppressed. The people generally are very well affected towards us, Tantia's army being chiefly composed of budmashes and mutinous sepoys. Of course, the only terms which he will receive will be unconditional surrender; but it is not likely that his life will be forfeited."

At length the day arrived when the important announcement was to be made that India had passed under the direct government of the queen of England. Arrangements had been made by the governor-general, and his colleagues in office, that the promulgation of this document should be effected on the same day at every station in British India still under the control of the authorities; and the consummation of the fact was celebrated by manifestations of loyalty and satisfaction on the part of the native population of the three presidencies, that far exceeded the anticipations of the most sanguine among the European community.

The morning of the 1st day of November, 1858, witnessed the simultaneous commencement of a new reign, a new policy, and a new campaign in the ancient empire of the Moguls; and, amidst the roar of demonstrative cannon, and the triumphal flourish of martial music, Queen Victoria was proclaimed actual and supreme ruler of India; and at the same moment, by the gracious command of the sovereign, it was declared in her name, that the claims of retributive justice had ceased at the bidding of mercy, and that for all insurrectionary crimes short of absolute and wanton bloodguiltiness, forgiveness was freely offered to all the erring subjects of the majesty of England.

The following is the proclamation, which announced to nearly two hundred millions of people the important and gratifying event:—

Proclamation by the Queen in Council, to the Princes, Chiefs, and People of India.

"Victoria, by the grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and of the colonies and dependencies thereof in Europe, Asia, Africa, America, and Australasia, Queen, Defender of the Faith.

"Whereas, for divers weighty reasons, we have resolved, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords spiritual and temporal and Commons in parliament assembled, to take upon ourselves the government of the territories in India heretofore administered in trust for us by the Hon. East India Company.

"Now, therefore, we do by these presents notify and declare that, by the advice and consent aforesaid, we have taken upon ourselves the said government; and we hereby call upon all our subjects within the said territories to be faithful and to bear true allegiance to us, our heirs and successors, and to submit themselves to the authority of those whom we may hereafter from time to time see fit to appoint to administer the government of our said territories, in our name and on our behalf.

"And we, reposing especial trust and confidence in the loyalty, ability, and judgment of our right trusty and well-beloved cousin and councillor, Charles John, Viscount Canning, do hereby constitute and appoint him, the said Viscount Canning, to be our first viceroy and governor-general in and over our said territories, and to administer the government thereof in our name, and generally to act in our name and on our behalf, subject to such orders and regulations as he shall, from time to time, receive from us through one of our principal secretaries of state.

"And we do hereby confirm in their several offices, civil and military, all persons now employed in the service of the Hon. East India Company, subject to our future pleasure, and to such laws and regulations as may hereafter be enacted.

"We hereby announce to the native princes of India, that all treaties and engagements made with them by or under the authority of the Hon. East India Company are by us accepted, and will be scrupulously maintained; and we look for the like observance on their part.

"We desire no extension of our present territorial possessions; and while we will permit no aggression upon our dominions or our rights to be attempted with impunity, we shall sanction no encroachment on those of others. We shall respect the rights, dignity, and honour of native princes as our own; and we desire that they, as well as our own subjects, should enjoy that prosperity and that social advancement which can only be secured by internal peace and good government.

"We hold ourselves bound to the natives of our Indian territories by the same obligations of duty which bind us to all our other subjects; and those obligations, by the blessing of Almighty God, we shall faithfully and conscientiously fulfil.

"Firmly relying ourselves on the truth of Christianity, and acknowledging with gratitude the solace of religion, we disclaim alike the right and the desire to impose our convictions on any of our subjects. We declare it to be our royal will and pleasure that none be in anywise favoured, none molested or disquieted by reason of their religious faith or observances, but that all shall alike enjoy the equal and impartial protection of the law; and we do strictly charge and enjoin all those who may be in authority under us, that they abstain from all interference with the religious belief or worship of any of our subjects, on pain of our highest displeasure.

"And it is our further will that, so far as may be, our subjects, of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to offices in our service the duties of which they may be qualified, by their education, ability, and integrity, duly to discharge.

"We know and respect the feelings of attachment with which the natives of India regard the lands inherited by them from their ancestors, and we desire to protect them in all rights connected therewith, subject to the equitable demands of the state; and we will that generally, in framing and administering the law, due regard be paid to the ancient rights, usages, and customs of India.

"We deeply lament the evils and misery which have been brought upon India by the acts of ambitious men who have deceived their countrymen by false reports, and led them into open rebellion. Our power having been shown by the suppression of

that rebellion in the field, we desire to show our mercy by pardoning the offences of those who have been thus misled, but who desire to return to the path of duty.

"Already in one province, with a view to stop the further effusion of blood and to hasten the pacification of our Indian dominions, our viceroy and governor-general has held out the expectation of pardon, on certain terms, to the great majority of those who in the late unhappy disturbances have been guilty of offences against our government, and has declared the punishment which will be inflicted on those whose crimes place them beyond the reach of forgiveness. We approve and confirm the said act of our viceroy and governor-general, and do further announce and proclaim as follows:—

"Our clemency will be extended to all offenders, save and except those who have been or shall be convicted of having directly taken part in the murder of British subjects. With regard to such, the demands of justice forbid the exercise of mercy.

"To those who have willingly given asylum to murderers, knowing them to be such, or who may have acted as leaders or instigators in revolt, their lives alone can be guaranteed; but, in apportioning the penalty due to such persons, full consideration will be given to the circumstances under which they have been induced to throw off their allegiance, and large indulgence will be shown to those whose crimes may appear to have originated in a too credulous acceptance of the false reports circulated by designing men.

"To all others in arms against the government, we hereby promise unconditional pardon, amnesty, and oblivion of all offences against ourselves, our crown and dignity, on their return to their homes and peaceful pursuits.

"It is our royal pleasure that these terms of grace and amnesty should be extended to all those who comply with their conditions before the 1st day of January next.

"When, by the blessing of Providence, internal tranquillity shall be restored, it is our earnest desire to stimulate the peaceful industry of India, to promote works of public utility and improvement, and to administer its government for the benefit of all our subjects resident therein. In their prosperity will be our strength, in their contentment our security, and in their gratitude our best reward. And may the God of all power grant to us, and to those in authority under us, strength to carry out these our wishes for the good of our people."

The royal declaration was accompanied by the following notification of the governor-general of India:—

"Foreign Department, Allahabad, Nov. 1.

"Her majesty the Queen having declared that it is her gracious pleasure to take upon herself the government of the British territories in India, the viceroy and governor-general hereby notifies, that from this day all acts of the government of India will be done in the name of the Queen alone.

"From this day, all men of every race and class, who under the administration of the Hon. East India Company, have joined to uphold the honour and power of England, will be the servants of the Queen alone.

"The governor-general summons them, one and all, each in his degree, and according to his opportunity, and with his whole heart and strength, to aid in fulfilling the gracious will and pleasure of the Queen, as set forth in her royal proclamation.

"From the many millions of her majesty's native subjects in India, the governor-general will now, and at all times, exact a loyal obedience to the call which, in words full of benevolence and mercy, their sovereign has made upon their allegiance and faithfulness.

"By order of the right honourable the governor-general of India.

"G. F. EDMONSTONE,

"Secretary to the government of India, with the governor-general."

It has been observed, that the promulgation of her majesty's proclamation was received with great manifestations of rejoicing; and it may suffice to notice the proceedings at a few of the most important stations, as exhibiting the general feeling that prevailed.

At Calcutta, whose sun had been shorn of its beams by the long absence of the governor-general and the *élite* of his court, the exhibition of rejoicing partook more of deep feeling than of outward display. Early in the day, the troops in garrison were paraded in front of the government-house, and the shipping in the river was decorated with flags of every conceivable form and colour: at noon, the council assembled in full dress, and, with the lieutenant-governor of Bengal and his staff, repaired in procession to the great portico of the government-house; the entire area of the

esplanade being covered by dense masses of the inhabitants of the city and its environs. From the elevation afforded by the magnificent flight of steps opposite the state entrance, after some appropriate formalities had been observed, the proclamation was read by the lieutenant-governor in the English and Bengalee languages; and at its conclusion, a royal salute was fired as the standard of England slowly rose, unfurling its blazonry to the air; while the troops presented arms, and the bands poured out to many the heart-awakening strains of the national anthem, almost drowned by the acclamations of the delighted people. In the evening there was a general illumination of Calcutta and of the ships in port,* in which both land and river vied with each other in brilliancy and device.

At Allahabad, the temporary residence of the viceroy of India, great preparations had been made for the celebration of the important event. Upon a platform covered with crimson cloth, and emblazoned with the royal arms, a richly gilded and ornamented chair, under a canopy of crimson and gold, over which floated the royal standard of England, was prepared for the representative of Queen Victoria. A large body of troops was on the ground, and an assemblage of civilians and native spectators occupied every available spot within range of the spectacle. Soon after 5 o'clock P.M., Lord Canning, accompanied by the commander-in-chief and a glittering staff of military and civil officers, rode to the platform. His lordship, who was attired in a court uniform, rode a splendid black charger, and was surrounded by a cloud of peons in scarlet liveries, bearing silver wands. After a salute to the governor-general, the latter approached the *dais* upon which the symbolic throne was raised, and taking his place upon the lower step, the proclamation was read aloud in the English language by the chief secretary to the government. This done, an Oordoo translation was read for the information of the natives, and the usual salutes were given;

* The following amusing description of a subsequent pyrotechnic display, in honour of the event, appeared in the *Calcutta Englishman*:—"The pyrotechnic undertakings of Calcutta are invariably attended with misfortune; and Colonel Powney's fogs, which obliterated the coruscations of his structures, have passed into a proverb. On the 26th of November, the inhabitants of Calcutta proceeded, in high hopes and great glee, to the Mydan to feast their eyes, thinking over the delicious programme, and anticipating the brilliant scene of myriads of rockets, revolving suns, and numberless Roman candles: and was there not her majesty to be on horseback in beautiful transparencies? The Mydan was covered with a multitude of the muslined subjects of the Queen, and the roofs and verandahs of the palaces of Chowringhee were filled with the Europeans of Calcutta, eager for the spectacle. Now the display opened—the towers were lighted up; the city of Catania, at the foot of Mount Ætna, and the whole front of fireworks, were beautifully illuminated; then followed the salute, and magnificent flights of rockets streaming up to the skies. The blaze upon, and sudden illumination of, the Ochterlony monument was grand; and again the flight of rockets here was superb; the crowd shouted with delight, and great was the applause. About this time some confusion was perceived—the order of the programme was not followed; but as yet no one discovered that anything was wrong. The siege of Delhi succeeded. Guns were fired. The attack of red Roman candles was gallantly replied to by white balls of fire; however, nothing could stand the energy of the red—the gates were blown in, and the town was taken: at this time the confusion increased. A splendid *bouquet* of fire suddenly flared up, and frantic operatives rushed out amongst the constructions hither and thither. The grand *façade* of the palace, surmounted by the regalia of England, and the transparencies, went off in a blaze. What was the matter? And now they crept closer to inspect. All at once they saw the native operatives flee, and a burst of rockets followed; then away ran the whole line of native spectators, and rockets in full chase in their rear. Doubtless, the natives believed in an intended general massacre. The rush was great, and the cry a *sauve qui peut.* Those standing their ground to observe the progress of affairs within the leaguer, espied certain gentlemen, pyrotechnists and artificers no doubt, cowering under wooden umbrellas, and hiding behind posts, to save themselves from the fire which showered down upon them; and then they rushed out, leaping, skipping about, and dodging rockets which kept shooting, fizzing, rushing in all improper directions.

Rockets rise and stoop, and rise again,
Wild and disorderly.

In the background were the rocks and palaces all in red flames; serpents, wheels, stars, suns, Roman candles, twisting, whizzing, blazing in dire confusion, with the pyrotechnists jumping in front as demons —giving the whole the most ludicrous effect conceivable. Pandemonium, in fact, as an unrehearsed performance. Happily no one was seriously hurt. Ætna lighted up irregularly, and, after a careful consideration, proceeded to burn out steadily; only, instead of inferior fires, the whole mountain burned down—at one period looking a very volcano, but without eruptions or lava; all the properties provided for this effect having gone off *à tort et à travers*, making the pyrotechnic staff perform the antics described. Then the triumphal arch took up the strain and joined in the performance, adding another brilliant bonfire to the mass. Finally, the whole fabrics, all the mighty preparations for long-expected entertainment, went off in one great chaos of combustion. A conflagration, over which Lucifer himself might have presided, burning itself down to a mere dull commonplace ordinary fire, worthy the attention of a fire brigade; and the anxiety of an insurance office."

after which the *cortège* retired from the ground. In the evening, the event was celebrated by exhibitions of fireworks and illuminations.

At Lahore, a durbar tent was pitched for the accommodation of the European visitors, who were ranged on one side; while the native nobles occupied the other; and in front, the brigade stationed at Meean Meer was formed into line. In the absence of the chief commissioner, Mr. Thornton officiated as the representative of the local government. In an introductory address, he made a graceful allusion to the absence of Sir John Lawrence; and then the proclamation was read in English and in the vernacular, for the benefit of both races within the tent; after which it was read to the troops formed up for the purpose, who gave three English cheers, and the guns fired the salute. The judicial commissioner, with the brigadier and many of the European residents, then re-entered the durbar tent, and conversed with the natives of rank for a short time; and the assembly finally broke up. One who was present at the scene, writes—"The European and Asiatic were mingling together; the more sober costume of the Western races, whose pursuits were of a peaceful nature, relieved by the more showy uniforms of our military officers, and contrasting with the more gaudy splendour of the native princes and nobles, among whom we noticed his highness Rajah Jowahir Sing, an unfortunate prince, who had come to aid in giving dignity to the scene, and to indulge perhaps in the hope that a change of any kind would bring with it a recognition of claims which have been strangely overlooked by a government to whom he has been a faithful and honourable ally. We noticed, too, the Rajah Tej Sing; the Shahzadahs Ally Ahmed, Gholam Mohumed, and Share Mamud, of the royal family of Cabul, and other shahzadahs; Pundit Muksooddun, Runjeet Sing's astronomer; Nawabs Abdool Mujeed (of Mooltan), and Jehangeer Khan; Bhugvandass, son of Gholab Sing, vakeel of the Jummoo chief; the vakeels of Nabba and Putteeala, and other native gentry; in all about 400 gentlemen, who formed a goodly array of the nobles of the Punjab. Rae Hilsuren Dass, as master of the ceremonies, was in attendance, assigning their proper places to the native nobles and gentry."

Of the reception of the proclamation at Bombay, the following account is given in a letter from that city, dated the 9th of November:—

"The proclamation was received from Allahabad, by Lord Elphinstone, in the last days of October, and was publicly read on the 1st of November. All the troops in the garrison, the whole population, European and native, were convened to meet in the town-hall, and on the green before it, to hear the solemn declaration of Indian rights and duties read. At five o'clock in the afternoon the governor and public functionaries assembled in the durbar room. By the side of the brilliant uniforms of the staff mingled the snow-white dresses of the Parsees and the Mussulmen, the gay turbans and scarfs of the Hindoos, and the dark habiliments of the clergy, among whom appeared not only the European ministers of the Protestant and Roman Catholic faiths, but the dusky forms of native converts, with shaven heads and black scalp locks. A procession having been formed, with less attention to the etiquette of each one's rank than would have been possible in the days of Ossory and Charles II., Lord Elphinstone and the secretaries of government advanced to a platform erected on the steps of the town-hall, and proceeded to the business of the occasion. The scene presented from the spot where Mr. Young, the chief secretary to government, stood, holding in his hand the royal proclamation, was not without its peculiar characteristics. To the right and left of the principal actors in the scene stood the 'beauty and fashion' of Bombay. On the steps below the platform was a choice assemblage of native gentlemen; and on the green, or crowding onwards from the side streets abutting upon it, waved to-and-fro a turbaned crowd, the variegated hues of whose dresses, full of that harmony peculiar to the East, gave a marked character to the scene. The houses, in themselves sufficiently mean, were decorated with flags and preparations for the coming illumination. The roofs were filled with spectators, whose scanty clothing allowed their long thin limbs to be seen in relief upon the deep evening sky. The circular road round the green was kept by the regiments of the garrison. A flagstaff stood at the foot of the town-hall steps; another erect on the point of the cathedral, awaiting the unfolding of the standard of England, which was to wave for the first time over the city of Bombay. In the midst of the deepest silence Mr. Young read the proclamation in English, which was

afterwards delivered in Mahratti by the chief interpreter, Mr. Wassewdeo. The troops saluted, the bands played 'God save the Queen,' and the royal standards rose simultaneously to the summit of the flagstaffs—that hoisted on the cathedral expanding at once to the breeze, and showing the lions of England. On the lower flagstaff the royal standard hung listlessly; and it was not till the troops had begun to move, after the cheering and booming of the royal salute had been heard, that the emblem of English sovereignty was found to have been hung upside down. There was a pang in the breast of the superstitious at that moment; who consoled themselves, however, with the thought that a similar accident had not happened to the flag on the cathedral. Evening was closing in when the ceremony was completed; and as the crowd dispersed from the town-hall, the first signs of the illuminations were visible in the increasing gloom. Triumphal arches had been thrown across the streets, not only of the fort, but of the native city. Thousands upon thousands of lights gave out in fire the outlines of colonnades, windows, curious gables, and quaint devices. Queen Victoria's name was everywhere—as 'Queen of India, Empress of Hindostan.' There were 'Farewells to the East India Company:' new hopes for the future of India emblazoned on more than one edifice. Crystal chandeliers were hung from house to house amid festoons of light; and, throughout the streets, glaring yellow, blue, and green, in the obscurity of a moonless night: crowds of people in every walk of life flaunted gaily along, and enlivened the scene. The gates of the fort, the bastions, and ravelins were embroidered with flame; the ships in the harbour shone out in the darkness amid the blaze of blue lights. Bombay had never seen such a celebration; nor had its population, fond as Orientals are of glitter and glare, ever enjoyed so much of it."

Of these manifestations of loyalty and devotion, the *Bombay Standard* also gave the following details:—"The 1st of November will, for many generations to come, be regarded as a red-letter day in the calendar of India. Long before daybreak, on Monday, the 1st instant, workmen in thousands were plying with redoubled energy the toils which had for the three previous days occupied them, and were increasing in arduousness as their close approached. It seemed difficult at breakfast-time to suppose that it was possible for more than half our toils to be completed by dusk; but 'where there's a will there's a way;' and by two o'clock, house after house, and street after street, began to show that they were ready for the illumination. When the people began to collect, three parts of the arrangements were perfected, though not a few continued to toil till well on in the evening. By four o'clock crowds of people began to pour from all directions into the centre of the fort. By five, parties of her majesty's 57th, 79th, and 89th, with the marine battalion, the 1st grenadiers, and the 11th native infantry, had taken their places, and almost entirely encircled the green, their bands being drawn up in front of the town-hall. The spare ground assigned to the corps was completely covered. Exactly at ten minutes past five, the governor and members of council and staff, the judges of the Supreme Court, and Sudder Adawlut, the commander-in-chief, and the whole presidency staff, with a vast concourse of other officers, made their appearance on the platform, where ample room had been provided for the ladies. A grand flourish of trumpets indicated that the solemnities of the occasion were to be proceeded with, when the chief secretary, by the command of the governor, stepped forward and read the royal proclamation.

"A tremendous cheer followed the reading of the document; while the saluting battery took up the roar, and 101 guns from every ship of war in the harbour, told that India now, from henceforth, was held only under the sovereign of England. The standard of England was hoisted on the cathedral steeple, the garrison flagstaff, and the mast-head of the *Akbar*. There was for a time a dead lull in the air; the flag hung nearly by the mast, so as to make it impossible to discover the device, or whether the difficulties of the previous day had been surmounted. Just as the cheer burst forth a light breeze sprung up, and the flag, as if alive to the occasion, spread out straight and smooth as a slab of stone. The proclamation of the viceroy on her majesty's assumption of authority came next, and closed the proceedings, when the people and troops withdrew, leaving the green in the hands of the decorators and illuminators.

"At seven o'clock a vast concourse assembled opposite the bastion near the Bazaar gate, to witness the fireworks; these, though very inferior to London displays of like kind, vastly surpassed anything ever

witnessed in Bombay, and reflected infinite credit on all concerned. Amongst the exhibitions was that of a bude light, before which the brightest of the others 'paled their ineffectual fires,' bearing as a motto, 'The Queen, God bless her.' This portion of the exhibition occupied little more than half-an-hour, when the multitude proceeded to see the fireworks and illuminations in the harbour, vast numbers taking boats and proceeding out to the anchorage. The illuminations, like the fireworks, were on a scale altogether unsurpassed by like displays in Bombay, and an enthusiasm was manifested in their preparation which augured well for the new *régime*. Notwithstanding the very short notice given for the making the necessary preparations, nothing was wanting to add to the brilliancy of the scene. The government buildings were elaborately and tastefully decorated and lit up, the mansions of our leading native gentlemen displaying equal taste and brilliancy. The grand spectacle was, of course, Bombay-green. The illuminations of the town-hall, the most beautiful and prominent, were marred by the multitude of lamps every now and then blowing out. The railway office exhibited a gigantic crown, formed entirely from the coloured bull's-eye lamps of the engines: as nothing could touch them, they shone out like so many gigantic diamonds, sapphires, and emeralds, undimmed in their brilliancy by the efflux of time. The great Mohammedan mosque, which always lights up so well, shone with peculiar splendour, as did many others of the great buildings in the bazaar.

"We must not attempt to thread the narrow streets and lanes; it is sufficient to say that every cranny and corner was covered with such decorations as the owners could afford, and that the poor man, out of his scanty stores, gave his mite with as hearty a good-will as the rich, while the millionaire contributed his heap of talents to the treasury. Every native mansion was thrown wide open, and all visitors welcomed—the spectacles within being often still more magnificent than those without the walls. About 10 P.M., Lord Elphinstone and staff visited all our principal streets and scenes of festivity, and our notables were found moving about everywhere, very much admiring the brilliancy of the display. At times the avenues were impassable; and in one place a man was crushed to death. An exhibition of fireworks took place at every public and private school, and at every large establishment throughout Bombay. Many of the churches and chapels, especially the Roman Catholic, Parsee temples, Hindoo pagodas, and Mohammedan mosques, were lighted up. The Indian navy and the shipping in the harbour also took part in the ceremony of the proclamation. All the men-of-war were dressed in full, with the national flags at the several mast-heads—signal flags and pendants over all, rainbow fashion. Late in the evening the *Akbar* illuminated with long lights from each yardarm, lower booms, jibboom, and taffrail, and was followed in succession by all the other vessels in the harbour. Rockets were sent up, blue lights burnt, and guns fired for hours in succession. The merchant ships were similarly dressed; and although they did not all fire guns, made the same display of pyrotechnic splendour. The spectacle which the harbour presented in the evening was one of rare and almost matchless beauty. At the last display of blue lights, the order to man the yards was piped; and the Jacks, eager and willing to obtain the loftiest and most important position on the yards or shrouds, answered the call with the greatest alacrity. At once they could be seen swarming up the shrouds like bees, covering the rigging as they mounted higher and higher, climbing out along the yards, till rows of men fringed every spar; and then in three hearty cheers of 'God save the Queen,' given as only British sailors can give, the seamen seemed to vie with each other who should most vigorously exert their stentorian lungs. The *fête*, on the whole, notwithstanding the breeze, which put out many of the lights, was as splendid and successful as the community at large could wish it to be."

At Madras, probably in consequence of the absence of the lieutenant-governor of the presidency (Lord Harris), the proceedings of the day presented a marked contrast to those exhibited at all other places where the royal proclamation was read by authority. "It is true," observed the *Madras Athenæum*, "that there was a parade of all the troops in garrison—that the proclamation was read by Mr. Chief Secretary Pycroft—that the troops fired a royal salute; but that was all. The ceremony took place on the island, the troops being inside, and the people outside. There was a large gathering of military officers on and near the platform which had been erected for the occasion; but there was a marked deficiency in the civilian

element of the audience; and as for the general community, considerable pains appears to have been taken to exclude them altogether from participation in the ceremony. Not a single native was on the platform, with the exception of the one who translated the proclamation; and the absence of those to whom the proclamation was addressed, was of course owing to the fact that their attendance had not been provided for. In this way was the Queen's assumption of the government of her Indian territories inaugurated at Madras: comment is unnecessary. However, on the 8th of November there were some bad fireworks, dancing-girls and jugglers on the island, and a state ball in the banqueting-hall, which was very tastefully illuminated.

As a remarkable instance of the mutability of human grandeur, it may be recorded that, on the 1st of November, 1858, while the royal proclamation of Queen Victoria was being read at Cawnpore, the ex-king of Delhi was brought into that station on his way to Allahabad, under a guard of lancers and some artillery. The thunder of the salutes, the triumphant strains of the military bands, and the glittering display through which the prison *cortège* passed on its cheerless march, contrasted strangely with the wretched, old, patched-up vehicle in which the phantom king sat, apparently regardless of all around him. Such a scene, on such a stage as Cawnpore, was emphatically suggestive of the word RETRIBUTION!

The announcement of the auspicious act by which India was recognised as part and parcel of the dominions of the imperial throne of England, was productive of congratulatory addresses to the Queen from every district, and from almost every chief, from Scindia downward, as well as from the inhabitants of the several presidency capitals. The nawab of Moorshedabad* appears to have been the first to conceive the idea of addressing a congratulatory letter to her majesty; and the following is a copy of the document, transmitted under his highness's signature, for presentation to the sovereign of India:—

To Her Most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria, Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, &c., &c., &c.

"Palace, Moorshedabad, 1st Nov., 1858.

"Madam,—On the 31st of August, the British empire in the East passed under the direct authority of your most gracious majesty. The benign rule of your majesty now extends also to India, and its moral and physical effects will soon be felt throughout the land, especially by rendering justice attainable to all, rich and poor; and by developing the boundless natural resources of this great empire. I hail the event as the commencement of a new era in the history of India, and as the forerunner of a mighty change, which opens a vision of a bright future. Wherever the banner of your majesty is unfurled, industry, arts, and science follow in its wake, and carry with them prosperity, civilisation, and education;—those inestimable blessings which everywhere so largely contribute to the happiness of your majesty's faithful subjects, and add fresh stability to the throne.

"As the descendant of one of the oldest ruling families of Hindostan, and the acknowledged faithful ally of the British government, I desire permission to be one of the first to lay this my humble tribute of loyalty, respect, and affection at the foot of the throne of your most gracious majesty. May the God of mankind shower his choicest blessings upon your majesty and family; and that long life, health, and happiness may be the portion of the mighty sovereign of Great Britain, is the fervent and sincere prayer of, madam, your majesty's most humble and faithful servant and subject,

"SYED MUNSOOR ULLEE."

At a large public meeting of the inhabitants of Calcutta, held on the 3rd of November, for the purpose of considering an address to her majesty, a native merchant of high position, in the following speech, gave utterance to the feeling which was unanimously believed to pervade Indian society at the time. The words of Baboo Ramgopal Ghose, upon this occasion, were as follows:—

"Gentlemen,—Since I came into the room, I have been requested to second the resolution which you have just heard read. I consider it a privilege and an honour to have been requested to do so. I feel that I am somewhat in a false position, inasmuch as I see around me many of higher rank and of greater influence among my countrymen, who would have more worthily and ably represented the native community on the important occasion than I can pretend to do. But, at the same time, my intercourse

* The city of Moorshedabad became the capital of Bengal in 1704, when the seat of government was removed from Dacca by the nawab, Jaffier Khan; and it continued to be recognised as such until the conquest of the province by the English, in 1757, when it was superseded in its metropolitan rank by Calcutta. It is still the seat of the nawab, who for some years has enjoyed a royal pension from the government, as a compensation for the surrender of his sovereign rights. The city, which has a population of 165,000, is meanly built, and its only edifice of importance is the white palace of the nawab. Many mosques are scattered through the city; and the remains of a Mohammedan palace, built from the ruins of Gour—an ancient city about fifty miles distant, long since left to decay—are still visible. The district from which the nawab derives his title, and the city its name, comprises an area of 1,870 square miles; and, in 1822, it had a population of 762,690 souls.

in life has been so much with Englishmen, and I know so much of the vast resources, the great power, and the great goodness of the English people, that I do not think myself altogether incompetent to offer an opinion on those points. If I had power and influence, I would proclaim through the length and breadth of this land—from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin—from Bermapootra to the Bay of Cambay—that never were the natives more grievously mistaken than they have been in adopting the notion foisted upon them by designing and ambitious men, that their religion was at stake—for that notion I believe to have been at the root of the late rebellion. They do not understand the English character; they do not understand the generosity, the benevolence of the governing power—the even-handed justice with which that power is willing and anxious always to do that which is right between man and man, without any reference whatever to the fact whether the men belong to the governing or to the governed class. If all this were known, where would be rebellion in this land? Certainly there would have been no such outbreak as that which recently shook the foundations of this empire. The only remedy is education. Nothing has distressed me more, among the late acts of government, than the positive prohibition against incurring any expense on the score of education. Lord William Bentinck—a name which must ever be remembered with reverence—in his reply to the address which was presented to him on the occasion of his departure from India, said, after enumerating all the evils, all the oppressions, all the grievances under which India labours, that the first remedy was education—that the second remedy was education—and that the third remedy was education. But, to come round to the point, I have read the proclamation of her majesty with great pleasure—with awakened feelings—with tears when I came to the last paragraph. A nobler production it has not been my lot ever to have met with in my life. The justest, the broadest principles are enumerated therein. Humanity, mercy, justice, breathe through every line; and we ought all to welcome it with the highest hope and the liveliest gratitude. Depend upon it, when our sovereign Queen tells us—'In your prosperity is our strength, in your contentment our security, and in your gratitude our best reward,' the future of India is full of encouragement and hope to her children. What could have been nobler or more beautiful? what could have better dignified even the tongue of a Queen, than language such as that? Let us kneel down before her with every feeling of loyalty; let us welcome the new reign with the warmest sentiment of gratitude—the deepest feeling of devotion."

As a fair sample of the spirit with which the language of the proclamation was received both by the native races and the European community, the following extracts from the Indian journals of the day may also be cited:—

The *Bombay Standard* observed—"The act which simultaneously at Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, and Lahore, established the direct rule of England over India, has no parallel in the history of the world, either in the magnitude of the interests affected by it, or in the nature of the change which it inaugurates. Nor is it strange that this should be so. It is part of the history of England—a history which itself has no parallel.

"In the proclamation no new professions are made; but professions that have been made and can be maintained, are guaranteed by a higher and more competent authority than has before been invoked. Every topic noticed has already been, at one time or another, under the consideration of those hitherto in charge of the government of this country. Every principle laid down in it has been more or less acted on; and there is nothing in the promises that any man, who would blush to own himself unjust, could deny to be necessary conditions of empire.

"This feature in the proclamation can only make it uninteresting or unimportant to superficial observers of passing events. In proportion as all reforms are sound, as all revolutions are marks of development, and not symptoms of decay, so the changes involved are returns to first principles, and not the adoption of a theory. Revolutions and reforms that have not been of this character, but have been intended as openings into the royal roads to national prosperity, have failed in effecting anything besides destruction. Constructive revolutions have invariably had for their prominent characteristic that which we point to in her majesty's assumption of direct authority over the natives of India.

"As for the matter, the proclamation is one of the greatest documents that has appeared in the history of this country. It is weighty, yet simple in style; suited to the solemnity of the occasion, without any of the inflation which too frequently characterises such documents. It conveys the principles on which the future policy of the nation is to be based, the mode of procedure to be taken with reference to present and recent events, and includes retrospective provisions of such comprehensiveness and exactness, as leave nothing in the history of the past that can compromise or cause embarrassment in the future.

"Englishmen will see a further cause for congratulation in the changed aspect of Indian politics, and one most particularly gratifying to their love of candour and truthfulness. We shall have no Venetian veiling of real power under affected titles of humility; and in this respect much odious cant will be directly done away with. Indirectly, also, the same result will follow. And the appeal to motives of philanthropy and general benevolence which have so often disguised the threat or excused the interference of conscious power will, we hope, be as seldom met with in India as in the rest of her majesty's wide dominions.

"We have seen the last, we hope, of the governors-general. The necessity which in Ireland has ceased, is in India commencing. What was a living reality in Ireland once, but now appears a solemn sham, is in this country inducted into what we may hope to prove a longer lease and a brighter existence. The obvious motives of policy which have dictated the adoption of the title of viceroy, we need not dwell on. Let us hope that the new dignity will be filled by men worthy of the name, and looked up to by the natives of India with reverence, little short of that which we profess to entertain ourselves—more especially as the last thing has been done which remained to place the Indian-born subjects of her majesty on the same footing with their fellows in other parts of the world—that is, under an officer holding his power direct from the crown.

"If we apprehend rightly the meaning of the pro-

clamation, the promises it conveys of internal and civil reforms will have, in their performance, the greatest influence on the future destinies of this country. We cannot but see in the words her majesty is made to use, a solution, an effectual solution, of the difficulty adverted to by Lord Stanley in his last speech—namely, the difficulty of administering from a constitutional country the government of a despotism. In our apprehension, her majesty's declaration that the obligations which bind her to all her other subjects shall be fulfilled faithfully and conscientiously with regard to the natives of her Indian territories, seem to imply, at the very least, the grant of such a constitution as those other subjects, all and each, are in the present enjoyment of, or would consent to live under. If this be true, no one thing can possibly have more interest for every one here, European as well as native. This promise must be viewed as distinct from what has before been laid down as a rule, and is now specially guaranteed—namely, that all her majesty's subjects, of whatever caste and creed, be admitted to our service. We do not wish to imply that a copy of the British constitution will be given to this country; but we confidently expect that those rights shall be secured to the intelligent and educated of its inhabitants, which all we have been taught of the political principles which have been from the days of Hampden the boast of England, tells us is the right of every reasonable being.

"Recent events in India give a special meaning to passages in the proclamation which would otherwise be as general in their character as those we have been discussing. Thus, men of all religions are assured of perfect toleration—of toleration which not only forbids active annoyance and disquiet, but even partial favour. The officers of government are anew enjoined to refrain from all interference, not merely with the worship of her majesty's subjects—that is, in the sense in which such injunctions have been hitherto accepted; but also with the religious belief—a prohibition which will effectually shut out any occurrences such as that which on the parade-ground of Barrackpore ushered in the mutiny. A further provision is made of a like nature in making fitness for employment to consist neither in creed nor in colour, but in moral reliability and in educated aptness."

The *Friend of India* observed—"On the 1st of November, the royal proclamation was made from the steps of government-house, Calcutta. As a state paper, it is not unworthy either of the occasion or of the dignity of the sovereign, who in it addresses as her subjects a fifth of the human race. The official recognition of Christianity as the religion of the ruler will terminate many discussions, while the act of mercy is a graceful commencement of a new *régime*. We perceive with pleasure that it is so extensive. India is sick of slaughter; and the general pardon, accepted or refused, at least releases her from the opprobrium of blood. The revolution in the government of India is one, the vastness of which only the next generation will appreciate. It is the principle of our government, not its external form, which has been changed; and to the mass of men, a new principle is as imperceptible as the soul. It is none the less all important; none the less capable of moulding slowly every manifestation of external life. India has become part of the British dominions; this is all that has happened; but this is not the insignificant all that the enemies of English-men would have them believe. Nothing was changed, save a name, when the convention announced the abdication of James II. The monarchy was untouched. The prerogative remained unimpaired. The law remained unmodified. Even the royal house was unchanged; but from that day the national life of England took a new development. A new principle had been introduced, and the consequence was, the difference between the England of the Stuarts and the England of Victoria. India has also changed a name; and a century hence, men will date the history of progress from the proclamation of the Queen.

"The duty of our statesmen is now clear. It is to remodel our institutions, till they accord with that English spirit which must mould them in the end, and, while organising that physical strength without which freedom is anarchy, and civilisation only a lure to the plunderer, to prove by their acts that they are competent to *lead* the millions, over whom their sovereign has now for the first time claimed her right to *rule*."

The *Calcutta Phœnix*, among other remarks of a eulogistic character, observed—"For the future we need fear no general conspiracy of the princes of India against our rule. They will feel that their dominions are safe, and that their best guarantee will be the friendship of the paramount government—a protecting, not an absorbing, government.

"The avowal as to liberty of conscience, also cannot fail to be highly gratifying to the natives at large. Such an avowal, promising that creed shall entail no political or social disqualification, was imperatively needed. With or without foundation, the notion had got abroad among the masses that governmental interference with their creeds was intended. Such an idea was extensively entertained, and believed; and further, was made capital of by traitors. There are probably large numbers of natives whom it would be impossible to induce to free their minds of such a preposterous notion. Still the proclamation will set the fears of such men at rest. The credit of the Indian government has not sunk so low that its solemn assurance will not receive credence from its subjects.

"We are glad that the proclamation wound up with the conditional and restricted amnesty it did. We are inclined to hope that such an announcement will not be found entirely unfruitful of good results. There can be no quarter, or hope of pardon, offered to the cowardly murderers of our countrymen and countrywomen; but, at the same time, it should not be forgotten that there are thousands of men in arms against us in Oude who believe that they have drawn, and are wielding, their swords in an honest cause. For these men some honourable road of retreat should be opened; and we are free to confess that we regard the terms offered by the proclamation as affording such, and as going to the fullest extent which the British government could have gone."

As by the decision of the imperial legislature, and the surrender by the East India Company of its territorial and political rights, that Company, so far as the actual government of India was concerned, had become defunct—the present chapter may fitly close with the record of one of its last and most graceful acts, which was

communicated to the governor-general by a despatch from England, on the 1st of September, 1858; and, on the 5th of November, was promulgated by Lord Canning in the following public notification from Allahabad:—

"Nov. 5.—The right honourable the governor-general directs the publication of the subjoined despatch from the Hon. the Court of Directors, and of a resolution passed by a General Court of the East India Company, on the 30th of August last.

"'Public Department, No. 147, of 1858.

"'Our Governor-general of India in Council.

"'We have the satisfaction of transmitting to you, for promulgation in such manner as you may consider suitable, the copy of a resolution unanimously passed by the General Court of the East India Company, held on the 30th ultimo, expressing the thanks of the Court to the servants and officers of the Company 'of every rank, and in every capacity.'—We are, &c.,

"'(Signed) F. CURRIE—W. J. EASTWICK.

"'London, 1st September, 1858.

"'Countersigned, in accordance with 16 and 17 Vict., cap. 85, sec. 2.

"'J. D. DICKINSON, Secretary.'

Extract Minutes of a Special General Court of the East India Company, held at their House in Leadenhall Street, on Monday, the 30th of August, 1858.

"'A proprietor, adverting to the fact of this being the last occasion of the meeting of the General Court before the severance of the connection of the East India Company with the government of India, and moving the Court, it was—

"'Resolved unanimously,—That the East India Company, on surrendering, at the bidding of parliament, those powers connected with the government of the British territories in India, which it has long exercised as trustee for the crown, desires to return its warmest thanks to its servants and officers of every rank, and in every capacity, for the fidelity, zeal, and efficiency with which they have performed their several duties, and offers to them its best wishes for their future prosperity.

"'To those who are natives of India, the East India Company has the satisfaction of being able to give the fullest assurance, that in her majesty Queen Victoria they will find a most gracious mistress, not unmindful of their past services under that authority which has hitherto had the honour of representing British sovereignty in India, and ever ready to reward loyalty to the British crown.

"'The East India Company is convinced that the members of the home department of the Company's government will maintain the high reputation which that department now enjoys, and will continue, when enrolled in the direct service of the crown, to command the esteem and confidence of their official chiefs and of the public.

"'Of its fellow-countrymen employed in India, under the Company's government, whether as civilians or soldiers, of those especially whose duty has recently subjected them to trials of unexampled severity, and who have done their duty so admirably as to win for them the praise and sympathy of their sovereign and their country, the East India Company is proud to say, that their past conduct affords the strongest security, that the crown will possess no servants abler, none more devoted, than those who have been trained by the Company; and without in any manner arrogating to itself what is due to men, some of whose names are honoured in every region of the civilised world, the East India Company trusts that in the page of impartial history, it may be recorded as having presented, in the career which it has opened both to the members of its own civil and military services, and to the gallant troops of her majesty and her royal predecessors, a field for the exercise of the highest qualities of the statesman and the soldier.

"'In the humble hope that the Company's rule will prove to have been, in the hand of Divine Providence, an instrument of good, and even of the highest good to India, the East India Company earnestly prays, that it may please Almighty God to bless the Queen's Indian reign by the speedy restoration of peace, security, and order, and so to prosper her majesty's efforts for the welfare of her East Indian subjects, that the millions who will henceforth be placed under her majesty's direct, as well as sovereign dominion, constantly advancing in all that makes men and nations great, flourishing, and happy, may reward her majesty's cares in their behalf by their faithful and firm attachment to her majesty's person and government.'

"The right honourable the governor-general, speaking not only for the government of India, but for all of every class who have acted under that government, desires to record an assurance of the respectful thankfulness with which these parting words of good-will and approval will be received by the vast community of the Indian civil and military services.

"The governor-general is satisfied that, amongst all, there is but one common feeling of acknowledgment of the just, considerate, and liberal treatment which has ever characterised the great Company which has now ceased to govern the British territories in India.

"G. F. EDMONSTONE,

"Secretary to the Government of India."

And so, with this grateful recognition of faithful service, terminated the all but imperial rule which, during nearly two centuries, the "Company of Merchant Adventurers trading to the East Indies," had progressively acquired over princes, and people, and territories, once subject only to the most powerful and magnificent of the dynasties of the Eastern world.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE CAMPAIGN IN OUDE; DEPARTURE OF LORD CLYDE FROM ALLAHABAD; SUBMISSION OF THE RAJAH OF AMATHIE; CAPTURE OF RAMPORE BY COLONEL WEATHERAL; SHUNKERPORE INVESTED; SUMMONS TO BAINIE MADHOO; HIS FORT ABANDONED; FLIGHT AND PURSUIT OF THE GARRISON; ROY BAREILLY; THE BATTLE AT DHOONDIA KERA; MARCH TO LUCKNOW; PROCLAMATION OF THE BEGUM; PURSUIT OF TANTIA TOPEE; PROCLAMATIONS OF RAO SAHIB; PURSUIT AND DEFEAT OF FEROZE SHAH; MURDER OF CAPTAIN HARE AT ELLICHPORE; INSURRECTIONARY OUTBREAK IN BURMAH; PROGRESS OF THE CAMPAIGN.

The illuminations by which the inhabitants of the city of Allahabad had testified their satisfaction at the auspicious commencement of her majesty's direct rule over India, had not yet paled before the advancing light of the morning of the 2nd of November, when Lord Clyde left the glittering throng that surrounded the representative of the sovereign, then holding high state in the viceregal palace; and bidding a soldier's farewell to the scene of rejoicing, departed to resume operations for effecting the final suppression of revolt throughout the provinces of Oude.

The campaign in that much-troubled country commenced under the most favourable prospects, and certainly under peculiar circumstances. Although partial operations had never entirely ceased even during the hot-weather months, a well-conceived plan had been quietly matured, for rendering protracted resistance on the part of the rebels difficult and dangerous. That plan, it appears, consisted in placing lines of brigades, or strong detachments, perpendicularly to the course of the Ganges, and extending as far as possible from strategic points on the left bank of that river, towards the western slope of the Himalayas. Thus, from Futteghur to Mohumdee extended one line of brigades and detachments; from Cawnpore to Lucknow stretched another; from Suraon, opposite Allahabad, to Fyzabad, lay a third; whilst from Juanpore, Azimgurh, and Goruckpore, was placed a fourth. At the same time, the right bank of the Ganges, from Futteghur to the Sohne, was properly guarded to prevent the passage of the river, whether into the Doab or Behar. By means of these military lines, the rebels were confined to particular districts, deprived of the means of concentration, and reduced to a position in which they were more likely to be acted upon by the peculiar policy intended to be pursued towards them, and more likely to submit to the terms of peace, as offered by her majesty's proclamation. Acting in the intervals enclosed by the military lines, were movable brigades of troops, whose duty it would be to occupy important positions into which the enemy might, if hard pressed, ultimately throw themselves in force. These combinations were peculiarly well adapted to produce the object in view; and their success was the more likely to be complete, from the evident difficulty under which the rebels laboured to unite in any concerted movement; for it was characteristic of the struggle, that, whether from the difficulty of obtaining money and provisions for large bodies of men in concentrated positions, or the jealousy which characterised the leaders, the insurgent forces lay scattered throughout the country, without a supreme head, or any bond of union; and it was hoped, from this state of things, that when the campaign really commenced in earnest, many of the great chiefs would be anxious to end the contest by availing themselves of the amnesty.

The principal force of the insurgents lying in the fertile plain confined between the Cawnpore and Lucknow road and the right bank of the Gogra, it was against this portion of the country that the commander-in-chief turned his principal efforts, and determined to lead in person.

The moment for active service in the field had at length arrived; and precisely at two o'clock of the morning of the 2nd of November, 1858, the commander-in-chief, accompanied by his chief of the staff (General Mansfield), and attended by Colonel Medcalfe, Colonel Macpherson, Major Turner, Major Crealock, Captain Alison, and Captain Dormer, left his quarters, and proceeded to the bridge of boats across the Ganges at Papamhow, about five miles from the city, where an escort of carabiniers was waiting to receive him. The bridge, which is wide and well constructed, is several hundred yards in length; and was

lighted up on this occasion by a number of rude lamps, which threw a fitful glare over the dark and rapid waters of the Ganges. Not a sound broke the silence of the passage, except that of the gurgling waters, as they struggled against the floating barrier that impeded their progress, and rushed away in angry foam from the contest—occasionally mingled with the challenges of the sentries, and the dull, heavy tramp of the mounted escort. In a few moments the whole party had crossed into the hostile province; and, breaking into a smart gallop, rode through clouds of dust across the sandy plains towards Suraon, which place they reached as the sun was rising. Here the escort was changed, and a party of the Lahore light cavalry took the place of the carabiniers, continuing the march at a rapid pace towards the camp—on the road to which, the *cortège* passed several bodies of Oude police and Punjabees, and observed that, in the fields by the sides of the route, all the usual labours of husbandry were being carried on; and that in the villages passed through, which appeared to be full of inhabitants, there was nothing to indicate the existence of a war that had carried destruction through vast districts of the country. After some distance had been accomplished, the Lahore escort was relieved by a squadron of carabiniers, commanded by Captain Betty. A hasty breakfast, during a momentary halt, was partaken, and they again galloped onwards until about nine o'clock, when the videttes reported the outline of the British camp in the distance; and in an hour from that time, the commander-in-chief reached the tent prepared for him at Beylah, a village three miles beyond Pertabghur, and about forty from Allahabad.

Immediately after his arrival at the camp, Lord Clyde issued the following proclamation to the inhabitants of Oude:—

"October 26th.

"The commander-in-chief proclaims to the people of Oude that, under the orders of the right hon. the governor-general, he comes to enforce the law.

"To enable him to effect this without damage to life and property, resistance must cease on the part of the people.

"The most exact discipline will be preserved in the camps and on the march; and, when there is no resistance, houses and crops will be spared, and no plundering allowed in the towns and villages.

"But wherever there is resistance, or even a single shot fired against the troops, the inhabitants must expect to incur the fate they have brought upon themselves.

"Their houses will be burnt, and their villages plundered.

"This proclamation includes all ranks of the people, from the talookdars to the poorest ryots.

"The commander-in-chief invites all the well-disposed to remain in their towns and villages, where they will be sure of his protection against all violence.—CLYDE."

The force of which Lord Clyde took the direct command upon his arrival at Beylah, consisted only of 3,000 men of all arms, composed as follows:—Head-quarters of No. 3 field battery royal artillery, two guns, 63 officers and men; 23rd company royal engineers; head-quarters carabiniers, 217 officers and men; H.M.'s 54th regiment, 501 rank and file; a wing of the 5th fusiliers, 247 rank and file; native artillery, 65; engineers, 78; cavalry, 724; and infantry, 1,130—giving, altogether, a total of 2,778. There were also at Deolie, an outpost with two guns, 68 men of H.M.'s 54th, 28 Pathan horse, and 245 Oude police infantry; and at Leowlie, also an outpost with two guns, there were 50 Pathan horse, 51 of the 54th regiment, and 208 of the 1st Sikh infantry; having with them, also, two heavy guns, and some mortars and colours. A column, under Brigadier Weatheral, at Rampore Russea, was of about the strength of the force at Leowlie; but the one advancing, under Sir Hope Grant, from Sultanpore, was somewhat stronger: and the whole of the force in Oude, when united under Lord Clyde at the opening of the campaign, numbered 11,071 British soldiers, and 9,267 native troops of various descriptions.

In order to enable the columns of Grant and Weatheral to close up, it became necessary to halt for a few days at Beylah; and the delay was also expedient, as affording time to test the effect of the Oude proclamation, which had been scattered over the country by order of the chief commissioner at Lucknow.

On the day following the arrival of the commander-in-chief at the camp, instructions were issued for the guidance of the columns on their march towards Amathie and Rampore, and for the due observance of the amnesty. The principal chief in opposition to the government in this part of Oude, was the Rajah Lall Madho Sing, of Amathie—a Rajpoot of ancient family and large possessions, who had been driven into a state of hostility by the extraordinary conduct pursued towards him by the British authorities. Shortly after the

"annexation" of Oude, followed by what was termed the "re-settlement," a very large portion of the territory of this rajah had been taken from him, and given to a favoured claimant—an act of oppression which naturally excited the ire of the individual wronged. His prejudices had, until then, been with the English; and although he felt aggrieved, still, when the sepoy mutiny broke out, he received and sheltered some English fugitives from Salon, and afterwards forwarded them in safety to Allahabad; but at the very time he was thus manifesting his good feeling towards the government, the latter, upon the misrepresentation of some of its servants, and without calling for any proof of their allegations, took for granted that he was a rebel, and forthwith sequestrated several lacs of rupees which he had at Benares. Against this injustice he protested, and demanded redress; but the only notice taken of his application was, a summons to come in and surrender himself—thus adding insult to the injury already inflicted; and it was therefore but natural he should now have assumed an offensive attitude. As time wore on, information in better accordance with the facts of the case, came before the governor-general, who, taking the whole circumstances into consideration, authorised Major Barrow, the political agent and special commissioner at the head-quarters' camp, to offer terms, which, by a strange perversion of the sense, were called "liberal and conciliatory," to the offended rajah; who was consequently informed, that if he presented himself and made his submission, either to the chief commissioner or to the commander-in-chief, the government would guarantee him his estates to the full extent they were at the period of annexation; the only conditions being, that his fort must be surrendered, his guns given up, and his followers disarmed. With this intimation of what was required from him, copies of the proclamation and amnesty were also forwarded to the rajah, that their contents might be made known to his followers; and a time was limited within which his submission would be accepted.

Early in the morning of the 5th of November, the vakeel of the rajah came into the English camp with a letter addressed to Major Barrow, in reply to the above-mentioned message. The rajah expressed his delight at the royal proclamation, and his readiness to submit, provided only that his estates were guaranteed to him, and his religion and honour respected. To the demand for the destruction of his fort, and the disarmament of his followers and surrender of their arms, he rejoined, that his fort had been used to protect Christian men, women, and children, when in danger; and that his arms, which were very few, had been used for the same purpose. He expressed his gratification at the advent of the Queen's rule, and his readiness to obey her; but that he could not submit to relinquish his fort and arms; and he feelingly alluded to the conduct he had hitherto experienced, and to the seizure of his property at Benares, and complained that he had been contemptuously refused any redress or explanation of the matter. Along with this letter to the chief commissioner, there came also one in the form of a petition to the governor-general of India. The rajah had heard that the Lord Sahib had arrived in camp, and imagined that the governor-general himself had crossed into Oude. In the petition, he declared that he had heard of his excellency's arrival with unfeigned pleasure, and that his mind was more at ease in consequence; and he prayed that the governor-general would direct that his fort, his army, his religion, and his honour might be protected. To this, in reply, he was informed, that the terms offered would be adhered to, and that no concession whatever would be made from their requirements. A further time was allowed for consideration; at the end of which, if necessary, his fort would be taken by force, and the terms of the first proposition would be narrowed to death itself. Major Barrow, at the same time, explained to the vakeel the intentions of the government, and sent him back to the rajah.

During the evening of the 7th, the messenger of the rajah again arrived at the camp, with a letter repeating the substance of his appeal to Major Barrow, but now addressed to the commander-in-chief. Before it arrived, however, some heavy guns, escorted by infantry and cavalry, were on their way towards Leowlie, ten miles on the way to Amathie; and a subahdar, who had been sent as a spy to the latter place, reported that there were not more than 3,000 men in it, but that the rajah was evidently determined to defend himself, unless his guns and fort were preserved—or, in other words, "his honour" guaranteed to him. As the *ultimatum* of the commander-in-chief

had already gone in, he determined upon taking no notice of this application, nor would he favour the vakeel of the Rajah Lall Madho Sing with an audience.

At dawn on the morning of the 8th, the columns commenced their march from Beylah toward Amathie, and halted at Dehmah, about twelve miles on the way, when the force encamped. During the evening, messengers came in with more letters from the fort, but they were returned unopened. The march was resumed the following morning at five o'clock; and, by 11 A.M., the troops had reached a plain, which bounded the eastern angle and face of the rajah's position. Here they halted, and pitched their tents within a couple of miles of the fort, the jungle round which could be seen distinctly from a knoll in front of the camp, with a portion of some of the buildings within the walls. About half-past twelve the sound of a heavy gun from the fort, followed immediately by a second, put all upon the *qui vive*, and the excitement was increased by repetitions of the report in quick succession. At this moment Sir Hope Grant, with a small escort, rode into camp to report the arrival of his column to the commander-in-chief, and it was then learnt that the guns heard had been fired upon him as he crossed the plain from his camp. The gallant officer having approached the fort merely to look at it, two guns were opened upon his escort, at 500 yards' distance, which caused them to retreat somewhat precipitately from the dangerous locality. Another letter also arrived from the rajah, who now asked for an indemnity, and for guarantees that the promises made to him should be performed. The reply to this was decisive:—"If the rajah did not come into camp, and make his submission before ten o'clock on the following morning, the British columns would assault the place." Again the vakeel came to Major Barrow, bringing with him a letter, of which the following is a translation:—

Rajah Lall Madho Sing, of Amathie, to Major Barrow.

November 9th.

After compliments,—"My vakeel had not come in when the cavalry of the Atiha division neared my fort, and were fired on by the sepoys. When my vakeel returned, I then learnt that you would, at a distance, wait my reply to your proposals, and for this reason you had encamped one koss from the fort. But the cavalry of the division had caused the sepoys to fire on them by advancing so close to the fort. As I have no wish to encounter the troops of the government, I therefore beg for some pledge from government that I may appear and remove myself to some other British town. The government can do as they please with the fort and cannon."—(Sealed and signed by the Rajah.)

By 1 P.M. of the 9th of November, the three British columns, under Lord Clyde, Sir Hope Grant, and Brigadier Weatheral, respectively, had joined, and pitched their tents on each accessible face of the defences of the fort; and the effect of the demonstration was such, that the rajah, hopeless of maintaining a struggle with the force opposed to him, left the fort, unattended, in the course of the night, and repaired to a village in the immediate neighbourhood, where he awaited a reply to the above letter. Such was the feeling of his people at the treatment he received, that he dared not venture to apprise them of the terms of the negotiation, nor of the proclamation or amnesty.

Major Barrow, who had been informed of his movement, now arranged with the rajah that he should surrender himself before eleven o'clock on the 10th; and on that morning, accompanied by the military secretary to the commander-in-chief, he rode out to the village appointed for the rendezvous, situated about a mile in front of the camp; where the rajah, with two attendants, was waiting on horseback to receive him. The personal appearance of Lall Madho Sing, and his reception at the camp, is thus described:—"He is a square-built, powerfully-moulded man, rather below the middle height. His features are regular, his eyes full and intelligent; his black hair falls in loose locks over his shoulders, from beneath the folds of his turban; and the jet of his bushy moustache, beard, and whiskers, is not streaked by a single gray hair." As he approached the camp, in company with the British commander, the officer of one of the pickets, seeing a small body of horsemen advancing towards his post, mounted his dragoons, and rode to meet them; at which the rajah showed some signs of uneasiness; but the matter was at once explained. Soon, however, the rajah had cause for greater uneasiness. Three vultures, which were gorging themselves with offal in his path, rose with a heavy flapping from the ground. The rajah's horse, a remarkably fine animal, shied violently and fell, throwing his rider to the ground with considerable force, so that the party were obliged to continue their journey to the camp on foot. An occurrence of this kind was calculated to produce the very

deepest impression on the mind of a man, like all Rajpoots, exceedingly superstitious, and a firm believer in all signs and tokens; and his demeanour became very subdued and sullen. His arrival in the camp was not very dignified. The soldiers of one of the English regiments turned out of their tents to look at him; and many of the men, in full undress, followed him into head-quarters' camp; and the camp-followers, syces, grass-cutters, and peons, idling about, swelled the crowd, which thronged the end of the main street of the camp till it was dispersed by the sentries. The rajah, wearing his shoes, entered, with Major Barrow, inside his tent, and then the diplomatic and civil portion of the proceedings commenced. He stated that he had inside his fort 1,500 sepoys of the 15th native infantry and other regiments, and 2,500 of his own followers. These men were all in perfect ignorance of the Queen's proclamation and of the amnesty, as he said he did not dare to acquaint them with the contents of those documents, nor had he given them the least hint of the negotiations with government. In fact, he had left the fort by stealth, and had concealed his surrender from his garrison. So far, therefore, it was impossible to know what course this force would adopt; but the rajah was of opinion that his adherents were strong enough to compel any dissentients to obey his orders; and he declared that he had no doubt he could hand us over the fort, the guns, and the arms of his followers. His vakeel, or minister, was then dispatched to make known to the garrison the fact of the rajah's submission, and the surrender by him of his fort and *matériel* of war. After a long interview, the rajah was taken by Major Barrow to Lord Clyde, who received him in his dinner tent, in the presence of the chief of his staff and one or two officers. The commander-in-chief was rather disappointed when he heard of the real state of the case. The rajah, indeed, had surrendered, and, so far, had complied with the terms granted to him; but his fort was still in the hands of those who might turn out to be dangerous; and some of whom were certainly guilty sepoys, whose escape it was most desirable to prevent. Besides, they might be making use of this time to drag away the guns, and to desert through the dense jungles which enclosed one side of the fort. Still, matters could not be precipitated by attacking the place before the rajah had tested his authority. A promise had been given not to close in upon Amathie for the day, so that a considerable time would be afforded to the sepoys to take to flight, which, indeed, could not be prevented under any circumstances, as the force was not sufficient to surround the place, one side of which melted, as it were, into a formidable swampy jungle, extending many miles towards the south-west, through which were paths known only to a few natives. When the visit to Lord Clyde was over, the rajah again went to Major Barrow, and messengers were dispatched to the fort with directions for its surrender; but Lall Madho remained in the neighbourhood of the camp with one of his friends, not daring to show himself among his followers.

The messengers dispatched to the fort were not suffered to enter; and as no communication was received from the people there, orders were at length given for the advance of the troops on the following morning; and accordingly, at daybreak on the 11th, the troops of the three columns were paraded, awaiting the order to march. Hour after hour passed away in impatience, the troops standing to their arms; officers, booted and spurred, walking up and down the streets of the camp, asking for news in vain, for news there was none; each man enforcing the reasons why he thought the enemy would fight or would not fight, as the case might be; Major Barrow still confident "it would all be right," other politicals equally positive "it would all be wrong;" and the military and some civilians convinced that it was a mistake to have anything to do with politicals in such matters at all. The rajah's messengers were in the fort, but still no news came from them. The rajah himself was in camp with Major Barrow, but could say nothing, except that he knew nothing. What the sepoys would do he knew not; but he was of opinion they would not fight. At last it was announced, that if the rajah's servants did not return by nine o'clock, the assault would be commenced. Long, however, before that hour arrived—perhaps by half-past seven or so—a Sikh trooper rode into camp with intelligence that the place was evacuated, and that not a soul was to be found within the walls of Amathie but some old men and servants. Orders were then issued for the occupation of the fort; and a party of the 54th regiment, with a troop of the 6th dragoon guards, preceded by a guide and the vakeel

of the rajah, set out from the camp before nine o'clock, for the purpose. The distance from the camp was not more than two miles and a-half; and the place on near approach, and the operations subsequently connected with it and its owner, were thus described by the flying pen of the *Times*' correspondent:—"Having marched a mile or so, the trace of an earthen bank became visible in our front and on our left; but the gaps in the low jungle before it, and in the trees which covered it, only permitted occasional glimpses of the outer works of Amathie. Above the trees, the high walls of a flat-roofed house shone brightly in the sun, and the cupola of a small temple was visible in another direction inside the fort. With the exception of a red flag waving above the trees, and the bare patches of earthen parapet, nothing else could be seen. As we jogged on, however, and inclined more to the right, making a sweep to avoid some marshy ground, two bastions of considerable command, artfully constructed among the trees which grew out of the parapet of the outer defences, could be discerned; and, on getting nearer, it could be ascertained that there were embrasures in the rampart itself, nearly flush with the level of the plain. As this was the first of those famous jungle fortresses we had seen, its outward aspect was examined with eager interest. I confess my impression was, that there was very little to see. The parapet in front of us did not rise more than four feet, at the outside, above the level of the ground; beyond it there was nothing but stunted bushes; and it was very difficult to make out the actual line of the defences at all—only three bastions, or elevated earthen platforms, with embrasures, being discoverable along the front. As we got nearer, there was nothing more to be seen. We passed a deserted village, which had been plundered by the followers of the rajah (so it was said); and then, taking a half turn to the left, advanced directly towards the fort. It is not more than two miles and a-half from the front of our camp. When we had come within about 150 yards of the principal bastion, we perceived that at its base was a pond, or piece of dirty water, about thirty yards across at its broadest, and, on our left, narrowing into the dimensions of a ditch. On our right, where it narrowed in the same way, a ramp of earth crossed it to the top of the ramparts. A flimsy gateway of rough wood guarded the passage of the ramp, which was about six yards broad, and as many long. The top of the rampart was about the same breadth. We now observed that there was a very deep ditch, in places filled with water, between the rampart and the plain; in fact, a regular ditch, with scarp and counterscarp. It varied in depth from fifteen to twenty-five feet, and seemed to be about twenty feet wide at the top. At the inner face of the rampart (which was formed by the earth thrown up to make the ditch), there was nothing visible but jungle. This inner face was about five feet deep to the *terreplein*, and there was a regular *banquette* for musketry. A space of ten or twelve feet had been cleared away between the base of the rampart and the jungle, in which, shaded by the overhanging trees, lay the bedsteads of the sepoys who had recently garrisoned the place. Their cooking places had recently been used. Some articles of their clothing still lay on the ground; and in one place their chupatties, or wheaten cakes, remained half-baked by the open hearth. Turning along the rampart to the left, the top led us to a gateway in a strong mud wall pierced for musketry, near which rose the bastion, one side of which swept the ramp and the top of the rampart for a couple of hundred yards with its fire. There were no guns to be seen in the embrasures. Sentries were placed on the gate, with orders to let no one out; and a party of the 54th marched into the fort; while the carabiniers were ordered to keep watch and ward outside the exterior wicket. Dismounting, the party of officers proceeded to walk round the rampart towards their right, placing sentries as they advanced. The line of rampart was very irregular; there was no flanking fire whatever. The principal damage to be feared would be from the fire of musketry on assailants at the other side of the ditch, whose heads would be about on a level with the heads of the defenders of the rampart as they aimed through their loopholes. The batteries, such as they were, consisted of small mud works a few feet inside the rampart, and just high enough to carry the fire from the embrasures over it. From these, very narrow paths led through the jungle. The first battery we came on contained a very feeble cohorn mortar in an early stage of infancy, mounted on a primitive and very imbecile carriage. This piece of ordnance did not exceed, I should say, two inches in

diameter; close to it was an old iron 9-pounder, the trail secured with rope. It had been recently discharged, and was, no doubt, the gun from which the sepoys had fired six or seven round shot on Sir Hope Grant's *reconnaissance* two days before, for the cheeks of the embrasure were all blackened with powder. We continued our promenade on the top of the low rampart—the ditch and the open country on our right, the interior of the fort and the jungle on our left—till it struck us that it was rather a foolish thing to leave our horses outside such a fine sunshiny day; and that we might as well have rode. Now and then we came upon zigzags cut in the jungle with great labour, trenches intended for rifle-pits, and wells. At last a small bastion seemed to close up our researches, and we were glad to climb up through the embrasure, where an 8-inch short brass howitzer, laden to the muzzle, and with fresh priming laid, was waiting to receive us. But there was no one to fire it. Descending into the battery by means of the gun, we took a path which led through the jungle, preceded by our guide, and made towards the inner lines of the fort. The jungle was silent and savage as need be. If one of those brutal little bushes but caught a hold of you, how he tore, and scratched, and bled you! We walked on, and on, and on, winding here and there through the walls of sharp verdure—leaves of broken bottles and stems of fish-hooks—till at last we came to a high mud wall, with a battery sweeping the flank of a zigzag approach to a large gateway of wood. The guide knocked and shouted; so did the vakeel. Some one approached from inside; the wicket was thrown open, and in we marched to the inner fort of Amathie. But with the exception of the defences I have mentioned, and the natural strength of the jungle, there was really and truly nothing to give one the idea that an assault of infantry, provided with ladders to cross the ditch, and covered by artillery fire, would not carry the place in ten minutes. The wall round this part of the place was very bad—only one weak bastion was visible. Inside it lay the village or dependencies of Amathie; the palace itself, surrounded by another mud wall, being close at hand before us. The houses of the village were of the usual Indian type—rather worse, perhaps, than usual. The guide pointed out to us a large building with the ground story open and raised on pillars, which was, he said, the mansion provided by the rajah for strangers. There were some fine bullocks wandering about, looking uneasily for their gun carriages, no doubt. Others were in large cow-yards on our right. Two grayhounds, hearing our voices, leaped out and bayed at us; but presently the clink of sword and spur brought out a few men—the rajah's retainers—to watch the unwelcome intruders. They were sullen, sulky, gloomy, and uncommunicative; and the presence of their master's vakeel scarcely made them respectful. Colonel Harness and most of the party halted to take angles and directions, and indulge in scientific abstractions; while two or three, with less of duty and more curiosity on hand, advanced straight on the gateway of the mud wall around the palace and zenana itself. The sepoy on duty scowled as we entered and passed him. Before us, in one enclosure, about sixty or seventy yards square, stood the rajah's palace, filling one side of the square. On the right was the bare wall; on the left an arched building of brick, not yet finished or cemented; and behind us was the continuation of the bare wall, the gateway, and some storehouses. A tank and well lay in front of us. A kind of dry well served as the chief magazine, but it was empty. The house itself presented a fair *façade*, divided into three parts—the royal fish of Lucknow over the entrance, and fish and cocks ornamenting the battlements. It was covered with white chunam or cement, and shone like marble. In one angle of the court was a child's plaything—a half-pounder brass gun on a carriage; all the arms we saw. Some servants came out, and one led us up by a tall-stepped staircase to the first floor. The divan was plainly carpeted; a large viol or bandoline stood in the corner, and at the end were some cushions. All the valuable furniture had been secreted or removed. The other rooms were plainer still. We mounted to the flat roof and looked out on the jungle, spreading away like a dark green sea, and on the defences of the place. Was this really the fort before which three columns of British soldiers had been assembled for siege and assault? As we were examining the features of the landscape, and determining the localities of our camps, the tramp of men in the courtyard below announced the arrival of our party. The

engineers began to take some angles, and make more observations; the artillery to hunt for stores and munitions of war. Their orders were, 'Break open doors, if locked, and cases—take arms, ammunition, and nothing else.' The doors—for all were locked—soon went merrily; and the arms began to be collected in the open yard in the centre of the house. Tulwars, old flint pistols, two antique fowling-pieces, a few shields, half-a-dozen matchlocks, constituted the arms; but now and then one of our men bowled out a brass shell recently cast and filed—some of eight or nine inches, others of three or four inches diameter. In all parts the artillery continued their search with avidity and care. Boxes of matches for matchlocks were discovered; earthen pitchers filled with bullets; cartridges in no great quantity; and numbers of our Minié and Enfield bullets, which had been flattened and put out of shape from having been fired, and were afterwards picked up by the rebels. While these works were being prosecuted, Lord Clyde, attended by the rajah and Major Barrow, Sir W. Mansfield, and a number of staff officers, rode into the courtyard. His lordship was evidently much displeased. He had heard that only nine guns of all sorts could be found in the fort and works, and he had seen the nature of the latter with his own eyes. The impression was natural that the rajah had been duping him, or was trying to do so. 'Tell the rajah,' exclaimed Lord Clyde with great energy, 'that he *must* produce his guns. Tell him I know he never would have dared to dream of resisting me, aware, as he was, that I had eighty pieces of artillery, if he had not the guns of which we have heard.' Major Barrow explained to the rajah what the chief had said, and sternly accused him of saying that 'which was not.' The rajah seemed uneasy, but affected to believe we had all the guns he ever had. 'Tell him, Major Barrow,' said Lord Clyde, 'that I will keep him prisoner till he produces the guns; I will stand no nonsense.' In fact, the chief had seen that the place could not have stood against us for one hour; and he was naturally irritated at the presumption of the rajah, who had treated his earlier offers with something amounting to insolence. He had a shrewd suspicion, too, that the strict seclusion of the fort all the previous day had been a device to prevent our knowing what was being done inside while the guns were in the course of removal, and he felt that his forbearance had been met with ingratitude and deceit. Major Barrow could, of course, exculpate himself from any charge on that head; but no doubt the general, as generals in India often have had cause to do, chafed against the restraints imposed on him, and felt that the surrender of the walls of Amathie, without guns or garrison, was but a poor conquest for the commander of such an army. Still the civilians might have been deceived. They might have erred when they fixed the number of guns in Amathie at twenty-two, and finally increased them to thirty. As to the sepoys, there could be no mistake. The rajah himself confessed that 1,500 of them, belonging to thirty or forty different regiments of our old native army, had been in his service. They had run, he said, because they could not believe, in a day or two, that we were going to undo all the rope we had twisted in a year. As to his matchlockmen, they were his own villagers, and he promised to make them bring in their matchlocks. Still Lord Clyde was much dissatisfied. He went into the house, and had the rajah called before him; and there, by the mouth of Colonel Metcalfe, head interpreter and commandant of head-quarters, he administered a verbal castigation to the chief, which made the wily Asiatic turn almost pale with fear and anger. Meantime more stores of war had been found in the palace out-offices—thousands of cannon-shot of all sorts and sizes, some shell, and very few arms. The chief offered to show with his own hands where the magazines were, and led Major Barrow and Major Turner to most artfully constructed powder-magazines in the depth of the jungle. While the rajah, on horseback, was defending himself as well as he could against the accusations preferred with too much show of justice against his good faith, his eye caught the figures of our soldiers wandering through his rooms; he heard the crashing of his doors, the creaking of his hinges, the bursting of his storehouses, and saw his shot and shell, hurled by invisible hands, hopping and clinking from cellars and dark rooms out into the open day in his courtyard. A man stepped out with a velvet *cramoisie* saddle and holsters; but the glance of General Mansfield detected the act, and he ordered the soldier to take it back, and leave it where he had found it. No wonder

the Rajpoot, within whose halls no alien had ever set foot, felt bitterly. Externally, however, he showed little emotion; but once, as a pile of firelocks fell with a crash behind him, he gave a little nervous turn on his horse, and I could see he was making great efforts to conquer his feelings of apprehension and indignation. Again he was pressed on the subject of his guns. With the coarseness which characterises Asiatic *finesse*, now and then he overdid his part. He protested, ''pon honour,' he did not know; and then, with sublime impudence, calling for his head man, requested that he would be good enough to try and recollect how many guns were inside the fort. The vakeel said there were nine—the orthodox number. Major Barrow, however, persisted; and Lord Clyde declared he would keep him prisoner until the guns were produced."

At length, after a considerable degree of trouble, the rajah became convinced that he had no alternative but to yield; and, by the evening, between his admissions and the energetic researches of the artillery, sixteen guns were obtained, still leaving fourteen to be accounted for. Having arrived at this result, the commander-in-chief, who was evidently much disgusted with the proceedings of the day, returned to camp; the rajah remaining with Major Barrow as a sort of hostage for the deficient cannon. Orders were at once given to dismantle and destroy the fort and its defences; and its late owner, now completely humiliated, prayed, as a favour of the government, that he might thenceforth be permitted to reside in some city far away from his desecrated estate, which he desired to place in the hands of the government.

In tracing the incidents connected with the episode in the history of the last campaign in Oude, presented by the story of Amathie, we have slightly trespassed upon the chronological order of events, and must now turn back to some spirited operations at Rampore, by the force under Brigadier Weatheral, while on its way to join the commander-in-chief at Beylah. It has been already observed, that upon the arrival of Lord Clyde at the camp, instructions were dispatched to the commanders of the advancing columns (Brigadier Weatheral and Sir Hope Grant), to avoid any unnecessary collision with the enemy until sufficient time had elapsed to show the effect of the proffered amnesty upon them. As it happened, the messenger dispatched to meet Brigadier Weatheral, by some mishap did not reach that officer until the evil intended to be averted had occurred, under the following circumstances.

The column under the orders of the brigadier, consisted of the 1st troop of the royal horse artillery, a company of foot artillery with siege guns, a party of the 79th highlanders, the Belooch battalion, 9th Punjab infantry, and the 1st Sikh cavalry and Delhi pioneers; and immediately in its line of march to join the head-quarters' division, under the commander-in-chief, lay the important position of Rampore, which consisted of a fort surrounded on three sides by a very strong intrenchment, constructed across the neck of a bend of the river Saye. The fortifications consisted of a line of six bastions, connected by curtains, of a total length of 700 yards; behind which was a kind of citadel; the whole being surrounded by a dense jungle, which concealed a village protected by a small mud fort. The approach to the place was difficult, on account of the jungle being thick and swampy; and, in one place, it became necessary to construct a causeway before the troops could advance. The force arrived before the place at 10 A.M. on the 3rd of November, at which time the strength of the enemy consisted of about 4,000 men, most of them sepoys of the late 17th, 28th, and 32nd native infantry, many of them still wearing the uniform of the government, and carrying its arms. Soon after ten o'clock the heavy guns were put in position, and, under cover of their fire, a wing of the 9th Punjab infantry, under Captain Thelwall, advanced towards the works on the face next the river. Here they were received by a heavy fire of grape; but Captain Thelwall, believing he should achieve a great success by a rapid movement, instead of waiting for his supports, gave the word to his Sikhs to charge, and in a minute those hardy soldiers dashed into the intrenchment, through the embrasures, capturing two guns, which they immediately turned against the flying enemy. The sepoys rallied, and seeing that their assailants were but few in number, made a vigorous attempt to drive them out; but two companies of the 79th, with four companies of the Beloochs, came opportunely to the assistance of their comrades, and the attack was repulsed: but the rebe s fought with great bravery, and

disputed the advance inch by inch. A series of hand-to-hand fights ensued; and, in the midst of the struggle, a large mine containing 8,000 lbs. of powder, said to be the principal magazine, blew up, and hurled many of the combatants into the air. Colonel Farquhar, in command of the Belooch battalion, was shot through the knee while bringing up the support, and his leg had to be amputated. The flight continued with unflinching determination on both sides until three o'clock in the afternoon, when the enemy, having made one last and fruitless effort to expel the British troops, gave up the contest, and fled through the jungle, pursued as well as possible by the cavalry. No guns could be sent after them; but in the struggle and flight, the loss of the enemy amounted to 300 men. Upon gaining possession of the fortifications, the captors found seventeen guns and five mortars, most of which were rendered unserviceable; they also discovered a foundry for casting cannon, an establishment for making gun carriages, and a laboratory for gunpowder. The colours of the 52nd native infantry, which had been carried off by the mutinous sepoys, were also captured, and the rebel bearer of them cut down by a Belooch in single combat. The loss on the side of the British force was comparatively trifling; and after dismantling and blowing-up the fortifications, the column pursued its march to join the commander-in-chief at Amathie.

Leaving a garrison in the place last named, Lord Clyde next moved his camp to Kishwapore, on the route to Shunkerpore, the stronghold of Bainie Madhoo (already known to our readers as Beni Madho). Of the position and strength of the enemy the most formidable accounts were current; but it was yet considered possible that the chief might elect to come in under the amnesty, rather than hazard everything by a useless and irritating resistance; and, with a view to ascertain his intentions while the choice was yet open to him, Major Barrow, the political agent at head-quarters, on the 5th of the month (November), addressed to him the following letter from the camp at Oodeypore:—

"The commander-in-chief having received the fullest powers from the governor-general to deal with all insurgents, either by force of arms or treaty, as may seem to his excellency to be right according to the offences and claims to consideration of each individual, sends the proclamation of the Queen of Great Britain to Rana Bainie Madhoo. The rana is informed, that under the terms of that proclamation his life is secured on due submission being made. The governor-general is not disposed to deal harshly; but Bainie Madhoo must recollect that he has long been a rebel in arms, and but very recently attacked her majesty's troops. He must, therefore, make the fullest submissive surrender of his forts and cannon, and come out at the head of his sepoys and armed followers, and with them lay down his arms in presence of her majesty's troops. The sepoys and armed followers will then be allowed to go to their homes without molestation, each of the former receiving a certificate from the commissioner. When complete surrender and submission has been made, Bainie Madhoo will not have cause to distrust the generosity and clemency of the governor-general; and even his claims on account of estates he may consider himself wrongfully deprived of, may be heard; but, in the meantime, before submission is made, and the arms of the rana, his sepoys and followers, publicly laid down, no treating is allowed by the governor-general. The commander-in-chief warns Bainie Madhoo to lose no time. His columns are closing round the rana, and any delay on Bainie Madhoo's part will deprive him of the benefit of the Queen's mercy, and render it impossible for the governor-general to exercise generosity in his behalf. The fate of himself, of his family, and of his followers, is in his own hands."

Early on the 15th the troops encamped at Kishwapore, about three miles from the outer ditch of the jungle of Shunkerpore; but the commander-in-chief was precluded from immediate advance on the place while waiting the reply to the letter referred to. Sufficient time had certainly elapsed for the purpose; but there was a possibility that it had not reached the hands of the party to whom it was addressed; and the instructions of his excellency were most positive, that no attack should be made on any of the forts of Oude until it had been ascertained that the chief who owned each had received a copy of the Queen's proclamation. During the interval, however, the place was well reconnoitred, and found to be much less formidable than had been represented. The camp of the commander-in-chief was pitched at a line nearly parallel to the east side of the jungle, at a distance of nearly three miles; the column of Sir Hope Grant was encamped at an angle to the right flank of the former, at about three miles' distance, and so arranged as to invest the north-eastern face of the fortification, the south side of which was covered by a dense jungle; and, on the west, a column advancing from Simree, under Brigadier Eveleigh, was calculated upon for co-operation in that direction. Strong pickets of cavalry and guns were thrown out from both camps. And thus matters rested until the night of the 15th, when a messenger

arrived from Shunkerpore with the following letter, professedly from a son of Bainie Madhoo:—

"I have received your excellency's purwannah, and with it the proclamation. I beg to say that I was formerly caboolintdar of this ellaga, and am still in possession of the same; and if the government will continue the settlement with me, I will turn out my father, Bainie Madhoo. He is on the part of Birjies Kuddr, but I am loyal to the British government, and I do not wish to be ruined for my father's sake."

This communication, although from the son, was believed to be the composition of Bainie Madhoo himself, who also sent in, by the bearer of it, a letter to the rajah of Tiloi, then with the camp, and who had recommended Bainie Madhoo to make his submission. In the reply of the latter, he took high ground as a faithful subject of the king of Oude, and told the rajah, that one king was all he could serve, and that he had pledged his fealty to Birjies Kuddr, and should not desert him or his cause. The messenger who came in with the letters, and who was also a spy belonging to the English camp, declared that, although from 600 to 1,000 men had deserted from the enemy, there were still 4,000 men and 40 guns within the works. Precautions against surprise were now redoubled: the pickets were warned to be on the alert, as the enemy were said to have upwards of 2,000 horse; and as the night advanced, all, except those who were in advance of the line of tents, retired to rest. About two in the morning, intelligence was received at the camp, that as soon as the moon had gone down the enemy had commenced evacuating their position. The country between Lord Clyde's camp and Shunkerpore was intersected with gullies, and covered with jungle; and as no reliable information could be obtained of the exact route of the enemy, it was judged prudent to remain dormant until daylight, but, in the meanwhile, to send instructions to Sir Hope Grant to take up the pursuit as soon as the track of the rebels could be observed. At daybreak it became evident that Bainie Madhoo had fled, and that his boasted stronghold had been deserted without firing a shot in its defence. The traces of wheels along the outside of the works, showed that the enemy had carried off at least a portion of his guns, and that he had taken a long sweep to the west of Sir Hope Grant's pickets, and marched in the direction of Roy Bareilly. The advance was then ordered on the fort, and the Beloochs entered and found it quite empty, the bastions disarmed, and the jungles desolate. They were relieved by a wing of the Queen's 5th fusiliers; and Lord Clyde, after a hasty inspection of the place, rode off to overtake Grant's column, and give him instructions for the pursuit of the flying enemy. The appearance of the fort and works, on the morning of the 16th, is thus described:—

"The outer works of the fort consisted of a very deep but narrow ditch, and a low parapet of irregular trace, inside which nothing could be seen but dense jungle. There was no entrance visible till we had ridden southwards about two miles. Several hamlets and villages, quite deserted, lay outside the ditch; and only cats and dogs inhabited the streets. In one there was a small and very handsome Hindoo temple, covered outside with hideous idols. All these villages offered the greatest facilities for resistance in the hands of a determined enemy, and could only have been cleared, in such a case, by very hard fighting or severe vertical fire. Through one of those villages lay the road to the outer fort. A bastion of earth towered above it, but the flanking fire was indifferently directed. The gateway was of bamboo, and opened upon a ramp across the ditch to a strong mud wall, winding over a tortuous street, access through which into the interior was obtained by a wooden gate, of no strength. Inside, the place was somewhat like Amathie, only that the central residence was not so fine. An old Brahmin, very sick, was the sole human being to be met with; an elephant was tied by chains in the courtyard of the fort; gun-bullocks wandered about; and dhoolies, tents, a spring-van, litters, and various stores lumbered the enclosures, which were full also of bedsteads and a few articles of furniture. Only a few old matchlocks could be found after the minutest search; and, as if in mockery, four very small brass guns, mere children's playthings, were laid out in a row in front of one of the verandahs. In the women's apartments, some miserable daubs, left upon the walls, showed the wretched taste of the occupants. Idols abounded in the rooms; some bad engravings, a portrait of the Duke of Wellington, and embossed drawings of wild beasts were hung in the divan, in which were also glass chandeliers, covered with linen bags. In the rooms around the courts,

immense quantities of ghee, nuts, wheat, and corn were found; also a laboratory for making powder, and about 9,000 lbs. of that article, of native manufacture. It is probable that most of the good guns of the forts in Oude were sent into Lucknow, or were captured by Havelock and others in the earlier fights. It is certain that Bainie Madhoo took only nine with him when he fled."

The moment Shunkerpore fell, Brigadier Eveleigh was ordered to follow Bainie Madhoo; and, on the 17th, his column marched to Grinwarra. His instructions were—not to be diverted from the chase, or to lose sight of the flying rebel for a moment, when once up with him. In the pursuit, the men had to pass through the village of Berwa, the inhabitants of which appeared friendly, and, in reply to the inquiries of the officers, assured them there was no enemy near the place; but just as the rear-guard of the column, with the guns, were clearing the village, three guns opened upon it, accompanied by a fire of musketry from the houses. To unlimber, and return the fire with interest—to charge back on the streets, and clear them, was but the work of a few moments; the treacherous rebels were then chased out of the place, leaving their guns, and flying in the direction of a village fort called Simree, on the way to which they were intercepted by a strong rear-guard under Major Mills, which opened upon them with its horse artillery guns, and drove them from the Simree road to the south-west in great disorder.

Having placed a small force in the fort of Shunkerpore, the column of the commander-in-chief marched from its camping-ground at Kishwapore, at 8 P.M. of the 18th of November; and, after effecting a junction with Colonel Bulwer's force from Poorwah, reached Grinwarra at ten on the following morning, when spies confirmed the intelligence already received, that Bainie Madhoo had fallen back towards Dhoondia Kera. In order to facilitate Eveleigh's pursuit of the rebel, Lord Clyde relieved him of all his heavy guns, and took them with his own to Roy Bareilly. The whole of the 20th was occupied, at that place, in making necessary arrangements: the sites for various camps were determined upon; and at midnight the troops again marched forward. The appearance of Roy Bareilly, at this time, was thus described:—"It was long after three o'clock in the morning before we were clear of the wonderful labyrinth of deserted streets and tottering loopholed keeps, barbicans, portals, and battlemented walls, which bear witness to the former greatness of Bareilly. The crenelated and turreted walls seemed, in the moonlight, of great solidity and of great height. The city is but a collection of feudal castles, old baronial forts of the nobles of Oude—at the base of which, and in the adjacent spaces, is a stratum of hovels, perforated by tortuous narrow paths, and surrounded by the noble old wall. Scarcely a living being came forth to look at our noisy array as it passed on. Hate and fear lived within those dark dwellings. When we first approached, all the people fled. Some of them had consciences guilty of blood; for here had British officers been murdered."*

About noon the troops halted at Bochraon, about twenty-two miles from Roy Bareilly; and, as they were much fatigued by the long march, they were allowed to remain there until daybreak on the 22nd, when the order to advance was given, and by nine o'clock they had reached Khanpoor or Terha, on the river Saye, which they had to cross by a difficult ford. As soon as this was accomplished the tents were pitched, and the troops rested until 3 P.M., when a message from Brigadier Eveleigh reported that the enemy had fallen back upon Dhoondia Kera. The troops were again in motion, and, marching rapidly through an extremely beautiful country, reached Oonaie, in the Byswarrah, or Rajpoot country, at nightfall. On the morning of the 23rd, a march of seventeen miles to Bugwunt Nuggur, eight miles from Dhoondia Kera, was accomplished; and the tents of Brigadier Eveleigh's division were seen. Lord Clyde at once rode forward with General Mansfield, and had a short conference with him; the men of the 20th and 23rd regiments turning out as the commander-in-chief rode by, and saluting him with hearty cheers. The tents of the column were then pitched on the right of Eveleigh's left flank; and, at night, a patrol of 400 infantry, two guns, and a body of cavalry, was pushed close up to the enemy's position, which was about seven miles in front. The men, who had marched sixty-one miles in sixty hours, were in the highest spirits. Before dawn the bugles sounded the *reveille*; and while the men were getting to their feet, a spy (an old subahdar) rode into the lines from the camp of the

* See vol. i., p. 174.

enemy, and reported that he had been talking with the sepoys, and heard them discussing their chances. He said—"The sepoys don't know what to do. They are afraid to lay down their arms, because they do not believe their lives will be spared; yet a part of them are much disposed to surrender; while others declare they will fight till they die." The troops were now in motion: the commander-in-chief, after giving instructions to the commissariat officers for the safety of the camp, mounted, and threading his way through a tangled maze of men and animals, and followed by the chief of his staff and officers, reached the front of the camp, where the troops were already moving off in columns of march. After a short distance had been covered in a cloud of dust, the columns were halted, and the infantry were ordered to load, and again proceeded onward. As they marched, spies from the enemy's camp reported, that the rebels under Bainie Madhoo and Oomra Sing (his general), numbered 7,500 horse and foot, having with them eight guns, and that they occupied Buxar Ghât on their right, and Dhoondia Kera on their left, extending for about two miles. It was also stated that they had thrown up an intrenchment in front of the jungle which covered their position, and occupied in force the whole of the intermediate lines.

The following descriptive sketch of the engagement that ensued, is from the pen of Mr. Russell, who accompanied the head-quarters' division:—"Our advance was on two parallel lines, connected in front by a line of skirmishers in communication along the front of both columns. That on the left, led by the commander-in-chief, consisted of a squadron of H.M.'s 6th dragoon guards (carabiniers), and a squadron of the 6th Madras light cavalry; four guns of Gordon's field battery; H.M.'s 5th fusiliers, about 400 strong; the Belooch battalion, 700 strong; and 100 of H.M.'s 23rd royal Welsh fusiliers. The column on the right, under Brigadier Eveleigh, consisted of 200 of H.M.'s 20th regiment, 250 of H.M.'s 80th regiment, and a battalion of Oude police, 500 strong; their flank being covered by four guns of Bruce's troop, B.H.A., and 300 of the 1st Sikh irregular cavalry.

"Presently we came up to our grand patrol of the night before—200 of the 23rd regiment, about the same strength of natives, cavalry detachment, and two of Bruce's guns. They reported that, during the night, the enemy's cavalry and infantry had approached their pickets, and fired on them, using at the same time the most opprobrious epithets; and as the corn was very high, and the country close, the patrol fell back about a mile and a-half to more open ground, having first sent the enemy to the rear by the fire of a small party of sharpshooters. According to them, the enemy were out in great force in our front, and they had seen them an hour before. Indeed, at the time, a picket of their sowars was visible under a tope on our right. Here were groves of trees affording shade; and so a general halt took place for about half-an-hour or more. Major Barrow had resolved to give the rebel chief one more chance. The subahdar had volunteered to go with a letter or message, to the effect that if Bainie Madhoo and his followers came out and laid down their arms, they would be treated with leniency, as far as their case might permit the government to exercise its prerogative of mercy. The utmost specific promise that could be held out to Bainie Madhoo was, that he should not be sent out of India. This proposition was founded on the information brought by the subahdar, respecting the disposition of the sepoys when they were made acquainted with Major Barrow's letter of the previous evening; and it was intimated that only half-an-hour would be allowed for a reply. We were now within three miles of the enemy's position; and the columns of dust from our march must have been visible to their advanced posts. The time given had run by. 'Give orders to the columns to advance.' 'Skirmishers to the front.' Away went the carabiniers, saddle deep in the corn—the Beloochs on the left, and on their right the 23rd, in skirmishing order, two and two, following; the rest of the troops in the disposition already indicated. As we advanced, the country became more densely wooded, and the arable lands more cultivated. The movement was necessarily not very rapid, as it would have been impossible to keep the two columns properly connected in such difficult ground, had the men gone on continuously through stubble fields, cates of dhâl, high grass, trees and patches of jungle, without reference to their front. Before us, through the openings in the topes, we saw a dense belt of forest, beyond which there arose another belt at a distance, with a bluish haze between them. The first was

the girdle of Dhoondia Kera and Buxar; the other is the wooded horizon, on the other side of the Ganges, the course of which is indicated by the blue haze. Our troops are just emerging from the topes and cates; and in their front the country is more open for a few hundred yards up to a mass of low jungle, in front of the belt of trees. Some twenty or thirty puffs of white smoke suddenly dot the green of the jungle. The enemy are firing on our cavalry videttes. Some of the carabiniers reply, and then, by command, fall back towards the front, with capering horses, excited by the fire, and form on the flanks. Lord Clyde, who is leading the infantry skirmishers, rides forward. The Beloochees, the 23rd, and the long line of infantry skirmishers double towards the jungle; and, as they advance, the line of a low intrenchment is made manifest by a smart fire. 'Those are sepoys inside the ditch—the —— scoundrels!' exclaims an Indian officer. The balls whistle sharply enough around the heads of the advance, and the soft sandy soil of the field is knocked up in all directions in little cloudy jets where the bullets strike. There is one solitary rising ground in this field, whither Lord Clyde, mounted on his tall white horse, dashes at once; and up on its top he soon gets, in order to reconnoitre the enemy's position. He instantly receives a volley from the hidden enemy, of which he appears as conscious as if it were fired at Aldershot. But our skirmishers have advanced to the wall of the field, and their rifles soon abate the zeal of the sepoys in the trench. 'Bring up the guns!' to one aide-de-camp. 'Go to Colonel Eveleigh, sir, and tell him to bring forward his right,' to another. Now is the time to see the old soldier in his element; every sense alive, keen, energetic, self-reliant, calm, and courteous. He directs every movement, and points out the ground for the guns to take. We unlimber. Bang! bang! roar the enemy's guns in anticipation; and the round shot, flying over the heads of the advance with a harsh roar, strike into the earth behind. The answering voices are not long delayed. Gordon's guns are opened on the tiny lines of smoke and on the great puffs from the batteries. 'Press on the advance.' The chief gallops on to the skirmishers. The guns limber up. The musketry is sharp on our right, mingled with the heavy reports of artillery. Clouds of dust rise near the bank of the river. 'They are flying! Up with the cavalry! The guns to the front.' Away in one great wave flash the carabiniers to our left, where we can see the enemy streaming down by the river banks, towards the south. It is a dust storm. In a few moments they are lost in the dense cloud which rises from their horses' hoofs. Our men rush on through the jungle; it is deserted by all but dead or dying men—'Double! double! bring up the infantry at once!'

"In a few minutes more we are on the very banks of the river, which slope down sharply to the water. Where are the enemy? Stand on the beach at low water, and see how, far away, a sort of rippling and wavering outline marks the limit of the sands; it will almost persuade you that it moves and lives. So we behold a shifting outline on the horizon on our right. It is the enemy, flying through the island rushes. 'Horse artillery and cavalry, after them!' Round come Bruce's guns—down the bank they go—slap through the narrow ford, throwing tiny cascades from their wheels. Round came the storm of cavalry, native horse, and a troop of carabiniers. 'Keep your men with the guns, sir, and on no account leave them,' is the parting order of the commander-in-chief to the officer before they dash into the ford. To the commander of the native cavalry his orders are different—'You are to stick to them to the last; follow them close; don't give up the pursuit till to-morrow!' Away they go over the sand, through the bushes and tall grass, and soon they, too, are lost in clouds of dust. The river spreads before us a wide expanse of sand, threaded by narrow streams at this side, with a wider current at the opposite side, where we can make out our cavalry from Futtehpore riding to intercept the fugitives who may escape by swimming. Close to us there is a long strip of sand covered with long grass and jungle, which seems to extend inlandwise for miles up the river. The enemy have fled in that direction. We see their tumbrils on fire, or deserted. Their waggons are stuck fast in the quicksands. It is the work of a minute to plunder them. The commander-in-chief halts on the bank of the river, and, with the chief of the staff, makes arrangements for the pursuit and for the occupation of the place. One column on the right carried Dhoondia Kera just as we reached Buxar Ghât; and the enemy fled on both

flanks, aided by the tremendous ravines in escaping pursuit. The infantry of Eveleigh's column, detachments of H.M.'s 20th, 23rd, and 80th regiments, marched in quarter-distance column, their right flank covered by two of Bruce's guns, and the 1st Sikh irregulars, under Captain Jones. On the second advance, the 20th regiment deployed and moved in extended order, with the 80th on the right, and the 23rd on the left in support. They thus made way through the corn and thickly-wooded country till they had approached within a mile and a-half of the river. Here a body of 400 or 500 cavalry, consisting principally, it is said, of the 2nd cavalry, who were the chief actors in the Cawnpore mutiny, appeared on their right front. Colonel Eveleigh at once brought up the disposable guns of Bruce's troop, supported by cavalry, and a few rounds sent them to the right-about; nor were they any more seen in the field. The infantry continued to advance, and were close up to the edge of the jungle, when they were suddenly made aware of the proximity of the enemy by discharges of grape and a sharp fire of musketry, all too high. The 20th pressed on smartly, and fought their way through the jungle; while the 80th cleared the ground before them, up to the very banks of the Ganges. That immediately over the river in their front was steep, and the water above the ford was beyond one's depth. At this moment a body of the enemy, cut off from the ford below, endeavoured to escape to the right, across the line of advance. They were about 500 strong, and the fugitives from our advance were mixed up with them. The moment the men saw them they gave a loud cheer, dashed at the broken mass with the bayonet, and either drove them into the river, where most of them were drowned, or killed them in the jungle, in various parts of which more than 250 dead were counted. The 20th took the Queen's colour of the 52nd Bengal native infantry, which was also one of the Cawnpore regiments. It is thought that many of the sepoys threw themselves into the Ganges to secure immortality: at least they were very leisurely in their retreat through the water. A few who did not like immortality just at the time, struggled to get away; and some succeeded. As I was not present at the right, I know less of what took place there than of the left. Bruce's guns and cavalry followed for ten miles on the right. The enemy were quite done up; but so were our horses and men, and we did not kill more than fifty or sixty of them on that side. The sepoys were seen staggering away into cates, unable to load their muskets; and seven elephants were perceived in the distance, but they could not be overtaken. On the left, the carabiniers cut up about fifty sepoys; but the ravines effectually checked the advance of the guns, and the men were recalled by Major Norman. The loss of the enemy is estimated at 600 to 650.

"Among the captured ordnance, which numbered seven pieces, we found, rather to our astonishment, a fine 9-pounder brass gun, belonging to one of our batteries, and cast at Cossipore. The rest of the guns consisted of one brass 6-pounder, one brass 4-pounder, and four iron 6-pounders—for which there was no deficiency of ammunition; for two large tumbrils of made cartridges were found near the ghaut, and some smaller ones had been blown up by the enemy. The cartridges were made with shot and powder in the same bags. As to small-arm ammunition, there seemed to be a dearth. Many of the firelocks had flint-locks; others were old percussion regulation; some were matchlocks. But the new muskets and rifles were generally carried away. Either from one of the guns, or from their muskets, the enemy discharged pieces of jagged iron. In Shunkerpore, lengths of iron rail were found, which bore marks of the sledge-hammer, as though they had sought to break it into junks; and the value they set on it was proved by the labour they must have employed in bringing a rail from the river so far inland.

"The men, who had marched sixteen or seventeen miles, returned to their camp, which had been moved three or four miles nearer to Dhoondia Kera. Our chief enemy had gone down south-east; but hearing of the force at Dalamow, had turned northwards. On the 25th, Gordon, with his guns and a small column, was dispatched in pursuit; but the enemy were now reduced to cavalry."

The enemy being thus effectually routed from his positions, Lord Clyde now considered it desirable to visit Lucknow, which he reached with his troops on the morning of the 28th of November; and before noon on that day, part of his camp was pitched on the left bank of the Goomtee, opposite

the Chuttur Munzil, a portion of the force being halted at the Alumbagh, to avoid the unnecessary fatigue of a long march through the streets of the town.

The beneficial effect produced by the promulgation of the terms of the amnesty among the people of Oude was soon apparent; although, on the part of the begum and her adherents, no means were neglected that might counteract the influence which the proclamation of the Queen of India was likely to acquire over the temper and cool reflections of the people. Among other expedients to this end, the following counter-proclamation of the begum was extensively circulated, not only through the distant provinces of Oude, but even in the capital itself, although now completely at the mercy of its captors :—

[Translation by Order].

Proclamation by the Begum of Oude.

"At this time certain weak-minded, foolish people, have spread a report that the English have forgiven the faults and crimes of the people of Hindostan. This appears very astonishing, for it is the unvarying custom of the English never to forgive a fault, be it great or small; so much so, that if a small offence be committed through ignorance or negligence, they never forgive it. The proclamation of the 1st of November, 1858, which has come before us, is perfectly clear; and as some foolish people, not understanding the real object of the proclamation, have been carried away, therefore we, the ever-abiding government, parents of the people of Oude, with great consideration, put forth the present proclamation, in order that the real object of the chief points may be exposed, and our subjects placed on their guard.

"1. It is written in the proclamation, that the country of Hindostan, which was held in trust by the Company, has been resumed by the Queen, and that for the future the Queen's laws shall be obeyed. This is not to be trusted by our religious subjects; for the laws of the Company, the settlement of the Company, the English servants of the Company, the governor-general, and the judicial administration of the Company, are all unchanged. What, then, is there now which can benefit the people, or on which they can rely?

"2. In the proclamation it is written, that all contracts and agreements entered into by the Company will be accepted by the Queen. Let the people carefully observe this artifice. The Company has seized on the whole of Hindostan, and, if this arrangement be accepted, what is there new in it? The Company professed to treat the chief of Bhurtpore as a son, and then took his territory; the chief of Lahore was carried off to London, and it has not fallen to his lot to return; the Nawab Shumshoodeen Khan, on one side, they hanged, and, on the other side, they salaamed to him; the Peishwa they expelled from Poona Sitara, and imprisoned for life in Bithoor; their breach of faith with Sultan Tippoo is well known; the rajah of Benares they imprisoned in Agra. Under pretence of administering the country of the chief of Gwalior, they introduced English customs; they have left no names or traces of the chiefs of Behar, Orissa, and Bengal; they gave the Rao of Furruckabad a small monthly allowance, and took his territory—Shahjehanpore, Bareilly, Azimgurh, Jounpore, Goruckpore, Etawah, Allahabad, Futtehpore, &c. Our ancient possessions they took from us on pretence of distributing pay; and in the 7th article of the treaty, they wrote, on oath, that they would take no more from us. If, then, the arrangements made by the Company are to be accepted, what is the difference between the former and the present state of things? These are old affairs; but recently, in defiance of treaties and oaths, and notwithstanding that they owed us millions of rupees—without reason, and on pretence of the misconduct and discontent of our people, they took our country and property, worth millions of rupees. If our people were discontented with our royal predecessor, Wajid Ali Shah, how comes it they are content with us? And no ruler ever experienced such loyalty and devotion of life and goods as we have done. What, then, is wanting that they do not restore our country? Further, it is written in the proclamation, that they want no increase of territory, but yet they cannot refrain from annexation. If the Queen has assumed the government, why does her majesty not restore our country to us when our people wish it? It is well-known that no king or queen ever punished a whole army and people for rebellion; all were forgiven; and the wise cannot approve of punishing the whole army and people of Hindostan; for so long as the word 'punishment' remains, the disturbance will not be suppressed. There is a well-known proverb—'A dying man is desperate' (*Murta kya ne kurta*). It is impossible that a thousand should attack a million. and the thousand escape.

"3. In the proclamation it is written, that the Christian religion is true, but that no other creed will suffer oppression, and that the laws will be observed towards all. What has the administration of justice to do with the truth or falsehood of religion? That religion is true which acknowledges one God, and knows no other. Where there are three Gods in a religion, neither Mussulmen nor Hindoos—nay, not even Jews, Sun-worshippers, or Fire-worshippers can believe it true. To eat pigs and drink wine—to bite greased cartridges, and to mix pig's fat with flour and sweetmeats—to destroy Hindoo and Mussulman temples on pretence of making roads—to build churches—to send clergymen into the streets and alleys to preach the Christian religion—to institute English schools, and to pay a monthly stipend for learning the English sciences, while the places of worship of Hindoos and Mussulmans are to this day entirely neglected; with all this, how can the people believe that religion will not be interfered with? The rebellion began with religion, and, for it, millions of men have been killed. Let not our subjects be deceived; thousands were deprived of their religion in the North-West, and thousands were hanged rather than abandon their religion.

"4. It is written in the proclamation, that they who harboured rebels, or who were leaders of rebels, or who caused men to rebel, shall have their lives, but that punishment shall be awarded after deliberation, and that murderers and abettors of murderers shall have no mercy shown them, while all others shall be forgiven. Any foolish person can see, that under this proclamation, no one, be he guilty or innocent, can escape. Everything is written, and

yet nothing is written; but they have clearly written that they will not let off any one implicated; and in whatever village or estate the army may have halted, the inhabitants of that place cannot escape. We are deeply concerned for the condition of our people on reading this proclamation, which palpably teems with enmity. We now issue a distinct order, and one that may be trusted—that all subjects who may have foolishly presented themselves as heads of villages to the English, shall, before the 1st of January next, present themselves in our camp. Without doubt their faults shall be forgiven them, and they shall be treated according to their merits. To believe in this proclamation it is only necessary to remember that Hindostanee rulers are altogether kind and merciful. Thousands have seen this, millions have heard it. No one has ever seen in a dream that the English forgave an offence.

"5. In this proclamation it is written, that when peace is restored, public works, such as roads and canals, will be made in order to improve the condition of the people. It is worthy of a little reflection, that they have promised no better employment for Hindostanees than making roads and digging canals. If people cannot see clearly what this means there is no help for them. Let no subject be deceived by the proclamation.—[A true translation].

"Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Oude."

The chief interest of the war, towards the end of November, appeared to centre in the movements of Tantia Topee, who, it will be remembered, had been driven across the Nerbudda on the 31st of October, by the troops under Brigadier Parke and Lord Mark Kerr.* The rebel chief had not, however, much chance of rest for his weary and dispirited troops by this manœuvre; and, on the 23rd of November, intelligence of the rapid approach of British columns from the east, south, and west, induced him to evacuate Kurgoon, in the Satpoora hills, where he had for a short time established his quarters, first plundering and burning the town. He then directed his march towards Burwanee, a ford of the Nerbudda, which he hoped to cross unmolested, and to enter Guzerat unobserved. His movements were, however, watched; and he had scarcely commenced his march, when a column under Major Sutherland, consisting of detachments of the 71st and 93rd highlanders, on camels, and a hundred of the 4th rifles, on foot, were close upon his track. They marched through the bullock station of Thau, on the Bombay road, which had been only a few hours before destroyed by the enemy. Here it was soon determined which way the rebels had gone, and an eager and hot pursuit commenced. On the afternoon of the 25th of November, after a rapid march of fourteen miles, the column overtook the enemy's rear-guard, and cut them up for a considerable distance. Tantia, finding an engagement inevitable, drew up his army in line of battle upon some convenient heights; but seeing the steady advance, and evidently miscalculating the strength of his opponents, after a good deal of ineffective firing, he rapidly retired. He was, however, closely followed by the mounted highlanders, and his rear-guard again suffered severely. On reaching the bottom of the heights of Rajpore, Major Sutherland found the enemy once more in battle array, prepared to receive him. The number of the rebels amounted to about 3,000 men of all arms; while Major Sutherland's force now consisted only of 150 highlanders, 100 of the 4th rifles, and 150 Sanduce sowars. As soon as the troops came within range, the enemy opened fire from their guns, which were in position to command a narrow road with impenetrable jungle on either side; their infantry keeping up a brisk fire from the thickets in front. Major Sutherland, seeing how matters stood, at once gave orders for his force to advance and capture the guns at the point of the bayonet. The troops pressed forward with a cheer, the shots whizzing over their heads as they advanced through the narrow pass; and almost in a moment the guns were in their possession. Tantia Topee, seeing that resistance was unavailing, even with the overwhelming odds in his favour, gave the order for retreat; and, in consequence of Major Sutherland possessing no cavalry, he was enabled to recross the Nerbudda, and enter Guzerat. His loss, however, was severe, and the only two guns he possessed were captured. But few casualties occurred on the side of the British. After the engagement, Sutherland's detachment returned to Mhow, and Brigadier Parke's column, on its way from Kurgoon, took up the pursuit, crossing the Nerbudda at the Burwanee ford. Had the engagement at Rajpore been but a day later, this fine body of men would have arrived on the scene of action. It consisted of one troop of the 8th hussars; Kerr's horse; 300 of the Guzerattee horse; the Guicowar's contingent and body-guard, under Captain Buckle; 50 sabres 2nd light cavalry; two 9-pounders from Aitkin's battery; and 100 of the 73rd highlanders, mounted on Sanduce camels. With the most indefatigable zeal and enduring fortitude, they had followed Tantia from

* See *ante*, p. 515.

the moment of his first crossing the Nerbudda; and their rate of march had never been less than twenty-eight miles per day, with no halts. They were, however, unable to overtake him. He burnt and sacked Kundwa, and marked the line of his march with fire and sword; but, being in advance, and having the choice of horses and carriages in the country through which he passed, Brigadier Parke found it almost an impossibility to come up with him. He nevertheless still pressed onward, and continued a march unparalleled for its severity in the operations of the army in India, until he came up with, and again signally defeated, the enemy; who, in accordance with his usual practice, once more sought safety in flight.

The progress of Brigadier Parke's little band, across a difficult country, had been little other than marvellous. In nine days he had marched 241 miles, in continuous pursuit of Tantia, who, after his defeat by Major Sutherland, had himself marched sixty miles without stopping, mounting all his men on fresh horses, which he seized in the villages on his road, and exchanged for his own tired ones. Day by day, Parke's force reduced the distance betwixt himself and the rebels; and he at last caught them on the 1st of December, near Chota Oodeypore, about fifty miles east of Baroda. The last forty miles lay through dense jungle, through which Lieutenant Moore led with the Aden horse. On the morning of the battle, this energetic officer signalised himself by surprising Tantia Topee's cavalry pickets. When the force issued from the jungle, they debouched within 600 yards of the enemy, 3,500 strong, outside of Oodeypore, on ground full of large trees, brushwood, and huts, and so broken as to be utterly unsuited for the movements of cavalry and artillery. Parke deployed with his infantry and guns in the centre, the Southern Mahratta horse on his left, with Moore's Aden horse and some of Lord Mark Kerr's Southern Mahratta horse on his right. The enemy, by his numbers, quite outflanked the column, which hardly covered 200 yards. The guns opened at 600 yards, and the enemy then attempted to outflank the column with their cavalry, both on the right and left. They were met on the right by a brilliant charge from the Southern Mahratta and Aden horse, and were driven from the field with the loss of sixty killed, and more wounded, and were sabred for five miles. On the left a similar attempt met with a like fate; and Lieutenant Bannerman cut up and drove the enemy into the Orsung river, killing, with his own hand, four men opposed to him, but being himself slightly stunned with a blow from the butt-end of a musket. Mr. Ramsay (civil service) also led a spirited charge, and cut up a number of the rebels. The Southern Mahratta horse captured the standard of the 5th Bengal irregular cavalry. The artillery and Enfields, of course, committed great havoc amongst the ranks opposed to them. The rebels, who separated after the action into three bodies, were rallied by Tantia Topee, and marched on to Baroda; but he was turned from thence by a force sent out against him by Sir Richmond Shakespear. On the 5th, the chief passed Dohud, at a place called Simree, on his way to Khooshallghur, intending to move through Bunswara to Oodeypore. On the 8th, he marched to Bunswara, where he arrived on the 9th—thus covering nearly sixty miles in twenty-four hours. But his men reached Bunswara in such a plight, that he was obliged to take a day's rest. Frightened, however, by the approach of Colonel Somerset towards Rutlam, which lay on his right, he left Bunswara on the 11th for Soloomber, on the direct road, through the mountains, to Oodeypore.

After the battle just described, the following brigade order was issued to the troops by their justly gratified commander:—

"British Camp, Chota Oodeypore, 2nd Dec.

"Brigadier Parke congratulates the troops under his command, on the successful result of yesterday's engagement with the rebel army under Tantia Topee and the Rao Sahib. The troops not only displayed great gallantry and steadiness when exposed to the enemy, but during the fatigue of the late forced marches, their discipline, perseverance, and cheerfulness have been most conspicuous. In the last seven days, between the mornings of the 23rd November and daylight of the 1st of December, they have marched upwards of 200 miles, in part through the densest jungles; effected the passage of the Nerbudda river; and without the co-operation or assistance of other troops in front or flank, have outmarched in pursuit, and defeated, an enemy notorious for the rapidity of its movements. The brigadier's thanks are due to all officers and men; but particularly to Lieutenant Heathorn, of the Bombay artillery, whose whole conduct and exertion in overcoming every difficulty during the late laborious operations, shall be brought to the notice of the commander-in-chief."

Notwithstanding the rapidity with which the movements of Tantia Topee were necessarily made, he found time and opportunity

to distribute the following notifications to the inhabitants of the districts through which he passed:—

Proclamation of Maharajah Rao Sahib, Peishwa Bahadur.

"Let it be known to all people, to the gentry, the merchants, the shopkeepers, and the military of every city, town, and village, that the army bearing the standard of victory, accompanying his highness the head of government, has marched in this direction, only for the destruction of the infidel Christians, not for the spoliation of the resident inhabitants.

"Let every one know this—that this army, buoyed on the waves of victory, is at enmity with the English, not with the native cultivators of the soil. It has never been the intention of any one in this force to cause loss to the villagers and residents of the country through which we pass; but it is evident that daily supplies must be had, more especially when an enemy is in our front: some villages have been looted, through the folly of the inhabitants in leaving their homes. Then, not being able to purchase, my followers have taken what was necessary for their sustenance. If the villagers had remained in their houses, and sold their grain, &c., then no outrage nor robbery would have taken place. They have reaped the reward of their own foolishness. Now this proclamation is put forth, that no villager shall leave his home on the approach of this army, but, producing the supplies there may be, receive the fair price of the same. Beyond the current rate a price shall be fixed. When the proclamation reaches any village, the head man thereof should send a copy of it to the adjacent villages, that fear may be dispelled.—Dated the 7th of November, 1858, 30th Rubbee-ool-aval."

Perwannah addressed to the Officers of Artillery, the 5th Regiment, the Cavalry of the Nawab of Kamoona, the Forces, Horse and Foot, and the Bengal Presidency, the Morar and Gwalior Forces, and the Troops of the Nawab of Jaora.

"As it is the custom of sowars and sipahees of this force constantly to press women to carry loads, and this practice is undesirable; this is to warn such, and you are requested to intimate it publicly to the troops under your command, that women are not to be forced to accompany the camp, either as porters or for any other purpose. Any one disobeying this order will be hanged. Officers are requested to affix their signatures as noting the receipt of this order.—Dated 5th November, 1858, 28th Rubbee-ool-aval."

On the 5th of December, a large body of rebels, augmented by many of the fugitives from Biswa, and variously estimated at from 1,000 to 1,500 men, led by Feroze Shah (a shahzadah of Delhi), eluded the vigilance of the British troops, by moving along the banks of the Ganges, and crossing that river at Auken Ghât, between Cawnpore and Kanouj, without opposition. The first ghât they had attempted was at Nana Mhow; but there being a great deal of water there, and the police turning out to confront them, the rebels moved westward to Auken Ghât, where they succeeded in crossing. The police watched their movements along the right bank; but as the river was very shallow at this place, the cavalry had passed over before they could get up with them. While the rebel force was crossing, the combined columns of Troupe and Barker, which had joined on the 3rd of December, were proceeding to the Chowka river, in accordance with the arrangements of the commander-in-chief, for finally reducing the strong fort of Bitowlee, situate at the confluence of the Chowka and Gogra. Lord Clyde had again left Lucknow on the 5th of December, for Beyram Ghât, a short distance below Bitowlee Ghât, on the Gogra; and General Grant was, at the same time, in position at Gonda, about twenty miles east of Beyram Ghât: so that everything was apparently arranged for the appearance of an overwhelming force before Bitowlee. But while these movements were taking place, Feroze Shah observing his opportunity, resolved to make a dash into the Doab, and, if possible, effect a junction with Tantia Topee in Central India. The idea was a wild one; but his situation was desperate; and, as we have seen, his first step was successfully accomplished. When the shahzadah had thus reached the Doab, there was no one to oppose him except Captain Sullivan, with 250 of the Cawnpore levy, and the civil authority at Sheorajpore, with fifty police infantry and twenty sowars. As soon as Captain Sullivan was apprised of the approach of the rebels, he communicated with the civil officer of the station, who at once wrote to Brigadier Herbert for assistance, and then joined Sullivan, proceeding with him down the Trunk road to Eesun Nuddee, within two miles of the rebels. As the latter had then all crossed, and were reported 2,000 strong, mostly cavalry—to attack them with 250 men of a new levy, and a mere escort, was of course out of the question, and they therefore withdrew for about a mile to a convenient spot. In the meantime the rebels commenced their march across the country, and, leaving Russoolabad on their left, sacked Bela, from whence they took the road to Suhpoond. Mr. Hume, magistrate of Etawah, hearing of their approach, on the evening of the 6th marched towards Suhpoond, but could hear no tidings of them till late on the evening of the 7th, when he learnt that they had plundered Bela, and were besieging the fort of Hurchundpore, close to the Ahmee, a tributary

of the Urrund Nuddee. It was, therefore, necessary to advance against them at all hazards. Accordingly, on the morning of the 8th, 400 men of all arms, Etawah levies, led by Lieutenants Forbes, Hume, Doyle (commanding the cavalry), and Maconchie, marched on Hurchundpore. About a mile from that place the enemy's outlying pickets were surprised and driven in. The rebel cavalry appeared in front in large masses. The guns unlimbered and opened fire. Mr. Hume's small force was soon outflanked; and Lieutenant Hume, in a charge made to repel the attack, lost his life, with that of several of his men. The rebels then charged the guns, but were repulsed, and ultimately abandoned the field, leaving Mr. Hume to rally his men and retire into Hurchundpore. Meanwhile, Brigadier Herbert had marched from Cawnpore, and, on the 10th instant, encountered the rebels at Shergurh Ghât. Upwards of 70 of them were killed; and 400 horses and 50 camels, with a quantity of arms and baggage, were captured. They nevertheless managed to cross the Jumna, but the lesson they received was a very severe one. On the morning of the 11th they crossed the Chumbul to Paplallee, and on the morning of the 12th they had reached Tengoor, on the Sciude river. On the morning of the 13th they crossed the Doobai, where they burnt the bungalow, and then proceeded southwards. The repulse, however, which they afterwards sustained at the hands of Brigadier Napier, checked their advance; and as the British columns were rapidly closing around them, their descent upon Central India proved ineffectual. Brigadier Napier's engagement at Runnode was a very spirited affair, in which the 14th dragoons behaved with great gallantry. The column reached Runnode at half-past eight on the morning of the 17th of December, having travelled 140 miles in four days. It consisted of Prettejohn's and Need's troops; 14th dragoons, 150 men; Captain Monith's Mahratta horse; 100 of H.M.'s 71st highlanders; 38th, under Captain Smith; and Captain Sampler's sowarree camels. At 9 A.M. the rebels, apparently more numerous than had been reported, advanced to attack Runnode; but instead of meeting Seebundies, as they anticipated, H.M.'s 14th dragoons emerged from behind a grove of trees, and charged into the mass. The pursuit continued over a good plain for eight miles, with great slaughter. Numbers of Holme's irregulars, including Rissaldar Yahoor Alli, were killed; also several persons of distinction, but none that looked like Feroze Shah. Six elephants were captured, with numbers of horses, and ponies, and arms. Captain Prettejohn, 14th dragoons, and eight or ten men wounded, were the only casualties on the part of the English.

After his defeat at Chota Oodeypore, on the 1st of December, Tantia, as we have seen, made a rapid march towards Dohud and Biswarra, apparently with a view of reoccupying his old ground towards Mundesore. On his way he plundered the mails between Ghudna and Ahmedabad, killing several of the letter-carriers; and then made a demonstration towards Rutlam—a flourishing town between Biswarra and Oojein, and nearly equi-distant from both. This place had a population of about 10,000; and its plunder would have afforded a rich harvest for the lawless followers of the rebel, but that he was obliged to forego the prize, on learning, much to his disappointment, that three separate forces from different points, under Colonel Somerset, Colonel Bayley, and Brigadier Parke, were very likely, in a few hours, to inclose him as it were in a net. Turning, therefore, with his accustomed celerity of action, he fled in the direction of Saloombar—an isolated town and fort, encircled by hills, in the heart of the Aravulli range, which forms the western buttress of the plateau of Central India; and from this position he was enabled to menace the city of Oodeypore, and at the same time avoid an immediate collision with the British commanders. In his flight he was accompanied by a nephew of the Nana Sahib, styled the Rao; but the nawab of Banda was no longer present in his camp to strengthen his resolves by his advice and his forces, as he had some time previous surrendered under the amnesty. It is related of the latter chief, that when brought into the camp of General Michel, by the officer to whom he had surrendered, he appeared "weary, dirty, and debauched;" and that, on his arrival, he was speedily relieved from the weight of some 30,000 rupees' worth of jewels, &c., which were thought unnecessary personal ornaments for a resident in the Andamans, whither it was expected he would be transferred. Before this chief cast in his lot with the rebels, his annual income amounted to £40,000 sterling per annum. He was now without a rupee; his territory

confiscated; and his very existence dependent upon the application of the amnesty to his particular case.

The erratic and, so far as *escape* was concerned, successful movements of Tantia Topee were not without mischievous influence in the Nizam's dominions, where they kept alive an unsettled feeling. His late operations on the frontiers had also given encouragement to the audacity of the Rohillas, and caused some sensation even in Hyderabad itself. The neighbourhood of Jaulnah had also long been infested by plundering bands, which rendered the country so unsafe, that when Sir Patrick Grant, the commander-in-chief at Bombay, desired to proceed on his tour of inspection, he was obliged to place himself in care of a wing of her majesty's 91st regiment. The important town of Gungakhair, on the Godavery, within the Nizam's territories, was also plundered by the Rohillas, who could only be kept in check by a large demonstration of European troops from Monianabad. At length the uneasy state of feeling in this quarter was attended by an event that recalled to memory some of the outrages perpetrated in the early days of the sepoy revolt. On the evening of the 1st of December, while some European officers of the Nizam's contingent, stationed at Ellichpore—a military station, between Nagpore and Asseerghur—were assembled at mess, shortly after gun-fire, a sudden report of a musket fired into the room, startled the whole party, and made them rise from table. Captain George Hare (commandant of the 5th infantry, Hyderabad contingent), who was present, rose from his seat, but immediately afterwards exclaimed, "I am hit!" and fell to the ground. He was quickly raised by his brother officers, and placed on a sofa. Dr. Burn, the surgeon of the station, was sent for; and, on examining the wounds in the side of the victim, he pronounced them mortal. In ten minutes the murdered officer became insensible, and shortly after expired. After perpetrating the foul act, the assassin, a sepoy of the 5th regiment, rushed towards the lines, calling upon his comrades to rise, for he had performed a great deed; and shouting that, next morning, the victorious army of the king of Delhi would arrive on the parade-ground, when every European must be put to death. Owing to the darkness that prevailed, the assassin escaped for a time, although the whole of the 5th regiment—in which it did not appear he had any accomplices—turned out in search of him. On the 9th of the month, however, he was discovered and captured at a village called Ashtee, a short distance from the scene of his crime, and was sentenced to be blown from a gun at Ellichpore. On his way to the place of execution, the determined ruffian snatched a pistol from one of his guards, and fired at the officer in charge of the party, but without effect. In the struggle to recover the pistol the man was severely wounded, and was led, covered with blood, to the muzzle of the gun, from which he was presently blown.

Turning to a distant point upon the map, we find that an excitable spirit among a portion of the Burmese population, found opportunity to indulge in an attempt at insurrection against their British rulers about the end of the year. The effort was abortive, being suppressed without much effusion of blood; but the circumstances were somewhat romantic, and, as regards the chief actor, were analogous to the Massaniello revolt at Naples, some two centuries previous. At a fortified village called Thorantay, distant about ten miles from Rangoon, a band of insurgents, headed by a young fisherman who declared himself a prince, upon a plea of some local grievance appeared in arms, and, after a short struggle with the authorities, some of whom were wounded, took possession of the place, but without indulging in the excesses that marked the career of the insurgents in India. To prevent the chance of the movement being aided by any disaffected Burmese of the vicinity, guards were placed round the village, and a messenger was sent to Rangoon for assistance. Two steamers were at once dispatched with such troops as could be spared; and, by the judicious measures adopted, the insurrection was crushed in its birth. In the two days following the arrival of the troops, fifty-three of the rebels were made prisoners without a struggle; and although, at first, there seemed a difficulty in obtaining possession of the *ci devant* prince, the offer of 1,000 rupees, as a reward for his capture, soon put the authorities upon his track, and the hapless fisherman found his dreams of a kingly throne changed into the stern reality of the gallows. Previous to his execution he implicated a Burmese of high official station (in whom much confidence was reposed by the British authorities), as the instigator of the attempt by which his life had become forfeited.

Returning to the seat of operations in Oude at the beginning of December, it appeared that the combined plan of action, on the part of the commander-in-chief and his lieutenants, was so to dispose of the various forces, that, by their conjoint movement, the troops of the insurgents would be gradually pressed into the Teria, which fringed the boundary of the Nepaulese territory. It was known that the begum and her principal adherents were in force in the Bareitch district, where they had been joined by Bainie Madhoo, who, closely pursued by a column under Brigadier Horsford, was very nearly captured while crossing the Gogra—the advanced party and videttes of his pursuers being near enough to the flying rebel to distinguish him on a fine white charger, while, sword in hand, he was directing the movements of his followers. Unfortunately, night intervened, and the prize escaped from almost the grasp of those who had striven zealously to obtain it.

At this time it became known to the authorities, by means of spies, that the Nana Sahib (who for some time had been lost sight of) was lurking about in the close jungly country, between the Terai of the Himalayas and the plain of the Bareitch territory; and that he there, with 1,500 men, was in possession of Churdah, a place thirty miles north of Bareitch, at the foot of the Nepaulese mountains. From this place, the widows of the late Bajee Rao (the patron of the Nana), who had been carried off by the latter from Bithoor, petitioned the government that some provision might be made for them when they should effect their escape, which they professed themselves desirous of doing as soon as practicable. The force remaining with the Nana was reported to be chiefly composed of cavalry; and he had thrown up an intrenchment, within which he took up his quarters, for protection against the treachery of his followers, rather than for defence against an attack by the British, with whom he had no intention to risk the issue of an engagement. One of his attendants, in whom he placed confidence, armed to the teeth, remained in his presence by night and day, with orders to shoot him in case of a surprise by the British, in whose hands he had resolved not to fall alive. But little chance, however, appeared of his capture; since, on the first intimation of the appearance of a force within fifty miles of him, he invariably took to flight, and would be next heard of in some totally unexpected quarter.

From the movements of Tantia Topee in the direction of Oodeypore (already mentioned),* fears were entertained for the safety of that place, and measures were necessarily adopted to ensure its protection. On the 12th of December, a brigade marched from Neemuch; and, on the 14th, another left Nusseerabad; while General Michel, who had been halting at Mhow to rest his troops, advanced thence with his force towards Oodeypore. Fifteen hundred camels were placed at the disposal of the three brigades, for use in sharp pursuits; and the escape of the hunted chief was supposed to be rendered yet more difficult by the approach of a fourth column, thrown forward from the Taptee towards the threatened city. It was not the policy, however, of the active rebel, to wait until the several parties had placed a cordon around him; and therefore, in accordance with his usual practice, he once more eluded the vigilance of the British commanders. Some attempts to distribute the royal proclamation among his troops, were, however, successful, through the strategy of a Borah (Mussulman) spy, who contrived to get himself caught by the videttes of the chief on the 3rd of December, after scattering copies of the proclamation in the district they were patrolling. The man was conveyed to Tantia Topee, who, in the presence of the Rao Sahib, assured him of personal safety if he replied to the questions put to him. In answer to what brought him near the camp, he declared that he was a poor man, who had been plundered of some camels and stores with which he was travelling; and that his object in approaching the camp, was to entreat his highness to order that they might be restored to him, as they did not belong to Feringhees, but to a Mohammedan, and the articles were of no use to Hindoos. His highness, however, declined to make any order in the matter, saying that whatever was plundered became the property of those who seized it, and he should not interfere. He was then questioned as to his knowledge of the European forces, and their movements. Of the first he professed an intense hatred, and declared himself, of the second, to be utterly ignorant. After he had played his part with success for some half-hour, he was placed under the care of a guard, in case

* See *ante*, p. 545.

further inquiry should be necessary; and he then contrived to ingratiate himself with the Mussulmans in the camp, who conversed freely with him on their prospects, and declared their anxiety to retire from the harassing service they were engaged in; assuring him that if they were promised their lives, they would gladly give up their plunder, and surrender. By the aid of some of these men he managed to escape from the camp, taking care first to excite their curiosity, and increase their discontent, by apprising them of the amnesty offered by the proclamation of the Queen, which he knew had fallen into the hands of some of the troops; and so left them to meditate upon the alternative before them. This spy, on his return to the camp of General Michel, gave the following description of the person of the rebel chief, who had for so long time formed a prominent object of attraction to the British commanders in all parts of India:—"Tantia," says the Mohammedan, "was seated on a charpoy in the open air, surrounded by about twenty-five or thirty immediate followers, seated on his right and left on the ground, at a slight distance from his highness. His dress was plain—of white material, in the manner of Hindoos, with a red Cashmere shawl thrown loosely over the shoulders. Some of his followers, six or seven in number, appeared in the uniform of British sepoys of no high rank. A guard was in attendance near this council—as it appeared to be. His eyes are large, bold, fiery, and piercing; brows black, ovally shaped; forehead high and expansive; nose Roman; mouth middle-sized and well-shaped; lips compressed, not allowing the teeth to be perceptible; large black whiskers, tied up with a cloth round his head; complexion rather lighter than usual—the colour of wheat."

The *Rao* was described as a short man, of fair complexion, with a dark-coloured handkerchief round his head, instead of a *puggree*, or turban; gold ornaments on his wrists; wearing a short padded jacket of dark colour, and pantaloons of *mushroo*, padded with cotton. The force accompanying the chiefs were chiefly Mohammedans; but there were a few Poorbeahs (Hindoos), the latter being mostly without horses.

At this juncture, Gwalior and the surrounding country was again much disquieted by rebels, and General Whitlock was forced to concentrate his force upon Nagode, that he might destroy a gathering of rebels, forming part of the band lately belonging to the nawab of Banda. Another force was at the same time collected at Gwalior, to put down a gang of insurgents who were creating annoyance at a short distance from the city. The Nagpore districts and Berar were also disturbed by a body of 2,500 rebels, who had forced the passage of the Nerbudda, above Hosungabad, and crossed over into the Ellichpore districts, where they were with difficulty kept in order by the troops of the Hyderabad contingent, under Brigadier Hills, and were yet likely to occasion considerable trouble.

By the middle of December, notwithstanding the existence of considerable bodies of the rebel forces, under several leaders in the field, the effect of the amnesty had become strikingly manifest, and the submission of chiefs and sepoys was of daily occurrence. Among these, the earliest, and, at the time, the most important as regards influence, was the surrender of Ishmael Khan, with 150 sowars in a body—the first example of returning obedience on the part of the cavalry. The influence of Ishmael Khan was not restricted to the party he brought into camp with him, as, on the following days, he went out and returned with another body of 400 cavalry, whom he had induced to throw themselves upon the mercy of the government, and claim the benefit of the amnesty. In the Biswarra districts the sepoys began also to avail themselves of the opportunity for pardon, and surrendered themselves upon an average of thirty per day; while, in other districts, the numbers were smaller, but still continuous. At Daryabad, 120 men sent in their submission to Colonel Seaton; and, in reply to his question, how it was that with such numbers and means of defence as they had possessed throughout the rebellion, the sepoys never stood before the British troops for any time?—he was answered—"Sahib, it has been all the work of fate. After what we had done, we never could fight. No matter whether your troops were black or white, native or European, we could not stand against them; *our salt choked us!*" It was remarked, that for some time after the stream of repentance began to show itself in the voluntary submission of the sepoy element of the revolt, that of the

men of certain regiments most deeply implicated in the early atrocities of the movement (such as the 3rd cavalry and the 6th native infantry), not one offered to avail himself of the proffered grace; feeling, probably, that deeds like those at Cawnpore, at Allahabad, and at Jhansie, could never be forgiven; and, consequently, they preferred the chance of life, under any circumstances of defeat or dispersion, to the certainty of a punishment they knew to be merited. It was only natural that the most desperate of such men, whose consciences were yet red with the glare of innocent blood, should stand aloof, and seek shelter wherever they might find safety in numbers, or, from the nature of the country, could hope to elude pursuit.

Of the enemy yet in arms, the most important, in rank and influence, were concentrating into a narrow focus in the Bareitch districts, round which the British troops were now gathering from all sides. The begum of Oude, and her principal adherents, had, as it has before been remarked, here assembled, as if to await the "last chances of the game:" but even for those the cup of mercy had not been drained; and, at the very moment that they might most justly have expected that the demands of inexorable justice would only be satisfied by exemplary punishment, the policy of the new government offered pardon and conciliation. The begum at this, the eleventh hour, was promised, in return for her submission, an asylum and a pension for herself and her son, Birjies Kuddr; and her minister, Mummoo Khan, was also guaranteed his life, if the terms of the Queen's proclamation were complied with before the 1st of the ensuing month (January). The extreme liberality of the concession thus made to the begum and her principal adherents, was grounded upon the belief that that lady, her son, and minister, were not accessory to the cold-blooded murders perpetrated upon English captives in Lucknow. Terms, in accordance with the spirit of the amnesty, were also offered to other chiefs, with variable results as regarded acceptance; but the progress of disarmament was most effectually pursued wherever the British authority was re-established. In the Mullaon district, according to a weekly report, not less than 143,934 guns, matchlocks, pistols, swords, spears, latties, bows, shields, &c., had been delivered up to the authorities by the 20th of December; and, during the following week, 55,309 weapons, of various kinds, were also collected, and fifty-seven forts were demolished in the district; while the revenue, which had for some months been *nil*, now yielded, for the one week, a sum equal to £6,000, in addition to about £30,000 already got in, out of a total of £90,000.

Returning to the movements of the commander-in-chief, it appears that his advanced column reached Beyram Ghât, on the Gogra, on the 6th of December, having with it materials for rafts. As, however, no boats were procurable, and the tedious operation of crossing troops by rafts in the face of an enemy, and, possibly under his fire, was unnecessarily hazardous—the greater portion of the forces moved towards Fyzabad, eighty-nine miles east of Lucknow, where a bridge already existed. Previous to leaving the ghât, Lord Clyde stationed Colonel Harness, of the royal engineers, at that place, with instructions to make a flying bridge, if possible, or else to collect as many boats as he could, so as to enable that part of the column left at the ghât, to cross over and occupy Nuwabgunge, on the north bank of the Gogra, as soon as the enemy should evacuate it. The commander-in-chief reached Fyzabad on the 11th of December, and on the 12th he crossed the river, and concerted the following movements. On his extreme right, Brigadier Rowcroft was to advance with 2,500 men from the Goruckpore districts, almost due north to Toolseypore, at the foot of the Nepaul hills, where a large army of rebels, including the late garrison of Gonda, under Dabee Buksh, had taken refuge. Sir Hope Grant, with the 53rd, 79th, 9th lancers, two squadrons of Hodson's horse, three troops of royal and Bengal horse artillery, a heavy siege-train, some 18-inch mortars, and a company of Delhi pioneers, was to be thrown forward from Gonda, part following the left, and part the right of the Raptee river, towards Nanparah. Lord Clyde himself was to advance through Secrora, direct to Bareitch, leaving Brigadier Eveleigh behind, with instructions to keep a line of country between Secrora and Gonda, and guard the frontiers of the Goruckpore and Gonda districts; the rest of the eastern frontier was entrusted to Lord Mark Kerr's force, from Bustee, forming parts of reserve to the rear of Grant and Eveleigh. From Fyzabad to Burragaon, west of Churdah, the line of the

Gogra was jealously guarded by strong posts, under the respective commands of Brigadiers Fischer, Seaton, Purnell, and Troupe. A few miles eastward of Burragaon, between Doorara and Esanuggur, a European regiment, with two guns, was placed to guard the country between the Nepaul hills and the Surjoo river; whilst to prevent any effectual result from a sudden passage of the Gogra by the rebels, strong reserves were placed within easy distance of the line on the Chowka, under Brigadier Barker; and at Seetapore and Baree, under Brigadier Purnell. Lucknow, strongly held, was the key of the whole position, and the rearmost post of all. A reference to the map will enable the reader to trace the arrangement thus laid down; and it may also be observed, in explanation, that the rebels held a portion of country extending from the point where the Gogra issues from the Nepaul hills, down to Bitowlee on the south, and Toolseypore on the west—the boundaries of Nepaul forming the fourth, or eastern side of the irregular area within which they were then concentrated.

The commander-in-chief, having thus perfected his arrangements, advanced to Secrora, where he arrived on the 15th of December. At that place he parted with Brigadier Eveleigh, who was to hold the line between it and Gonda, as before mentioned, and then marched upon Bareitch with a force of all arms, amounting to 6,166 men. Of these troops, Brigadier Horsford commanded the first brigade, and Brigadier Jones, of the 6th dragoon guards, the cavalry.

On the 17th of the month, the commander-in-chief arrived in the neighbourhood of Bareitch, the head-quarters of the begum and Bainie Madhoo, and after driving in the enemy's pickets, entered the city on the 20th. On the following day messengers from the begum came in from her camp at Nanparah, under a flag of truce, to treat with Major Barrow, the political agent, for her surrender. This object on her part, was, however, frustrated by the chiefs around her, who, discovering her intentions, suddenly evacuated their intrenchments at Nanparah, and fled, taking with them the begum and her son, as hostages, apparently, for the fidelity of her party. Nothing remained, therefore, but to proceed with the reduction of the district. Accordingly, on the night of the 21st, Colonel Christie, of H.M.'s 80th, was detached from the main body to cross the Surjoo, and advance in a north-westerly direction. On the 23rd, a second column was thrown forward to follow the left or eastern bank of the river, in the direction of Churdah; and on the same day, the commander-in-chief, with the whole of his remaining force, broke ground from Bareitch, and marched on the road to Nanparah. After advancing eighteen miles, the troops halted at Etahah, where further progress was stopped by the rain; and it was not until the 26th that the march could be resumed. On that day Lord Clyde moved out towards Churdah, passing through Nanparah, which was found empty; but it was ascertained from spies and scouts, that the enemy was in force at Mujidiah, some distance in advance. At length, after accomplishing some twenty miles from Etahah, at 4 P.M. on the 26th of December the enemy appeared in sight, apparently in considerable force, in a position interspersed with topes, surrounded by enclosures, and defended by several guns. As the leading companies of the British force came in view, but before they were within range, the rebels opened fire with chain-shot, shells, and a variety of missiles, which, from their distance, inflicted no injury whatever upon the advancing column; and the commander-in-chief, without noticing the useless display, quietly turned the enemy's flank, while General Mansfield attacked them in front. The instant the rebels found their flank was turned, they fled, leaving six of their guns on the field, without a struggle. A pursuit was ordered; and the horse artillery, getting into confusion as it commenced, the commander-in-chief, while riding at full speed over some broken ground to rectify the error personally, was thrown heavily by the stumbling of his horse, and came to the ground on his shoulder, which was dislocated, and his face also received injury. He rose instantly, but the accident was severe, and had shaken him much. Dr. Gordon, and his subordinate officer, were close at hand, and the limb was speedily restored to its place; but the shock to the system incapacitated the aged chief from resuming his saddle. Notwithstanding this unfortunate accident, the pursuit continued, led by General Mansfield in person, who chased the rebels for about four miles, until they reached the shelter of the jungle. On when darkness put an end to the chase.

the following day (the 27th), the commander-in-chief, unable to mount his horse, accompanied the troops in a dhooly, and at ten A.M. arrived before the fort of Mujidiah, a strong place on the edge of the Terai, surrounded by a formidable ditch, and mounted with six heavy guns. After having the place carefully reconnoitred, he ordered his dhooly to be carried to a point between two embrasures, out of the direct line of fire, and gave directions to attack the place on three sides. On one flank an 18-pounder and an 8-inch mortar first opened fire; two mortars opened on the other flank; while the horse artillery swept the surrounding jungle (which was swarming with rebels) with constant discharges of grape. On the third side, the heavy guns were placed in position, about 350 yards from the fort. For some time the enemy did not appear to be daunted, but kept up a smart fire with round shot, grape, and brass shells. Shortly after the cannonade had opened upon the fort, the infantry was ordered to deploy in skirmishing order to its own front and left, the men being directed to creep through the jungles, and aim at the embrasures. These orders were well obeyed; and the accuracy of the Enfield rifles enabled the marksmen to cripple the enemy's fire, which first became slower, and then ceased altogether. The rebels had by this time exhausted their appetite for further resistance, and fled into the jungle in their rear, through which the cavalry could not follow them. They endeavoured to escape, though many of them paid the penalty of their cowardice by being shot down at half-pistol range. The fort was immediately occupied, and six guns were found in position; but no trace appeared of either dead or wounded, who must have been carried off by their companions to the jungle: and so precipitate was their flight, that they left no prisoners from whom the name of the chief who commanded could be discovered. The place appeared to have been recently built, and was well stored with grain, oil, shells, and ammunition. It was generally believed that Bainie Madhoo had been at Mujidiah very shortly before, if not at the time of the attack upon the fort; and it was afterwards ascertained, that the Nana had, two days previous to the arrival of the British troops, fled from it along the Terai to Combacote, on the road to Toolseypore, where he expected to join his brother Bala Rao and his force.

The fort of Mujidiah is described as being of a pear shape, running north and south, about 400 yards long, by 350 in breadth across the middle; the rear being hidden in the depth of the jungle. The whole, as already mentioned, was surrounded by a ditch, with an *abattis* on the south and east sides. The principal front was screened by the jungle, hidden in which there was another gateway, protected by a small lunette in advance. Two lunettes were also in the jungle in the west. There were also four or five round towers or bastions along the rampart, pierced for guns. The ditch at the north gate was twenty-eight feet broad, and twenty feet deep from the ground; the face of the scarp to the top of the parapet being thirty-seven feet high, the top of the parapet seven feet thick, and the exterior fenced by a heavy *abattis*. In some places there was a double ditch; and the ramparts were perforated by sallyports, which ran into the outer ditches. In the centre of the fort was a semicircular citadel, or keep, about 150 yards long, by 100 yards broad; and, altogether, it was the strongest and best fort yet seen in Oude. As it fell dark the rifles were marched out, and their place was taken by the Beloochees. One of their sentries, next morning, spied five men walking towards the fort, three of whom were armed. When they were close to the gate he challenged them. The men dropped into the jungle; but, on his threatening to turn out the guard and shoot them down, they came up and surrendered: they were the rajah's barber, his steward, and three armed followers, who had been out in the district, and had not heard of the fall of the place. Some grass-cutters of the 7th hussars, who had been missing since the 26th, returned on the 28th, and reported that they had been taken prisoners by a party of the enemy's cavalry; and that the moonshee of Captain Freemantle, of the rifle brigade, who fell into their hands, was permitted to go free, after he had been offered a high place in their army if he would join them.

On the 28th the engineers were employed in demolishing the fort, which was too good to leave behind, and troops were out in all directions to ascertain what had become of the enemy. Churdah was found to be empty. As the work of demolition was difficult, owing to the absence of coolies (though the enemy's gunpowder was largely used, and 1,400lbs. were available), it was resolved to garrison the place with a wing of Beloochees

and fifty of the 1st Punjab cavalry, till the coolies had levelled the parapets and filled up the ditch.

On the 29th, the commander-in-chief, being quite in the dark as to the locality of the enemy, moved south at noon, and pitched his tents at Nanparah. The appearance of the troops on the plain caused some anxiety to the garrison of Oude police, who had been left in the place; but they recovered their equanimity on seeing the English camp colours. It was dark before the tents were pitched. On the 30th, information was received that the Nana Sahib, Bainie Madhoo, and some thousands of sepoys and desperadoes, had collected near Bankee, about twenty miles north of Nanparah. The news was verified about four o'clock in the afternoon; and at six, Lord Clyde had made his arrangements for a night march in pursuit of them.

At eight o'clock, the cavalry, with six horse artillery guns and the rifles, and a few of her majesty's 20th, mounted on elephants, under the command of Lord Clyde himself (who was still compelled to be conveyed in a dhooly), set out in pursuit—marched all night, and, by seven in the morning, arrived within a few miles of Bankee, and the force of the enemy was soon after within sight. The whole column was at once pressed forward towards Poorenice, a hamlet on the right and in the rear of Bankee, close to the edge of a broad belt of an outlying strip of the Terai. About eight o'clock the enemy, mostly cavalry, were visible in front; and, as the troops approached, it was ascertained that a long deep swamp lay in their front, which was covered on each flank by a small village. Behind them and on their left, as far as the eye could reach, extended the jungle—a dense high wall of green, apparently of immense thickness. The commander-in-chief, who had now mounted on an elephant, attended by Colonel Metcalfe, reconnoitred their position. General Mansfield was intrusted with the general direction of the attack. A very few moments sufficed for the dispositions. The cavalry formed in line—a part of the Punjab horse on the right, the carabiniers, under Colonel Bickerstaff, next; then the six guns; next the 7th hussars in columns of squadrons, and on their left the rest of the Punjabees, the infantry being drawn up on the left rear. On the left front there was a tope occupied by the enemy, behind which the line of the jungle, parallel with their rear, formed a right angle with the jungle on the British right flank. The 7th hussars at once went to the left, round the swamp, and advanced rapidly towards the tope; while the carabiniers and Punjabees proceeded towards the right. The enemy were already retreating rapidly and in confusion, having only just received warning from their picket of the approach of the troops. The bulk of their infantry seemed to go off towards their right, making for the jungle; those who were in the tope fled towards the left. The hussars slipped after the infantry towards the left; the guns, carabiniers, and Punjabees on the right, were received by the fire of three guns—one in the tope, and two from the village, near the angle of the two lines of jungle. They pushed on, the shot flying over their heads, the enemy flying into the jungle; and in a few moments the three guns were taken. Here occurred one of those accidents which show the uncertainty of any military operations not conducted in the most perfect accordance with the established rules of war. Cavalry and horse artillery can do much, but they cannot charge jungle. The infantry were far behind. The moment the enemy's infantry got within the jungle they faced round and opened a sharp musketry fire on the cavalry and guns; while two guns, quite concealed from view, served by steady gunners with shot, shell, grape, canister, and shrapnel, opened on the pursuers. Fraser's guns in vain tried to search out the jungle and to silence the enemy's fire. The rifles were advancing at the double; and as it was quite useless to expose men to a fire, already very heavy, which a few seconds might render fatal, the artillery were retired by alternate guns, firing as they fell back, and covered by the cavalry. The rifles advanced splendidly; and, as their Enfields began to whistle through the trees, the enemy's guns shut up, and their infantry disappeared. The advance again was ordered; and on examination, a path was perceived in the jungle at the angle of the two lines of wood already mentioned. At this moment it was reported that the enemy on the left were in force; and, soon afterwards, that a party of sowars were threatening the left flank. The carabiniers and two guns were detached to meet the latter movement; and the 20th regiment were placed to cover the rear; while the rifles advanced through the jungle in front of the left flank of the hussars and the Punjabees, who, with five guns, filed through

it by the road. The sowars proved to be a detachment of Punjabees, who had been left with the Beloochees at Mujidiah, and were led out by Mr. Ross when he heard the firing. The enemy's infantry did not make any attempt on the left of the English line, but seem to have got away through the jungle on their right from the line of rifle skirmishers. The belt of jungle was about half a mile broad; and, by half-past ten, the cavalry and part of the guns suddenly emerged on a wide plain with an undulating surface, in front of which rose the Nepaulese hills, with their base covered by the Terai. On the left of the cavalry the belt of jungle ran on in a line down to a dip in the ground, where it abruptly ceased. In the plain the enemy appeared flying in two disorderly bodies—one towards the left, where the jungle ceased; the other towards a village on the right. Detaching a squadron of the 7th hussars to the left, Sir William Russell led the remainder of his regiment and the Punjabees towards the large mass of the fugitives on the right. As they dashed onwards, their course was unfortunately interrupted by a deep nullah filled with water, which stopped Fraser's guns, and detained the cavalry in their pursuit. The moment they were freed from this obstacle, they charged on to the right; but the enemy had got a good start, and were close to the village, which was situated on a ford of the river Raptee. Here they rushed across in wild confusion. But the hussars pressed close upon them. The Punjabees captured a gun on the brink of the river. Suddenly a heavy battery of six guns, from the other side of the river, opened on the pursuing cavalry, covering the ford, and ploughing up the opposite bank. The begum's guns had been sent up, and Mehundie Hoosein was doing his best for his friends. The British guns were not up. The enemy on the right had got over, and were collecting on the other side of the rapid river, under cover of their guns. Meanwhile the squadron under Fraser, on the left, having a greater space to go over, had not got so close to the river at the point where the jungle joined its course. The enemy, headed by the rifles through the jungle, and cut off on the right, were all crowding in dismay towards the narrow point on the left, where there was a ford. The hussars and Punjabees on the right were at once wheeled round, and, running the gauntlet of the enemy's guns all along the banks of the river, galloped as hard as they could to assist the squadron on the left. As Fraser's men saw they were gaining on the enemy, and that a river ran before them, they gave one ringing cheer, sat down in their saddles, and rushed along as fast, fierce, and strong as the Raptee itself. "Steady men, steady!" shouted the commander—it was in vain; the thunder of horses' hoofs, the lightning of battle, rolled and flashed along. Sir W. Russell, galloping swiftly, tried in vain to come up on their right; but even his long-legged horse could not overtake the troopers. The Raptee, then at its lowest, was a very clear, rapid, mountain river, with low banks, between which were beds of sand deposited by the torrents, which had descended from the hills during the rains. The course of the river is exceedingly tortuous, and little or nothing was known of its direction or of the fords. The pace quickened as the cavalry closed upon the enemy; but the sowars were well mounted, and rode well. The mass of the enemy dashed over the bank, over the sands and boulders, and right into the current.

In a cascade of white the sowars precipitated themselves into the waters of the Raptee. At the sight the hussars gave one more wild cry, and in an instant they were engaged with them in the river. Not a man could be held; each went straight at an enemy. Their horses floundered amid the rocks, but the hussars held their own. They cut down the sowars as they struggled in the whirling stream, and charged them in the ford. It was one of those wonderful spectacles only to be seen in actual war, and of which peace has no counterpart:—here men and horses swimming for their lives; there, fierce hand-to-hand conflicts between sowars and hussars in the foaming water; but the river was the most formidable foe. Major Horne, a most kind-hearted, excellent soldier, overturned with his horse in the river, was rolled over, swept away, and drowned. Captain Stisted, carried away by the stream, was only saved by the activity and presence of mind of Major Fraser, his comrade, who pulled off his coat and plunged into the river just in time to carry his friend, with a spark of life unextinguished, to the bank. The river was full of struggling men and horses, and some forty or fifty of the enemy were swimming for their lives; but the rest were beneath the waters, or were riding across the other bank.

The pursuers had ridden thirty miles. They were exhausted, as were the horses; and so, at one o'clock, the cavalry fell back, marched through the jungle, and, joining the rest of the expedition, found their tents pitched and baggage up at Bankee, in their rear, at three o'clock in the afternoon of the 31st.

Notwithstanding their enormous losses, the enemy had still fifteen or twenty guns across the Raptee; but the blow so unexpectedly struck, filled them with such dismay, that they fled for miles through the jungles on the left. At night, however, the infantry recovered themselves, and passed over by various fords to the begum, Bainie Madhoo, and the chuckledar, Mehundie Hoosein. The begum's camp was immediately broken up and moved further north.

Shortly after this disastrous encounter, by the result of which all hope for the present appeared to be lost, the begum addressed a letter to Maun Sing, then at the camp of the commander-in-chief, in which she expressed herself with all the pride and grandeur of a sovereign princess making a treaty with an equal potentate, when asking what stipulations Queen Victoria wished to introduce, in case she thought fit to lay down her arms; and also what guarantee the Queen of England was prepared to offer for the due performance of such promises as might be made to the majesty of Oude, in the persons of herself and her son, whose rights as king, and her own, as his mother and actual guardian, she insisted upon the recognition of, as the basis of any negotiation! The reply to this extraordinary communication was transmitted to the begum by Major Barrow, who informed her majesty, that to open negotiations with her after the deceptions of which she had been guilty, would be absurd, if it were admissible; and that the utmost that could then be offered to her was, an extension of clemency in case of unconditional surrender, but not otherwise.

The body of Major Horne was brought into camp in the afternoon of the 4th of January, by some natives, who, stimulated by the promise of a reward, searched the river, and found the corpse submerged in a quicksand below the ford. The gallant and lamented officer was buried the same evening in front of the camp, under a lone tree, whereon a plate, with an inscription stating his name, rank, and the manner and date of his death, was affixed. It was an affecting ceremonial, decorously conducted. The staff of Lord Clyde, of Sir W. Mansfield, the head-quarters' officers, the officers of the rifle brigade, Brigadier Horsford, Brigadier Richmond Jones, the officers and a detachment of the carabiniers, Sir W. Russell, and the officers and men of the 7th hussars, followed the bier, behind which was led the horse of the deceased in funereal trappings. As the procession, preceded by the band of the rifle brigade, passed out of the camp, and the sad and noble strains of "the Death March" swelled through the air, the native camp-followers thronged to gaze upon the spectacle, and one or two salaamed as the war-horse passed them. Sir William Russell, in the absence of any clergyman, read the funeral prayers, and, in the gloom of a murky evening, the service closed.

Feroze Shah continued to create annoyance; but, by the beginning of December, the force which still adhered to him had dwindled down to some 700 cavalry, without guns, and nearly without resources. The blow struck by Brigadier Napier, at Rannode, had proved most disastrous to him, as it deterred the people of the country through which he passed from rendering him assistance, and his followers consequently fell off. A party of them had, however, an encounter with a detachment of the 25th Bombay native infantry from Goona, under the command of Captain Rice, of the 86th regiment, who contrived to surprise the rebels in a pass among the hills, near Arone. On arriving at this place on the 22nd of December, Captain Rice received intelligence that a party of Feroze Shah's troops were within eight miles of him. The previous day they had encountered Lieutenant Stack, of the Bombay lancers, who was on his way from Poonah to Saronge, with a convoy of forty camels and thirty Cape horses for Smith's brigade. The convoy was at once attacked, the whole of the camels captured, and three lancers killed. Lieutenant Stack and the horses, however, managed to escape. On receiving these tidings, Captain Rice, with his whole force, marched at twilight, leaving his camp standing. The first five miles of the route were easy, but after that, the march lay through thick jungle, and very rugged and uneven ground. The guns and the cavalry kept up with the column with the greatest difficulty; but as it was a bright moonlight night no mishap occurred. About eleven o'clock the column halted at

the base of some high hills. Captain Rice, accompanied by the native guides, went forward on his knees to reconnoitre, and was able to discern, at some distance, the enemy's picket. The word "forward" was given, and the column marched through a pass, between the hills, scarcely ten feet broad. The 86th rushed forward to charge, but were stopped by a nullah, which they were obliged to head by marching some distance to the right. This slight delay, however, allowed the rebels to escape; and when the column arrived at their camp, they found it deserted. Captain Rice recovered nearly the whole of the camels captured the day before, with the addition of 100 horses and ponies, besides arms, ammunition, and stores of all kinds. The place seemed a perfect den for robbers. It was about 150 feet long, and fifty yards broad, with hills and thick jungles on both sides. The entrance through which Captain Rice marched his column was a narrow pass between the hills, having a small river in its front, which undoubtedly saved the rebels from destruction; as, during the time the troops were crossing the stream, they escaped by a small path-way over the hills, at a further extremity of this natural amphitheatre. As pursuit was hopeless, the troops bivouacked by the enemy's fires until morning, when Captain Cochrane, with a party of horse, started in pursuit, the remainder of the force marching some time afterwards.

The determination of Bainie Madhoo and other chiefs to still hold out, although they were aware the term of grace offered by the amnesty would expire on the 1st of January, 1859, created a difficulty to be solved by the governor-general and the commander-in-chief. A question naturally arose under the circumstances, whether it would not be advantageous to prolong the term within which submission would be accepted; and a decision upon this point became the more important on account of the different views taken by persons in high places, both in India and in Great Britain, of every act of the Indian government. The question was eventually disposed of by the determination of the authorities upon the scene of action, to treat every case upon its own merits, without strictly referring to the limits prescribed by the proclamation.

Both Feroze Shah and Tantia Topee were, however, both aware that the period approached beyond which, for them, the amnesty would be a dead letter; yet they exhibited no signs of a disposition to avail themselves of the safety offered to them. On the contrary, they had effected a junction on the Chumbul, north-east of Kotah, and were marching towards Madhorajpore, from whence they could menace Jeypore. The last-named chief, it will be remembered, after threatening Bunswara, directed his march towards Oodeypore, *viâ* Saloombra, and reached the latter place on the 15th of December, where he was received with open arms by the rajah. As Oodeypore was barely fifty miles from this place, it was Tantia's intention to have marched upon it; but, for once, the movements of his European antagonists were too fleet for him. A column, under Major Rocke, consisting of about 400 men of various corps, with two guns, had marched for the protection of Oodeypore; to reach which place they had, in five days, covered 100 miles of most difficult roads, having bullocks only to drag along their guns. The movement was, however, successful; and Tantia, finding his design upon Oodeypore frustrated, struck off eastward, in the direction of Mundesore, with Major Rocke's force in close pursuit. The chase lasted for several days; and at length, on Christmas eve, the enemy was overtaken at Pertabghur, and was here so severely pressed, that, becoming desperate, he resolved to proceed no further, but, turning upon his pursuers, to cut his way through them, and recross the Chumbul river. In coming to this resolve, it is probable he was misled as to the strength of Major Rocke's force, which he imagined was merely a small body of cavalry. On the afternoon of the 24th of December, therefore, between four and five o'clock, the rebel army advanced to the attack in three divisions, the right being commanded by Tantia in person. His skirmishers extended over nearly two miles of ground, and his force amounted to about 1,500 infantry, and 3,500 cavalry; but he had no artillery. Major Rocke's force of 400 men was nothing daunted by the formidable display presented to it, but showed a bold front to the enemy, whom they allowed to approach in silence. At 1,200 yards the 72nd highlanders opened fire with their Enfield rifles, and almost every shot took effect. The rebels, however, still advanced; and, as soon as they came within range, the two guns opened fire, and did great execution, rolling over horses and riders in

numbers. The right of Major Rocke's force sustained the heaviest fire; and it was even supposed at one time that the enemy would have charged at this point. The 13th native infantry, however, replied to the fire with great precision and rapidity; and Tantia's army, opening out to the right and left, made a rapid retreat in the direction of the Chumbul. Darkness prevented pursuit, and the rebels were allowed to escape unmolested. Major Rocke's column sustained but little injury in this engagement. Captain Bolton (royal artillery) received a contusion on the side, but of such little consequence as scarcely to interfere with the discharge of his duties. Three men of the 72nd highlanders, and four sepoys of the 13th native infantry, were wounded, but not seriously. The whole of the troops behaved with great gallantry; and it is probable, if the action had commenced earlier in the day, that few of the enemy would have reached the Chumbul. As it was, the ground was covered with dead rebels and horses, the wounded having been carried off by the main body. Their total loss was estimated at about 300 men. Two elephants were taken; and on the back of one was found the cooking apparatus of the Rao Sahib. The driver stated that the Rao was wounded, and that a body found without the head was that of Tantia's cousin. Major Rocke resumed the pursuit on the following morning; but, as the guns were dragged by bullocks, he was unable to approach the rebels. His force had performed excellent service, having, in the space of five days, preserved the large and opulent cities of Oodeypore and Pertabghur from sack and plunder. After leaving the field of battle at Pertabghur, Tantia never drew rein until he approached Mundesore. Colonel Benson's column had, however, in the meantime taken up the pursuit, and reached the city almost as soon as the rebel fugitives. Perceiving his danger, Tantia sheered off to the northwards, and marched upon Narghur. He was scarcely allowed a halt, Colonel Benson being close upon his heels. Again he started, and this time distanced his pursuers, as he managed to cross the Chumbul at Biswa, twenty-eight miles north-east of Mundesore, before Colonel Benson could overtake him. He then betook himself to the jungle with the remnant of his followers, and, for the present, seemed not likely to give much further trouble. He could not retrace his steps southward, the Ahmedabad column being at Bunswara, Parke's brigade at Mundesore, Major Rocke's column at Pertabghur, Major Grant's force at Rutlam, another force at Dohud, Captain Buckle's horse at Bareah, and some irregular forces at Jubboah and Bhofawur.

In Central India, a body of rebels, to the number of nearly 4,000, had, early in December, concentrated in the vicinity of Nagode, under a chief named Radha Govind, from whence they threatened the garrison at Kirwee; and, on the 22nd of the month, a portion of the force made an attack upon the place, and so far succeeded as to obtain possession of the town, and surround the palace of Narayun Rao, in which the European troops, numbering about eighty, were shut up. Of this force, a considerable portion were sick and convalescent; and the palace itself was much too extensive for such a garrison to defend for any length of time. Intelligence was, however, conveyed to General Whitlock, who was in the neighbourhood; and, on the 24th of December, that officer relieved the beleaguered troops. The following extract of a letter from Banda, dated the 26th of the month, supplies some details of the affair:—"The garrison at Kirwee were attacked at noon on the 22nd, by Radha Govind, with 600 mutineers, 3,000 matchlock-men, and 150 cavalry; but the small, though gallant and heroic band, consisting of 30 of H.M.'s 43rd, 11 of the royal artillery, and 40 Madrassees, with one or two native guns, bravely held their own until nightfall, when the enemy retired. The next day, the rebels were busy making scaling-ladders; and, on the 24th, they attacked a neighbouring jagheerdar, and took from him three guns, with which they were preparing for another attack on the garrison. General Whitlock, however, at Matuba, got the news by express on the evening of the 23rd, and, with the A troop of Madras horse artillery, one squadron of H.M.'s 12th lancers, and one troop of Hyderabad cavalry, reached Banda, thirty-six miles, on the next night morning of the 24th, and the next night marched forty-eight miles to Kirwee, and relieved the garrison, which was fairly knocked up with three days of perpetual watching day and night. They had only lost one matchlock-man, whilst the enemy had suffered considerably. The latter are now in force about five miles from Kirwee; but I trust that in a few days, by a combined

movement, they will soon be exterminated or dispersed. Captain Woodland, of the 1st Madras native infantry, commanded the garrison, and bravely did they do their duty. The relieving force marched eighty-four miles in thirty hours."

Following up this success, General Whitlock, on the 29th, attacked the rebels under Radha Govind, at Punwaree, five miles south-east of Kirwee. The enemy was posted very favourably upon some heights, which were, however, stormed, and their guns taken with a rush, by H.M.'s 43rd regiment and some Rewah infantry. In the *mélée*, Radha Govind and his brother, and about a hundred other rebels, were slaughtered. Meanwhile, the general had gone round by a detour to the enemy's rear, with the horse artillery and cavalry, and a detachment of the 3rd Madras Europeans and sappers, and cut off their retreat. As the rebels came flying from before the attacking columns, they were met in every direction by the horse artillery and cavalry. At last, about 200 of them took refuge in a small wood, which was immediately surrounded by the cavalry, and the latter went in and cut them all up to a man. Upwards of 300 were killed altogether, it is believed; and, in addition to the guns, several elephants, camels, and horses, and other property, was captured. The rout of the enemy was most complete; and they only saved themselves by dispersing and flying into the depth of the immense forests which cover those tracts. The casualties on the side of the English only consisted of a few wounded.

From the plains of Punwaree and Dadree, the remnant of the rebel force fled south towards Kotee, in which direction Brigadier Carpenter had been ordered to march from Nagode, to intercept the fugitives. He had not proceeded far before he got news of them, and sent out a party under Colonel Gottreux, of the 1st Madras native infantry, to give an account of them. The detachment consisted of 26 of H.M.'s 43rd regiment, 55 of the 1st Madras native infantry, with 30 cavalry, and 150 infantry of the Nagode levies, accompanied by Captain Osborne, the political agent of Rewah, and his assistant. At daybreak on the 2nd of January, this party came suddenly upon a body of 300 mutineers of the 8th, 49th, and other Bengal regiments, in the village of Kureereah, and effected a most complete surprise. The rebels had just time to receive them with a sharp discharge of musketry, and then turned and fled. The cavalry, under Lieutenant Gompertz, soon, however, headed them, and drove them back on to the Enfields of the 43rd, who made short work of it; and such as were still able to attempt escape, were again charged into by the cavalry, as they fled over some very difficult ground covered with brushwood. Some of the rebels fought desperately in this affair, and few escaped to carry the news of their defeat to the camp of the insurgent chief.

It was by this time well known that the most important personages connected with the rebellion, with the bulk of the insurgent forces yet in arms, had sought shelter in the Nepaulese territory—a movement on their part which added somewhat to the difficulties of the campaign by which the war of the rebellion was to be terminated, and rendered the operations of the commander-in-chief of increased political importance, as well as of extreme delicacy. The favourable view in which the British alliance had originally been considered by Jung Bahadoor, was supposed to have undergone a very material change, in consequence of some alleged misunderstanding between the Nepaulese chief and the governor-general at Allahabad, upon a question of reward for services rendered by the Ghoorka force in the Lucknow campaign; and also in reference to the British resident at the court of Nepaul (Colonel Ramsay), who had become personally objectionable to the Jung; and against whom the latter, when at Allahabad, preferred no less than thirty distinct charges. The colonel was thereupon summoned to answer those charges personally before Lord Canning; and, upon his quitting Khatmandoo for the purpose, the Nepaulese prime minister, triumphantly but incorrectly, boasted that *he* had *dismissed* the resident: such, however, was not the case, as, upon the arrival of the colonel at Allahabad, he fully and satisfactorily answered every charge that had been preferred against him; and, in consequence, he was at once exonerated from all blame, and ordered to resume his appointment at the court of Nepaul. The Nepaulese durbar, on its part, now peremptorily refused to receive Colonel Ramsay in a public character, and declared that the governor-general, by reappointing him, had violated a distinct promise given to the court of Nepaul through General Macgregor. It

affected to see, in the persistency to force an obnoxious resident upon the court, a hostile menace. Under such circumstances, and with the *débris* of a large mutinous army encamping upon the Nepaul territory, it was not considered prudent to insist upon the appointment; and rather than involve himself disagreeably with the Nepaulese court, and thereby introduce fresh complications into the campaign, the governor-general consented to replace the colonel by an officer more acceptable to the authorities, relying upon their good faith for the ejection of the begum and her confederates from the territory in which they were sheltering themselves from pursuit.*

About the 4th of January, information was received in the camp of the commander-in-chief that the enemy were again collected in great strength in the valley of the Raptee, beyond a range of hills distinctly visible from the camp; but no positive intelligence could be obtained as to their actual position in Nepaul, nor had Lord Clyde authority to pass the frontier, for the purpose of ascertaining the fact. That British soldiers should be content to rest upon their arms with an enemy almost within their reach, was not natural; and it was therefore with much gratification intelligence was received that the enemy had moved from their shelter to take up a position near the river, about fourteen miles distant. At eleven o'clock on the 4th the camp was struck, and the army moved forward with the intention of crossing, when spies came in and reported that the begum and her officers were actually discussing the propriety of crossing the river to attack the British force. As this movement on their part, if effected, would have placed the Raptee in their rear, and, in the case of an attack, would greatly have augmented the chances against their escape, the order was immediately given to halt, and await the result of their councils. The force under the command of Lord Clyde at the time, numbered altogether about 3,130 men, and was constituted as follows:—Fraser's horse artillery troop, six guns; 7th hussars, 390 sabres; H.M.'s 6th dragoons, 150 sabres; 6th Madras cavalry, 80 sabres; 1st, or Hughes' Punjab cavalry, 350 sabres; Lennox's company, royal engineers, 50; rifle brigade, 750; H.M.'s 20th regiment, 200; one wing Belooch battalion, 400; to which was shortly added the other wing, about 400 strong, and five companies of H.M.'s 20th, about 360.

The report of the spies was evidently intended to deceive the British commander,

* Whatever may have been the personal feeling of Jung Bahadoor, as regarded the government in India, it is evident by the following account of the reception of her majesty's proclamation in Nepaul, that the sentiments of the Nepaulese court were of a friendly description towards the British nation and its sovereign, from whom the Jung had personally received marks of attention during his extraordinary mission to the court of Queen Victoria. The reception is thus described by an officer attached to the English resident at Khatmandoo:—"On the 4th of December, a full durbar was held at Khatmandoo by the Maharaj Dheraj (or king) of Nepaul, to receive, through the assistant-resident, Captain Byers, a khureeta from the governor-general, enclosing the Queen's proclamation, together with his own. The durbar was unusually crowded with all the officers of state. When the assistant-resident, having in a short speech to the king mentioned the subject of the khureeta, presented it enclosed in a case of kimkáb, or cloth of gold, his highness expressed how much he was gratified at the intelligence of her majesty's assumption of the government of India; and added, that in a few days a grand parade of all the troops should be held to do every honour to the change of rule; at the same time inviting the assistant-resident to be present. Accordingly, on the 7th of the same month, the troops, amounting to 13,500, were assembled on the Toone-Khel parade-ground. They were disposed in the form of two parallelograms, the one within the other, with the exception of the artillery, who were drawn up on one flank, with 100 pieces of cannon ranged in a semicircle. The assistant-resident, who was accompanied by Dr. Oldfield, honorary assistant and medical officer, was received by the troops with the usual honours, and was then conducted by the Maharajah Jung Bahadoor to the centre, where the brothers of the prime minister, together with the principal officers, were all drawn up in a distinct line. His highness, according to a Nepaulese custom when paying a military compliment to an absent personage, now elevated his sheathed sword above his head, to represent her most gracious majesty; and having given a short abstract of the proclamation announcing the transfer of government within the Anglo-Indian territories, he directed the officers to explain to their men the purpose for which they were assembled. He then drew his sword, and exclaimed, 'Salute the Queen of England!' The trumpets sounded the 'present,' the troops presented arms, the prime minister and officers dropped their swords, and four bands stationed together struck up 'God save the Queen.' The officers then joined their regiments; the two lines, as above described, faced outwards; and each man, being supplied with ten rounds of blank cartridge, commenced a *feu de joie*, which was well maintained. The outer line fired from right to left, the inner from left to right; thus the running fires crossed each other like the smoke of two railway trains as they flash by from opposite directions, and produced a striking effect. This having ended, a signal was given, and the artillery opened fire in salvoes of ten guns each, which were continued until 1,000 rounds had been expended. Thus ended this demonstration of the friendly feeling of the government of Nepaul towards the British crown."

and gain time for the rebels, as, on the 5th, Lord Clyde learned that the begum had fled, and by that time was 150 miles distant from his camp, and in the Nepaulese territory. The advance upon the line of the Raptee was, however, resumed. On the 6th, the tents were again struck, and the column advanced through the jungle to the plain beyond it, by a path cut by the pioneers: the distance was little more than six miles; and, as they emerged from the jungle, the clear bright morning afforded a magnificent view of the mountains of Nepaul, with occasional glimpses of the snowy range of the great Himalayas peering above them in the far distance. The enjoyment of the beauty of the scenery above was, however, sadly marred by that around the line of march. The bodies of men and animals slain in the engagement of the 30th of December, were strewed on either side, torn and dismembered by shot, and mangled by the wild beasts of the jungle, and even yet affording a repast for the vultures, while they poisoned the atmosphere with the fetid exhalations that arose from them. Crossing the undulating plain, the banks of the Raptee were at length approached; the opposite shore being marked by a line of deep forest, spreading away to the foot of the mountains. The Raptee had by this time hurried away, in its current, nearly all traces of the sanguinary fight of the 30th; but a few dead horses were seen half-buried in the sand-banks: while, gazing across the bed of the stream, which is here about half a mile wide (although, at the time, the water was not more than 200 yards across), a solitary sepoy made his appearance from the jungle, on the Nepaul side, and precipitately retired. The traces of the begum's camp, and of the position from whence her guns had fired on the cavalry, were yet visible; but no enemy remained.

On the morning of the 7th of January, Mehundie Hoosein, the nawab of Furruckabad, and several chiefs of minor importance, came across the Raptee, from the rebel camp in the Terai, and surrendered themselves to the English picket at the ford. The nawab and his friends were accompanied by about 200 armed men, who laid down their swords and fire-arms as soon as they stepped from the river. The chiefs came over on elephants and in palkees, and they were followed into the head-quarters' camp by a crowd of natives from the bazaar, and soldiers off duty. They were first conducted by the guard to the tent of Major Barrow, and the case of the nawab of Furruckabad was the first taken into consideration. His case was peculiar. In accordance with the information laid before it, and the general belief at the time, the government of India, in the preceding April, had excluded the nawab from the benefits and rewards offered to the captor of the Nana, as one who was almost as guilty as that great criminal, on account of his ordering the massacre of women and children at Futteghur, the military station of Furruckabad.* A price of £10,000 was set on his head; and he was expressly shut out, by proclamation, from all favour and amnesty. There were, indeed, people who said at the time that the nawab had nothing to do with the massacre, and that he tried in vain to prevent it. Two Christian ladies, who had known the nawab in former times, and were received into his zenana on the outbreak, declared he was innocent; and their testimony was partly corroborated: but peculiar circumstances occurred to invalidate the testimony of those ladies, and the ban upon him remained. That the nawab went off with the rebels was, however, notorious, and his exemption from amnesty was equally well known. In person he was represented as a small delicately-framed man, with feminine hands and feet; and his features, of a true Oriental type, were regular—rather Jewish in character; but his eyes fine, though somewhat dull. He was handsomely dressed in a rich green-and-gold turban, a black velvet surcoat lined with fur, and silk trowsers; and his manners were perfectly quiet and becoming. He was told to take a chair in Major Barrow's tent, and the commissioner then explained to him that he was to be sent a prisoner to Furruckabad, to take his trial for murder. "To kill men in war is fair, nawab; but no one ought to murder defenceless women and children, no matter what the excuse, in war or peace."—"The commissioner says truly: if I have done so, let me suffer."—"You know that you are considered guilty of the massacre at Futteghur."—"Yes; the best proof I can give that I do not consider myself guilty is, that I come here to take my trial, though you have already pronounced me guilty, and I have to prove my innocence."—"I hope you can do so."—"My trust is that I may, though it is difficult." In the course of

* See vol. i., p. 350.

conversation he said he had brought in all his family; and he was allowed to send a certain number of his own followers with them to Furruckabad, where they would find his palace and houses in ruins. He was asked whether he would prefer a guard of Europeans or of natives. He replied, "natives;" and then, as if anxious to explain his reasons, added, "But whichever you please; I only said natives because they would understand better, for I do not speak English well." With his retinue were four or five elephants, which he handed over to the British. Among them was General Wheeler's sporting elephant, and Mahout, who had been going about with the rebels ever since the Cawnpore massacre. The man could tell little about the actual murders, for he was not near the place when they were perpetrated; but he declared that the nawab had been several times prevented coming over by the sepoys, who watched him closely, and who had threatened to kill him repeatedly. A guard of the rifle brigade was marched up to the tent to guard the nawab; but as Colonel Christie was starting next day with the 80th for Cawnpore, it was resolved to send the prisoner down with the force, to which some native infantry were added as a special escort. On the nawab's right, in the tent, was seated Mehundie Hoosein, the old opponent of General Franks, and recently, on more than one occasion, the beaten foe of Sir Hope Grant. He was a fine, tall, portly man, with a very agreeable face, much more open and manly than the nawab's. On his right sat Hijummoab Hoosein, talookdar of Buthamow; and then round the table, in front of the commissioner, in order, Meer Dost Ali, uncle of Mehundie Hoosein; Gholam Hoosein, brother of the rebel; Meer Bundee Hoosein, tehseeldar of Hussunpore; Sheek Ali Mahomed, tehseeldar of Pertabghur, and Meer Reasut Ali—all rebel chiefs of Oude, vanquished, owning themselves beaten, and seeking pardon. If, when weak, the British punished severely and fearlessly, now that they were strong they were clement and generous: and thus all those rebels were permitted to return to their homes—one with fifty, another with forty-five, another with fifty followers, to guard their families and their property: no questions were asked them; and their written papers were given to them on the spot—the only condition being, that they should repair to Mr. Martin, at Lucknow, where their followers were to be disarmed, and they would learn the terms on which they were to live in Oude for the future. Maun Sing understood this policy perfectly; for he said—"When the British were few, and fighting for their lives, they had to kill and hang every one, and to forgive no offender; now the day is theirs, they can pardon without any one saying they are afraid." Maun Sing's approbation of any policy was doubtful praise; but the remark showed he appreciated the arguments of a large party in India as to the conduct of the English in a great crisis.

Mehundie Hoosein was collector of Salone under the Oude dynasty. When Oude was annexed he was relieved from his charge by Major Barrow; and when the mutiny took place, he reoccupied the post which, perforce, the commissioner was obliged to abandon; and, "now," said he, "you are here to relieve me again." He spoke frankly and freely; and it appeared that his numbers had never reached the strength attributed to him in despatches.

These men, who had come in upon an errand so fraught with serious consequences to themselves, were all well and even richly dressed, and sat at their ease as if they had been among their best friends. From the commissioner's tent the chiefs proceeded to Lord Clyde's, with the exception of the nawab, who, as a prisoner, remained with Lieutenant-colonel Crealock, and conversed with that officer while he was sitting for a pencil sketch, which was very successful. Lord Clyde invited the chiefs to sit down, and expressed his gratification at seeing them, and his hope that they would settle down and become good subjects of the Queen. "I have been fifty years a soldier," he said, "and I have seen enough of war to rejoice when it is at an end." "Say to the Lord Sahib that I was twenty-five years in the service of the king of Oude," replied Mehundie Hoosein; evidently implying that he could not, as a man of honour, help fighting in the cause of one he had served so long. They took their leave, after a short interview, and were permitted to travel as they pleased to Lucknow; most of them, however, preferring to accompany the column. Mehundie Hoosein reported that there were 20,000 sepoys and 1,200 sowars, with 200 elephants, in Nepaul. The next evening, the 80th regiment and 24th Punjabees commenced their march from the head-quarters' camp for Cawnpore, taking with them, as a state prisoner, the nawab of Furruckabad.

As there were no longer any rebel forces in Oude worthy the name of an army, the military operations in that country may be said to have ceased with the affair on the Raptee. On the 7th of January, the commander-in-chief issued instructions for the security of the passes and gorge of that river, to prevent the return of the fugitives from the Nepaulese territory; and thus reported the result of the campaign.

To his Excellency the Viscount Canning, Viceroy and Governor-general.

"Head-quarters, Camp on the Raptee, 7th January, 1859.

"My Lord,—When I last had the honour to address your excellency on the progress of the campaign in Oude, on the 25th of November, 1858, I reported that the first half of it had been brought to a conclusion, the rebels having been for the most part driven across the Gogra, with the exception of the Seetapore district, which stretches from the border of Rohilcund to the neighbourhood of Lucknow.

"It is now my pleasing duty further to report to your excellency that the campaign is at an end, that there is no longer even the vestige of rebellion in the province of Oude, and that the last remnant of the mutineers and insurgents has been hopelessly driven across the mountains which form the barrier between the kingdom of Nepaul and her majesty's empire of Hindostan. These results have been attained by following the course of action first initiated in the month of July, when the campaign of Oude for the reduction of the country really commenced—viz., by not committing the troops to a forward movement until I should be ready to support it on every side, and so to convert a march into a thorough process of occupation, as was done in the Doab last year, after the battle of Cawnpore.

"Due preparation once made, the troops have always been instantly thrown forward, in spite of every difficulty of season, and their work rendered permanent. Hence it arose that the campaigns in Behar, Goruckpore, and Oude, have been always treated as a whole, and I have in great measure continued to trust to my own judgment, to fix the date when decisive operations should commence in each territory, with due regard to the general plan, from the great outline and features of which a departure has not at any time been permitted.

"It is with no ordinary feelings of satisfaction and of thankfulness to the officers and soldiers of the army, who have displayed such unwearied constancy, perseverance, and fortitude in giving execution to my orders, that I have it consequently in my power to announce to your excellency, that on the 1st of January, the last day of clemency permitted under the proclamation of her gracious majesty the Queen, it was reported to me, by the special commissioner attached to my camp in a civil capacity, that the law and civil administration has been re-established in every district in Oude, similar reports having been made respecting Goruckpore and Behar a few weeks previously.

"On the 31st of December, 1858, the rebels were engaged for the last time by me, as a military body in Oude, and driven across the border. The force actually with me is encamped close to it. The begum, with her immediate followers, having been as yet deaf to the offers of her majesty's clemency, has sought an asylum in Nepaul; while nearly every chief or talookdar, I may say almost without an exception, whose hands have not been imbrued in murder, has surrendered, and is now in the course of making an amicable arrangement with the chief commissioner of Oude.

"The disarmament of the people, and the dismantling of the forts of the country, have proceeded rapidly under the protection of the columns and garrisons left in different parts of the province, as the general advance of the long line pressed further onwards, until at length it was arrested by the mountains of Nepaul, the frontier of her majesty's ally. Many hundred guns, and about 350,000 arms of different description, have been collected in Oude, and more than 300 forts have been destroyed. A considerable number of the mutineers have surrendered and been allowed to retire to their homes, and the population of the country is settling down in all directions in the most satisfactory manner.

"I now present to your excellency a slight sketch of the military movements of the last six weeks. It will be in the recollection of your excellency, that a few hours after the evacuation of Shunkerpore, on the 16th of November, 1858, by Bainie Madhoo, the force which had been concentrated for the reduction of that place was broken up; Brigadier Taylor, C.B., H.M.'s 79th highlanders, having been sent with a strong

brigade of all arms to Fyzabad, with orders to cross the Gogra at that point. Sir Hope Grant had been ordered to march in a direct line to the Goomtee. Leaving his force under Brigadier Horsford, C.B., rifle brigade, to reduce the country stretching from Sultanpore to Lucknow, Sir H. Grant repaired with the head-quarters of Hodson's horse to Fyzabad, according to instruction, to take charge of the first trans-Gogra movement. He was desired to assume command of the troops in the Goruckpore district, under Brigadier Rowcroft, Bengal native infantry, and to combine them with the troops at Fyzabad, for the purpose of commencing the clearance of the trans-Gogra district, arrangements being at the same time made to support the movement from Lucknow and the various posts held between that city and Fyzabad. In the meantime an excellent bridge had been completed at the latter place by Lieutenant-colonel Nicholson, royal engineers. Sir Hope Grant gave effect to his instructions in his usual brilliant manner—crossed the Gogra on the 25th of November, and engaged a large body of insurgents under the rajah of Gonda and Mehundie Hoosein, taking six guns, and utterly routing the enemy, with but small loss to himself. Gonda was then occupied by Sir Hope Grant, and Brigadier Rowcroft was gradually pushed forward across the Raptee to Heer, in the Goruckpore district; this latter movement driving the rebels, who had so long annoyed the western frontier of that district, into Toolseypore, in Oude, to the north of the Raptee.

"It had now become necessary for Sir Hope Grant to stop his forward movement until the advance along the line had been made, otherwise, that which we most dreaded might probably have taken place, and the rebels, passing round his right flank under the mountains, might have invaded Tirhoot and Behar. He was accordingly warned to use the greatest care to prevent such a catastrophe, and to confine himself to that duty for the present. In the meantime the other brigades of the army had not been idle. After the fight of Dhoondia Kera, I moved, by forced marches, to Lucknow with the troops. Another brigade, broken up in the Roy Bareilly district, furnished movable columns, which respectively under Lieutenant-colonel Gordon, royal artillery, and Lieutenant-colonel Carmichael, H.M.'s 32nd regiment, pursued Bainie Madhoo to the banks of the Gogra, Lieutenant-colonel Carmichael taking up the running, as it were, from Lieutenant-colonel Gordon.

"While Lieutenant-colonel Carmichael was in pursuit, Brigadier Horsford intercepted Bainie Madhoo, who, flying in confusion, was driven with his followers across the Goomtee, by Brigadier Horsford's cavalry, and horse artillery, under Lieutenant-colonel Sir William Russell, Bart., 7th hussars. All these officers distinguished themselves by the decision and celerity of their movements. Finding, on my arrival at Lucknow on the 28th of November, that I should be obliged to stop there a few days to make certain arrangements, and to meet the demands of the correspondence of the army, the brigade which had latterly accompanied me was not allowed to halt, but was pushed on at once under Brigadier Eveleigh, C.B., H.M.'s 20th foot, to assist in the reduction of the Seetapore district. On the 2nd of December, Brigadier Eveleigh occupied the fort of Oomeriah, after a sharp resistance; he remained there for three days, engaged in levelling it to the ground. This fort, owing to its position, had hitherto barred the north-west road from Lucknow, and had been for a long time a source of much inconvenience. Brigadier Horsford, having completed his prescribed duty on the right bank of the Goomtee, had now marched through Lucknow. Another brigade, formed under Brigadier Purnell, C.B., H.M.'s 90th light infantry, at Nuwabgunge Barabunkee, was joined to him.

"I left Lucknow on the 5th of December, and reached Beyram Ghât, with Brigadier Horsford's brigade, on the next day. I found Bainie Madhoo's followers, who had retreated before Lieutenant-colonel Carmichael, still lingering on the opposite side of the river. Sir Hope Grant having been previously ordered to occupy Secrora in their rear, they quickly disappeared, and retreated northwards as soon as they became aware of his march from Gonda to that place.

"It appeared to me unavailing to delay the campaign during the tedious process of collecting boats and materials to bridge the Gogra. Leaving, therefore, Brigadier Purnell with his brigade to effect that purpose, I marched at the rate of twenty miles a day to Fyzabad, crossed the Gogra at that place, and thence proceeded, in two marches, to Secrora, followed by Colonel Christie,

H.M.'s 80th foot, with a detail of troops. Sir Hope Grant waited to receive me at Secrora by appointment, while his troops had been already pushed on one march on their way to Bulrampore, on the Raptee.

"The major-general was now instructed to commence his movement immediately on Toolseypore, by causing Brigadier Rowcroft to bring forward his right shoulder, and invade the Toolseypore territory from the north-west corner of Goruckpore. A strong post was also formed at Simree, to ward off the chance of the brigadier's advance being turned to the eastward. Bala Rao was reported to hold Toolseypore in considerable strength. I then marched forward to Bareitch with Brigadier Horsford, the begum and her forces retiring from Boonadee, and the Nana from Bareitch, as I moved on. At the same time Brigadier Eveleigh, who had been directed on Fyzabad, was ordered to take post at Gonda, to form a reserve to the columns moving northward to settle the country and level the fort. Brigadier Purnell was desired to assist in the guard of the Gogra to the north-west; one of his regiments, H.M.'s 23rd fusiliers, marching up the small Doab, between the Chowka and Surjoo, to Mullapore, with two guns and a detachment of irregular cavalry. In the same manner Brigadier Troupe (Bengal native infantry), who, after the fall of Biswa, had taken post at Jehangirabad on the Chowka, was ordered to throw H.M.'s 60th, rifles, with two guns and a detachment of cavalry, across that stream, and to extend the remainder of his force to the left.

"The various forces at Mohumdee, Shahjehanpore, Phillibheet, Madho, Tenda, &c., on the Rohilcund frontier, were put well on the alert, so that no resource might be left to the rebel forces but to surrender or to take to the hills of Nepaul. To cause this pressure to be still more felt before the last advance was made, Colonel Christie was detached from Bareitch, and ordered to march up the left bank of the Surjoo to Durmapore. He left Bareitch on the 21st, the movement of the various columns having been delayed by rain for some days.

"On the 23rd I left Bareitch, passed Nanparah on the 26th, and after marching twenty miles in the day, attacked a considerable body of rebels at Burguddiah. Their left flank was turned. They fled after making a slight resistance, and were pursued until nightfall, leaving their guns in our hands. On the 27th the force marched on the fort of Mujidiah. This place was taken after three hours of vertical fire from two mortars, and a cannonade from an 18-pounder and an 8-inch howitzer; the infantry being carefully laid out to command the enemy's embrasures and parapets.

"I have much satisfaction in dwelling on the manner in which this fort was captured, with a very trifling amount of loss to the troops engaged. The chief engineer, Colonel Harness, royal engineers, has reported it to be one of the strongest, as respects artificial defences, that he had seen in India. But, like all others, it was without bomb-proof cover, and, consequently, fell easily into our hands, after a few hours of well-directed fire. As your lordship is aware, every brigade has been carefully provided throughout the war, since the fall of Lucknow, with heavy guns, to ensure similar results in the attack of the forts of Oude. The following detail of troops were at army head-quarters:—F troop royal horse artillery, half a heavy field battery royal artillery, 23rd company royal engineers, head-quarters and 150 sabres (carabiniers), 7th (Queen's own) hussars, squadron of 6th Madras light cavalry, head-quarters and eight companies of H.M.'s 20th regiment, 2nd battalion rifle brigade, 1st Belooch battalion, detachment of Oude police; joined, on the evening of that day, by the 1st Punjab cavalry.

"On the 29th, the troops returned to Nanparah, and made a forced march on the night of the 30th to the vicinity of Bankee, where the enemy had loitered under the Nana. He was surprised and attacked with great vigour, driven through a jungle which he attempted to defend, and, finally, into and across the Raptee, the 7th hussars entering that river with the fugitives. On this occasion, the troops distinguished themselves, more particularly the 2nd battalion rifle brigade under Colonel Hill, and the 7th hussars, under Lieutenant-colonel Sir William Russell. I have to deplore the loss of Major Horne, 7th hussars, who was drowned in the waters of the Raptee. He had the left wing of the regiment. Captain Stisted, who led the 1st squadron, was rescued with great difficulty from a similar fate. The next day it was reported that all the bodies of rebels which had been retreating before us from the day of our arrival at Beyram Ghât, had either surrendered or passed the Nepaul frontier. In these

various affairs eighteen guns fell into our hands.

"Colonel Christie had a successful skirmish on the 23rd of December, and took two guns in the pursuit. He then made a circuit to the north by Pudnaha, and rejoined my camp on the 3rd of January. In the meantime Brigadier Rowcroft attacked Toolseypore on the 23rd of December, driving Bala Rao from that point to the foot of the mountains, and taking two guns. Sir Hope Grant was alarmed about his flank being turned to the eastward and to the north of Goruckpore. Acting according to his instructions, and with great judgment, he made that point absolutely safe before renewing his attack on Bala Rao. That being done, he advanced through the jungles on that leader, and took fifteen guns from him, almost without the show of resistance on the part of the rebels; the latter dispersing and seeking refuge in the adjacent hills, and Bala Rao flying into the interior, as the Nana, his brother, had done before him.

"Thus has the contest in Oude been brought to an end, and the resistance of 150,000 armed men been subdued with a very moderate loss to her majesty's troops, and the most merciful forbearance towards the misguided enemy. For the present Brigadier Horsford has been left watching the Nepaul frontier, where the Raptee debouches from the mountains. A similar arrangement will be made in the Toolseypore district. I propose to give charge of the position to Sir Hope Grant, and to return to Lucknow myself forthwith. I desire to offer my particular acknowledgments to the chief commissioner of Oude, Mr. Montgomery, for the cordiality and good-will with which he has been pleased to co-operate with me in the execution of his high office. The instructions issued by him to the officers under his orders were most eminently calculated to facilitate the progress and efforts of the troops. His two representatives in my camp, Major Barrow, C.B., special commissioner, and Major Bruce, C.B., superintendent of the Oude police, won my warmest thanks for the manner in which they have given effect to the instructions of the chief commissioner.

"Sir Hope Grant's despatches, during the last six months, have told the story of the admirable part taken by him in this war. I cannot say too much in his praise. He has the rare merit of uniting the greatest boldness in action, a firm and correct judgment, and the most scrupulous regard for his orders and instructions. I desire also to recommend to your excellency's most favourable consideration, the officers who have commanded brigades, at different times, in the army of Oude. Some have been employed in more active situations than others, but all have acted with real zeal and devotion to the common cause. I therefore include them in one list:—The late Colonel Berkeley, C.B., H.M.'s 32nd light infantry; Brigadier Horsford, C.B., rifle brigade; Brigadier Taylor, C.B., 79th highlanders; Brigadier Eveleigh, C.B., 20th regiment; Brigadier Purnell, C.B., 90th light infantry; Brigadier Parker, C.B., royal artillery; Brigadier Weatheral, C.B., unattached; Brigadier Pinckney, C.B., 73rd regiment; Brigadier Hall, C.B., 82nd regiment; Brigadier the Hon. P. Herbert, C.B., 82nd regiment; Brigadier Jones, C.B., 6th dragoon guards; Brigadier Hagart, C.B., 7th hussars; Brigadier Troupe, Bengal native infantry; Brigadier Fischer, Madras native infantry; Colonel Kelly, C.B., 34th regiment; Colonel Christie, 80th regiment.

"I refrain from troubling your excellency with a long list of the officers who have commanded regiments and have filled the subordinate staff appointments. I wish to say that they and the men under their command, throughout the long struggle carried on without intermission in every season of the year (ten months having elapsed since the fall of Lucknow, during which they have ever kept the field), have been distinguished by a discipline and a constancy unsurpassed in any war. The service was attended by great fatigue, by never-ceasing sickness, and was performed alike during the intense heat of the summer, the languor of the Indian rains, and the more bracing season of winter. But the discipline of her majesty's troops never swerved. All ranks have emulated one another in their exertions. For this we have to thank the high sense of duty and the personal example of regimental commanders and staff officers, and watchful and provident care of the staff and regimental surgeons, and the admirable spirit which animates the soldiers of her majesty's regiments of every denomination. It is, indeed, a subject of pride to have had the honour of commanding such an army.

"I cannot conclude this despatch without referring to the very great and cordial

assistance which I have constantly received from Major-general Sir W. Mansfield, K.C.B., the chief of the staff. As it seems probable that active operations will now cease, I have the greatest pleasure in seizing the opportunity of recording my grateful sense of what I owe to this officer, and of recommending him in the strongest possible manner for the favourable consideration of your excellency. Sir W. Mansfield executed all the details of the various operations which I had thought it advisable to order, with the greatest ability, and showed the most unwearied diligence in directing, as was necessary, the simultaneous movements of so many bodies of troops scattered often in small detachments over a very great extent of country, and his care and attention have in a great measure tended to bring about the very rapid and favourable results which have been obtained, and the course of which has been already related. The officers who have more particularly worked under the chief of the staff during the last year, as regards the execution of their various offices in respect of the war, are Major Norman, deputy-adjutant-general of the army; Lieutenant-colonel Macpherson, officiating quartermaster-general of the army; and Captain Allgood, assistant-quartermaster-general. The merits of Major Norman are well known to your excellency, and he has continued to deserve my highest approbation. Colonel Macpherson has always performed his duty to my satisfaction, and he has found a very able and industrious assistant in Captain Allgood. The latter has been with me from the time I first took the field in 1857. I have the honour to recommend these three officers to your excellency's favourable notice.

"It remains for me to solicit your excellency's protection to the officers of my personal staff, and of that of Sir William Mansfield. I am under real obligation to my military secretary, Colonel Sterling, C.B., who has ever been employed in the most confidential and important manner, throughout the transactions of the past year, to my entire satisfaction.

"The other officers alluded to have performed their duties in the most careful, intelligent, and active manner. They are as follows:—Lieutenant-colonel Metcalfe, 4th Europeans, Persian interpreter. Captain Alison, H.M.'s 19th foot. Lieutenant Hon. J. C. Dormer, H.M.'s 13th light infantry, A.D.C. to myself. Lieutenant-colonel Crealock, H.M.'s 90th light infantry, deputy-assistant-adjutant-general to the chief of the staff. Lieutenant Hood, H.M.'s 53rd regiment, A.D.C. Captain Viscount Dangan, Coldstream guards, acting A.D.C.—I have the honour to be, my lord, with the greatest respect, your excellency's very obedient, humble servant,—CLYDE,

"General Commander-in-Chief."

List of Enclosures to the Despatch of the Right Honourable the Commander-in-Chief, dated 7th January, 1859.

"1. Casualty return of troops engaged under the orders of the commander-in-chief, on the 26th and 27th of December, 1858. (It shows thirteen wounded).

"2. Casualty return of troops engaged under the orders of the commander-in-chief, on the 31st of December, 1858. (One officer, Major F. W. Horne, drowned; two men killed, and seven wounded).

"3. Return of ordnance captured from the enemy on the 26th, 27th, and 31st of December, 1858. (Eighteen pieces).

"4. Copy of casualty return of the troops under Brigadier Eveleigh, C.B., at Oomeriah, 2nd December, 1858. (Eighteen Europeans and two natives wounded).

"5. Copy of return of casualties of the troops under Colonel S. T. Christie, in action at Bussingpore, on the 23rd of December, 1858. (One native officer killed, one European officer wounded, and one native officer and two men wounded).

"6. Copy of casualty return of troops under Brigadier Rowcroft, C.B., in action at Toolseypore, on the 23rd of December, 1858. (Six killed and eighteen wounded).

"7. Copy of return of casualties in the cavalry brigade at Kumbda Kote, on the 4th of January, 1859. (Three wounded).

"8. Copy of return of ordnance captured by the force under Major-general Sir J. Hope Grant, K.C.B., on the 4th of January, 1859. (Fifteen pieces).

"J. H. W. NORMAN, Major,

"Deputy Adjutant-general of the Army."

The above important despatch was gazetted with the following notification of the Indian government:—

"His excellency the governor-general directs the publication of the subjoined despatch from his excellency the commander-in-chief. In it Lord Clyde announces that the campaign in which the troops under his immediate command have been engaged,

is closed, and that rebellion no longer exists in Oude.

"The governor-general seizes the earliest opportunity of tendering his warmest thanks to the commander-in-chief, and to the noble army which he leads, for their accomplishment of this good work. By a large and complete scheme of combined operations, laid down carefully, and carried out inflexibly and irresistibly, this happy result has been achieved without a single check, and with no needless waste of life. The authority of the British government has been asserted mercifully in Oude; but it is now established, and made manifest to all, and from this day it shall be maintained in unassailable strength.

"The governor-general desires to record his special acknowledgments to Major-general Sir Hope Grant, K.C.B., and to Major-general Sir William Mansfield, K.C.B., for the new services rendered by those distinguished officers in this campaign. His lordship also desires to thank the officers who have commanded brigades, and the regimental commanders of the army of Oude, for the complete success to which, each in his part, they have contributed. The best acknowledgments of the governor-general are due to Major Norman, Lieutenant-colonel Macpherson, Captain Allgood, and the officers of the army, staff, and to Colonel Sterling, C.B., and the personal staff at head-quarters, for the efficient assistance which they have given to the commander-in-chief.

"The governor-general well knows the value to be attached to the judgment, temper, and energy of the chief commissioner of Oude, and thoroughly appreciates the importance of the co-operation which the commander-in-chief and the army have received from him. His lordship emphatically thanks Mr. Montgomery for his admirable service to the state as the head of the local government in Oude. The difficult functions entrusted to Major Barrow, C.B., special commissioner in the commander-in-chief's camp, and to Major Bruce, C.B., superintendent of police in Oude, have throughout the campaign been discharged judiciously and successfully, and with a zeal which calls for the governor-general's special acknowledgments.

"It will be very gratifying to the governor-general to bring to the notice of the Queen's government, the exemplary manner in which the Queen's army in Oude, and the officers attached to it, have done their duty.—R. J. H. BIRCH, Major-general,

"Sec. to the Gov. of India, Mil. Dep., with the Governor-general."

At an early hour of the morning of the 8th of January, the camp of the commander-in-chief was struck while it was yet dark; and, as the dawn approached, a thick dense fog encompassed the force as in an impenetrable cloud. Nevertheless, Lord Clyde, with the carabiniers, a party of Hodson's horse, a wing of the Beloochees, Lennox's company of sappers, H.M.'s 20th regiment, and Fraser's troop of royal artillery, set forward on his homeward march. As the baggage had to defile through the narrow path cut in the jungle, on the advance of the troops the first march was short, and they encamped about four miles south of Bankee, the scene of the affair with the enemy on the 26th of December. On the following morning the march was resumed before daybreak; and as, in the course of the day, the route took it within a few miles of Churdah—for several months the residence of Nana Rao (Nana Sahib)—the commander-in-chief left his dhooly, and, mounting an elephant, proceeded with his staff to visit the fort, which was found to be of considerable strength, and well sheltered on three sides by a belt of jungle; but as it was situated in a wide level plain, and the jungle was not broad, and therefore afforded no sure protection, the Nana, as the storm of war approached his lair, abandoned it for a more favourable position, from whence to ensure a safe retreat, and fell back on Burguddiah, from whence it was afterwards ascertained he escaped into Nepaul. Churdah had been deserted, nothing being found alive within it but one wounded bullock. About 11 o'clock the column halted at Nanparah for a short time, and thence resuming the march, pitched their tents at Kootawah, seventeen and a-half miles from the starting-point in the morning; and so, on and on, until Lucknow was again reached.

In the amusing description of incidents which varied the progress of the war, as furnished by the *Times*' correspondent (Mr. Russell), we are told, in reference to the march of the 9th of January, that—"The evening before, just at dusk, a large bear ambled out on the plain close to our camp, in front of some officers who had been beating the adjoining wood for game. Captain Bradford fired at him with his revolving rifle,

and the second shot struck Bruin, who stood on his hind legs, and made a demonstration of assault; but seeing several sportsmen coming up eagerly, he thought it better to bear the ills he had, than fly to others which he knew not of, and so ambled off and made his exit growling. Tigers' tracks were visible all round our camp; and though they did not, as at Nanparah, interfere with our postal arrangements, they, conjointly with the rumours of lurking sepoys, prevented that free excursive investigation of the jungles which would otherwise, no doubt, have been effected. When we left, a large expedition, with beaters and elephants, was being organised; but it takes time to make proper preparations for a hunt; and in such a volatile column as ours, there is little time for aught but eating, sleeping, and marching. As the camp animals go out to graze—thousands of camels, elephants, ponies, buffaloes, and bullocks, for many miles round the camp—the wild denizens of the forest are frightened, and go off to great distances, where it is necessary to track and mark them down before a party can start with any chance of success. The day we arrived on the Raptee, I saw two huge wolves close at hand in the thick grass by the river; to-day two were seen within a hundred yards of the head of the column; and herds of antelope and spotted deer, rise up and flee away from our videttes and flankers, to the despair of the sportsmen, who must keep with their men on the line of march. As to the flocks of wild geese, ducks, and teal—the wonderful long-legged, long-necked waders—cranes, black and white; plover, snipe, quail of many sizes, colours, and varieties, which are seen in the early morning, or the course of a march, no place I have ever visited, except the Steppe of Southern Russia, can afford such abundance and diversity of species as those northern plains of Oude. The thickets are haunted by peacocks and peahens, and by the beautiful jungle fowl, the original stock of our own dear chanticleer and dame partlet. In the long coarse grass nibble and gambol hares, much persecuted by falcons and silver foxes. In the same haunts are the beautiful black partridge, and his less eatable gray congener. Fly-catchers, from the lively, audacious, and gallant king-crow, down to a tiny little green fellow, with a yellow foraging-cap, not bigger than a wren, flit over the fields in all directions. The air is filled with the screams of green paroquets, which flash in broad streams of colour, and in hundreds at a time, from tope to tope, helped well by the never-ceasing chorus of the animated impudent minas. The large blue jay is common, and tamer, as well as more brilliant, than the keeper's enemy in England. Shrikes are common on every wild hedge—the large gray—the small brown butcher-bird, with a white streak over the eye, and white head, and two sombre-coloured varieties of larger size. The titmouse is boring away amid every thatched roof, but none of the varieties resemble our English friends. Over every large jeel hover fish-hawks, mews, and large kingfishers, which dart down right under water, after a fluttering pause twenty or thirty feet above the surface of the water. On every side there is life enshrined in forms strange and beautiful; but it can only be described by the scientific naturalist who can devote more time to his subject than he could find at the head of a column marching twenty miles a-day."

Again, adverting more immediately to the column itself, he says—"I can compare a column on the march to nothing handy to my mind, except a block of omnibuses in Fleet-street, when the foot-paths are thronged with foot-passengers, and the interstices of the larger vehicles grouted in with Hansoms and cabs. The column is but a small, compact, orderly body; but on each side of it, and behind it miles back, are elephants, camels, and horses enough for the grand army. A hundred and sixty elephants make a great show. The monster, however, costs for his keep only *2s.* a-day. A camel costs from *16s.* to *20s.* a-month, and carries about 400 lbs. The load of an elephant varies with his size from 1,000 lbs. to 1,600 lbs. He is generally used to carry tents and stores, and to draw heavy guns; but he is largely used by the officers' servants as a means of conveyance; and six, seven, and even eight bearers, khitmutgurs, and chuprassies, may be seen seated on the pad, and sixty or seventy elephants may be seen heaped up with light-coloured groups of Madrassees and Bengalese, towering over the cates, and moving steadily along the flanks of the march. A most quaint and peculiar animal is the tattoo, or native pony. He is not as large as the smallest of English donkeys (Indian asses are about the size of a new-born calf, only they are not so long in the legs); his hind legs are

generally distorted by premature and overloading; he is often short of the usual allowance of eyes or ears, and is altogether a most miserable, mangy, starved, and worthless-looking creature. Nevertheless, in love or war, he is animated by the highest spirit, and he is ready at all times to engage the largest and fiercest horse in battle, and neighs his addresses to the proudest mare from Arabia. There are hundreds and hundreds of them attached to the bazaar people. They carry the goods and families of the merchants, and all the followers of trades and professions which may be found there. Officers bestride them on the route, and the sergeants of some regiments seem to be specially privileged to hire them as chargers while marching. The bazaar woman, seated on a pile of curious merchandise, with her legs projecting over his neck, a child on her hip, and another in her arms, directs the course of the 'tat' with her toes, and thinks nothing of giving a friend 'a lift;' so that, at last, all that may be seen of the quadruped are its wretched rag of a tail, its ragged legs, and a dilapidated head, moving along under an enormous heap of animated and inorganic matter. Next to the 'tats,' the most numerous animals are goats. The Indian goat is a clean, docile, handsome creature, abounding in kids and milk. There are probably 1,000 or 1,500 of these animals in different flocks with our camp, each flock belonging to a small milkman, whose 'walk' is very extensive, averaging twenty miles a-day. The agents of the establishment are women, who carry the milk along the march, or in camp, in bright brass vessels, on their heads; and grateful to the thirsty private who has a few pice in his pocket, is the well-known cry of 'lai dood,' as was the announcement of 'fresh oysters' to the proprietor of the 'Splendid Shilling.' Next to the goats and asses are indubitably the monkeys. Poor Jacko is to be seen on all sides in a state of durance vile, in chattering rage and indignation, riding on the top of a camel—old, young, and middle aged—shaved, and with clothes on their back, rugged as *au naturel*, tailed, tailless, grave, stupid, lively, running along on all-fours, or placidly sitting in a cart or dhooly. There are also pretty pets—antelopes, deer, and young neilghye, which accompany us faithfully; and, of course, the subaltern has his terrier, or his dog or dogs of some sort or other, to which confidential attendants are attached or dhoolies appropriated. Then there are the gun bullocks and the bazaar hackeries, drawn by oxen; and the spare oxen, the bheesties' bullocks, and the butcher's sheep and cattle. Then there are private stores. A regimental mess will order, perhaps, 100 dozen of beer, 150 dozen of port and sherry, 60 dozen of champagne at a time, not to mention groceries and stores of various sorts; and these move along with us. Coolies may be seen carrying each a chair or a table, or a fowling-piece, or even a spare cap. What wonder, then, that there are 4,000 men hanging on the skirts of this column, who have no ostensible mode of life, who are not engaged in any known way in the bazaars—which, by the way, are very dirty collections of very dirty little tents, in which all sorts of things can be had for money—and who do not draw rations from the commissariat. Those natives to whom rations are issued, amount to about two-and-a-half to each fighting-man. Some officers have as many as forty servants in the field. Each has an attendant sprite or two—possibly a wife, a child, a mother, a father, who follow his daily fortunes. There is a perfect chorus of camp-followers in a state of infancy; and studies from the nude are afforded by little black imps toddling about the horses' feet, to any who may like to take them. What becomes of these generations when an army is broken up, is a question I have asked in vain. Surmises do not solve the problem; but I should say early education of this kind was not exactly a promising preparation for the more sober pursuits of trade and commerce. In a fog, the *mélange* is not agreeable; and I was heartily glad when I could see my way through elephants, camels, goats, tats, and babies this morning, and get a good gallop in front of the column."

Shortly after the return of Lord Clyde to Lucknow, and while slowly recovering from the injury sustained by his fall, and the fatigue of the campaign, he learnt that Jung Bahadoor had issued a proclamation, declaring "that all murderers and rebels in arms who entered the Nepaul territory were to be given up to the British government, and that all armed bodies would be utterly destroyed." At the same time, Jung Bahadoor applied to the commander-in-chief for assistance to reduce the rebels within his territories. Lord Clyde complied with the request, and dispatched orders to Brigadier Horsford, who lay at Bankee

with a company of Bengal artillery, H.M.'s 20th foot, 1st Sikh and 5th Punjab infantry, and the 1st Punjab cavalry, to cross the Raptee and enter Nepaul, to aid the Jung Bahadoor in his friendly effort to expel or exterminate the enemies of the British government.

By this time nearly the whole territory of Oude was in the hands of the civil administration, and its complete reorganisation was progressing favourably; to effect which, a settlement of the land on the Zemindaree principle was gradually making its way, and appeared to be received with satisfaction by the people, who began to settle down quietly under the protection of the military police, which had been distributed in their arranged positions over the country. There was, consequently, no longer in Oude an enemy to contend with; and as the presence of a large force was therefore unnecessary, the commander-in-chief issued orders for the reduction and distribution of the army, from a total of thirty-five regiments of infantry, eleven of cavalry, twenty-eight companies or troops of artillery, and five of sappers—to twenty regiments of foot, and eight of cavalry, seventeen companies or troops of artillery, and three of sappers. Of the force which remained in Oude, the chief part was concentrated at Lucknow—consisting of Soady's and Mackenzie's companies of artillery; the 1st reserve company 6th battalion Bengal artillery, and Olphert's company; the 24th company of royal engineers; 15th Punjab pioneers; 1st battalion 23rd fusiliers; 88th Connaught rangers; 2nd battalion of the rifle brigade; 2nd dragoon guards, and 2nd Hodson's horse.

Seetapore was garrisoned by Hiddlestone's E troop of the royal artillery; the 4th company of the 4th battalion Bengal artillery; the 60th rifles; 1st battalion of H.M.'s 90th; the 69th Ghoorkas; and the 4th and 8th irregular cavalry: Goruckpore being held by the 5th company 12th battalion royal artillery, with battery; H.M.'s 13th and 73rd, and Jat horse: Fyzabad, by the 5th company 3rd battalion J. L. field battery, royal artillery; H.M.'s 34th, 54th, and 9th Punjab infantry, and the 1st Hodson's horse: Roy Bareilly, by the 4th company No. 3 light field battery; H.M.'s 38th and 42nd highlanders; 19th Punjab infantry, and 1st Sikh cavalry: Ghazeepore, by H.M.'s 37th.

Thus, Lucknow in the centre, Seetapore north-west, Fyzabad and Roy Bareilly east and south, constituted the chief garrisons of Oude: but, lest the rebels, driven from Nepaul by the firm attitude of Jung Bahadoor, should again attempt to re-enter their old haunts in force, Brigadier Horsford was to be maintained on the borders of Nepaul with the 3rd company Bengal artillery, H.M.'s 20th foot, 1st Sikh infantry, 5th Punjab infantry, and 1st Punjab cavalry; while H.M.'s 53rd remained on the frontier near Toolseypore.

Of the eleven companies or troops of artillery which left Oude, Fraser's I troop went to Meerut; Calvert's company, to Benares; Le Messurier's and Kaye's, to Allahabad; Smith's, to Futteghur; Money's, to Umballah; Remington's, to Muttra; the 2nd company 3rd battalion, and the reserve company 5th battalion Bengal artillery, to Cawnpore; and the A company of Madras artillery, to the Saugor districts.

Of the infantry corps, H.M.'s 64th, and 3rd battalion rifle brigade, were sent to Agra; the Belooch battalion to Jhansie; H.M.'s 1st battalion 6th foot, to Benares; H.M.'s 79th highlanders, and Ferozepore regiment, to the Punjab; H.M.'s 1st battalion 5th fusiliers, and 77th, to Allahabad; H.M.'s 80th, to Cawnpore; 1st battalion 8th foot, to Futteghur; H.M.'s 97th, to Banda; 1st Bengal fusiliers, and 93rd highlanders, to the Hills at Dugshaie and Subathoo; the Sirmoor battalion, to Dehra Doon; and the Kumaon battalion, to Kumaon. The 7th hussars marched to Umballah; the 6th dragoon guards, to Agra and Muttra; the 9th lancers, to Cawnpore, and ultimately to England. The Bengal sappers proceeded to Roorkee; the Madras sappers, to Banda. Jones's, Hagart's, Pinckney's, Eveleigh's, Taylor's, Troupe's, and Purnell's brigades, were broken up; Barker's, Horsford's, Rowcroft's, and Walpole's, remained; and Maude's battery received orders for England. And so ended the campaign in Oude.

Even amongst the most critically disposed, it was felt that it would be absurd and unjust to deny, that both the progress and result of the campaign were most creditable, as well on the part of the chief commissioner as of Lord Clyde. It was but on the 1st of November that active operations in Oude could be said to have commenced; and at that time the cities of Lucknow and Fyzabad were the only two positions of

importance in the hands of the British. The country between those two points was, it is true, comparatively quiet; but there were still great armies in the field. On the Oude side of the Gogra, at least three formidable bodies were in motion. Seven great fortresses were in the hands of rebels; and the total number of troops arrayed against the government, was officially estimated at 60,000 men. Beyond the Gogra, the begum still paid some 12,000 men; and a band, perhaps equal in numbers, occupied Toolseypore. The Nana had with him a strong body of cavalry; and Feroze Shah was attended by at least 1,500 more: and all these bands of rebels were strengthened and encouraged to an inconceivable degree by the sympathy of their countrymen. They could march without commissariat, for the people would always feed them. They could leave their baggage without guard, for the people would not attack it. They were always certain of their position, and of that of the British, for the people brought them hourly information, and no design could possibly be kept from them; while secret sympathisers stood around every mess-table, and waited in almost every tent. No surprise could be effected but by a miracle; while rumour, communicated from mouth to mouth, outstripped even the cavalry. The commander-in-chief had, indeed, a well-appointed army, but still a small one; as it did not, from the first, at any time number 26,000 men of all ranks. Yet, in two months, without one serious departure from the plan of campaign originally laid down, Oude was completely subjugated; its forts were taken and destroyed; its leaders, with two great exceptions, captured; its armies beaten down and fugitive; its people disarmed; while civil government was in a progressive state of re-establishment; and the revenue once more began rapidly to pour into the public treasury. To assert that such results as these were owing to nothing more than mere chance, was now felt, even by the bitterest opponents of the government, to be equally false and calumnious; and thus, at last, the governor-general and the commander-in-chief were unanimously admitted to have done their duty, and to have done it well.

CHAPTER XIX.

OPERATIONS IN CENTRAL INDIA; PURSUIT OF TANTIA TOPEE; FORCED MARCHES; DIVISION IN THE REBEL CAMP; AFFAIR AT NAHIRGHUR; THE ROHILLAS AT CHICHUMBA AND DIGRUS; UTTER DISPERSION OF THEIR FORCES; NEPAUL; DESPERATE CONDITION OF THE FUGITIVE REBELS FROM OUDE; THE BEGUM AND HER CHIEFS; CORRESPONDENCE WITH JUNG BAHADOOR; MISSION OF BUDDRI SING FROM THE NEPAULESE COURT; BRIGADIER HORSFORD'S ADVANCE INTO NEPAUL; DEFEAT OF THE REBELS AT THE SITKA GHAUT; CORRESPONDENCE; BLOCKADE OF THE PASSES FROM NEPAUL; MURDER OF RAILWAY ENGINEERS AT ETAWAH; FEROZE SHAH AND RAO SAHIB; GENERAL MICHEL OUT-MANŒUVRED; MURDEROUS ATTACK AT HYDERABAD; THE ROYAL PROCLAMATION MISINTERPRETED; RIOTS AT TINNEVELLY AND NAGARCOILE; PRETENDED PLOT AT RAWUL PINDEE; PROGRESS OF TRANQUILLITY IN OUDE; SUBMISSION OF CHIEFS AND SEPOYS; THE ATROCITIES AT CAWNPORE, ETC., SUBSTANTIATED BY NEW EVIDENCE.

Simultaneously with the close of the campaign in Oude, that most extraordinary and ubiquitous rebel chief, Tantia Topee, contrived to find employment for the active energies of the government troops, before whom he fled with the erratic speed of an *ignis fatuus*; and who no sooner was known to be assailable in one quarter, than he was also heard of as being present in a far-distant and opposite direction. To meet him was impracticable; to overtake him, seemed impossible; and he continued, at the commencement of 1859, as he had done for months previous, to harass the troops in quest of him, by continual forced marches and inevitable disappointments.

After crossing the Chumbul at Lakerrie, on the 8th of January, Tantia Topee was enabled to open communication with Feroze Shah, and ultimately joined forces with him in the confined district lying between the rivers Chumbul and Banas. The course of the last-named stream, from the vicinity of Tonk, runs to the east, and, sweeping round the hills, in which is situated the stronghold of Rintamboor, falls into the

Chumbul in about longitude 77°. Rintamboor, the place of meeting originally concerted between the rebel chiefs, is one of those fortresses that abound in India, which date their origin from a period anterior to the use of gunpowder. It is situated on the summit of a rock, isolated on all sides by deep and nearly impassable ravines, and accessible only by a narrow pathway, enclosed on each side by high and overhanging cliffs. The steepness of this pathway increases as it approaches the summit, the latter portion of the ascent being made by flights of stairs hewn from the rock, and passing through four massive gateways in succession. The fort is erected upon the centre of the apex, and is surrounded by a stone rampart nearly three miles in extent, strengthened at intervals by towers and bastions; but notwithstanding its isolated and lofty position, Rintamboor is no longer impregnable, since it is commanded on all sides by heights, from which artillery could play into its very midst; and the chief purpose to which it had of late years been applied, was a magazine for guns and ammunition, of which it contained a large amount, the accumulations of many years by the Thakoors of the state of Jeypore.

The rebels, under their two celebrated leaders, for a short time occupied the eastern portion of the space enclosed by the Banas and the Jumna, Rintamboor being about the centre, and upon which the British columns were fast closing from Nusseerabad, Neemuch, Central India, and Agra, rendering their position one of hourly increasing difficulty. Tantia, and his friend Feroze Shah, accordingly shifted their quarters with all due celerity; and, after severally occupying positions at Indurghur and Madhopore, again concentrated their forces, on the 12th, at Bugwunghur, from whence, on the 13th, they retired at the approach of Brigadier Smith, and, crossing the Banas, took a direct northerly road to Dhoosa; where, on the 16th, Brigadier Showers, with a column from Agra, came up with them, having marched ninety-four miles in three days. The rebels had the advantage of some difficult ground in their front, and kept up a sharp fire for some time, but were ultimately driven into the plain, and pursued for five miles, with a loss of about 300 of their number; the survivors dispersing in all possible directions.

The affair at Dhoosa is thus described by an officer attached to the medical department, on service with the column:—

"Camp, Dhoosa, 15th January.

"We have now been out eleven days, during which we have had but one halt—namely, the one in which I am now writing. We are now about 200 miles from Agra. You know the plight in which we left that place. Well, we arrived at Futtehpore Sikree the next morning, all wet and cold; slept in marble halls without beds, grog, or food; started early in pursuit of Tantia Topee; and, for the last five days, have had no bed to lie on. Well, I despaired of seeing any other Topee except our own Topees (hats), until yesterday, when, after a march of above a hundred miles, the whole of us being mounted on camels and elephants, we came up to him in this place. The enemy is reported to have had about 5,000 cavalry and 500 infantry. We were taking the wrong road; when a native came and told the brigadier that they were about two miles off, and did not expect us. A counter-march was ordered, and in less than half-an-hour we came upon them; and you may be sure we rendered a good account of the lot. The cavalry and our regiment commenced the engagement by a regular skirmish, killing at least 150 of the rascals. After the fight was nearly over, the artillery came up, and sent shot and shells into the retiring enemy with great precision and effect. Tantia was in the field, dressed in green silk; but, as usual, he bolted: some say he was wounded. One great rascal, a chief (I believe his name is Mahommed Shumsabad), is killed. He had on an embroidered cloak, and was remarkably grand after his own fashion. We may well be proud of our regiment. I was in the rear, and could watch its movements. When formed in line, expecting the cavalry to charge, and with the bullets whistling by them like hail, the men were as steady as if on parade. Our casualties were but few."

After this success, Brigadier Showers retired with his force to Bhurtpore, leaving the chase to be taken up by Brigadier Honner and a column recently dispatched from Delhi, as it was found that the rebels were making for Ulwur, a district at no great distance from that city; and some anxiety was naturally felt at the prospect of their approach, particularly as the population of the district had always exhibited an unfriendly spirit. Contrary to expectation, although Feroze Shah was enabled, by his

emissaries, to attach a proclamation to the gates of Ulwur, declaring himself sole heir to the dignities and territories of the house of Timur, neither the people nor the soldiers of the contingent gave him the least encouragement or assistance; and he felt it prudent to withdraw with his adherents in a northerly direction, towards Rewaree, an opulent town about forty-seven miles south-west of Delhi, the residence of many wealthy bankers, and abounding in treasure. Fortunately, before the rebels had reached the place, the column from Delhi, under Major Redmond, arrived for its protection; while a body of Van Cortlandt's Punjab cavalry converged on the same place from Kanoud. Having, as usual, timely intelligence of the movements of the government troops, the rebels prudently relinquished the idea of visiting Rewaree, and turned to the westward, in the direction of Narnool. The Delhi column followed in their track, and reached Shahjehanpore, midway between Rewaree and Narnool, on the 17th; and the enemy, pressed by this advance, as well as by the pursuit of Holmes' brigade from the southward, went by Narnool, and made for a pass across the hills into the Shekawattee district by Oodeypore, and thence north-westward to Ramghur, with the intent to plunder it. The following extract from a letter dated "Narnool, January 19th," traces the progress of the column in pursuit of the rebels, up to the date given.

"On the 17th, the Delhi column marched from Rewaree direct to Shahjehanpore, on the northern border of the Ulwur state; while the Towanna horse and Goorgaon mounted police, under Lieutenant Orchard, made a detour eastward by Kishanghur and Barode, in Ulwur, taking in some sixty miles, but with no adventure. Lieutenant Orchard, however, found the Ulwur Thakoors very insolent at Barode. On information received through the Ulwur political, we left Shahjehanpore yesterday morning (the 18th), and marching *viâ* Neemrana and Kantia, arrived here last evening, after a long march of twenty-seven miles. At Neemrana the rajah's brother came out, and had a conference with the civil functionary and our political, Captain Waterfield, who had joined the column the previous evening. At Kantia we found our ally of Nabha's troops on the *qui vive* for the Baghees, but very anxious for our appearance. The commander of the Nabha force sent out a couple of sowars yesterday, to pick up information of the rebels' whereabouts; and they fell in with three of their spies—killed one, and captured two of the three horses they had. At Narnool, where we are resting ourselves for the day, there are Putteeala troops, and the rebels were making for it; but learning that we were on the way also, they turned off into the Jeypore country. Yesterday they went into Patun, a town some nine miles from hence, which they plundered, and took three guns from the rajah. They next went to the Neem-kal Thanna, from which place they carried off all the movable guns, and spiked the others. The fighting-men of the rebels are said to number not more than 2,500; but they have at least 7,000 non-combatants in their train, and amongst them a great many women and wounded men, the latter of whom are carried on charpoys. They are now, it is reported, making for Bikaneer, where it is said the rajah is at the point of death, having been poisoned by his ranee. Summund Khan, of Jhujjur, is with them, and was coming here to revenge himself upon the Putteeala troops, for his defeat on the 16th of November, 1857; but, of course, our presence has somewhat disarranged his plans. By-the-bye, Pandy's bones are still to be seen here, as we are encamped on that part of the battle-field where the Hurreana force bivouacked on the night of the 16th of November, 1857. They are now organising a flying column here, to consist of cavalry (600 sabres), horse artillery (three guns), and about 200 of European infantry, to be mounted on camels promised by the Ulwur rajah from his camel corps. Captain Impey has gone out to meet Showers at Rajgurh. Mrs. Impey is quite safe in the palace at Ulwur; and Lieutenant Leith, of Jacobs' rifles, is with us. These two officers were recruiting in the Ulwur territory."

On the 21st of the month, the rebel force was again very nearly caught by Brigadier Holmes, who, after marching 294 miles in twelve days, and on the last of them accomplishing fifty-two miles in forty-eight hours, at length came up with Tantia on the morning of the 21st, at Seekur. At the onset, the enemy, taken by surprise, were cut down in all directions, and without attempting to make a stand, sought safety in flight, leaving behind them about 100 killed, besides several horses and 500 stand of arms. Unfortunately, a halt had

taken place in the vicinity of the rebel position, and opportunity was thus afforded for the latter to commence their retreat before the cavalry (200 Sikhs and some new levies) could get to the front, or their loss would have been much more severe. The artillery also moved up too slowly for the occasion, and could only discharge a few shots at the fugitive enemy. From this scene of discomfiture Tantia Topee fled westward to Bikaneer,* which he entered, producing a panic at Hissar, from whence the Europeans, who had re-established themselves at that station, fled with all possible celerity. At this place a division occurred in the rebel councils—Tantia proposing to march southward through Nagpore, into Madras, where he insisted the British were weakly garrisoned; and Feroze Shah and the sepoys objecting to the arrangement. The consequence was, that Tantia, outvoted, was obliged to yield; and on learning that two squadrons of the 6th dragoon guards, some Sikh cavalry, and a party of the rifle brigade, mounted on camels, were in motion from Agra to intercept his movements, he suddenly turned to the north, in the direction of Nunghowe, in the Shekawattee country; in his progress to which, he was for some time closely pursued by the troops under Brigadier Holmes.

For some days the rebel chief contrived to elude observation. At length a portion of the troops, supposed to form the rear-guard of his force, was fallen in with at Koosana, by Brigadier Honner, on the 10th of February. As usual, they did not wait to be attacked, but fled with precipitation; not, however, without serious loss, as between two and three hundred of them were cut down in a hasty pursuit, and an immense quantity of plunder was left as they fled. In this affair it was not believed that Tantia was present, he having left the rebel camp, with 300 chosen horse, some days previous; and, on the 18th, was reported to be within fifty miles of Deesa—a town of Gujerat, eighty-eight miles N.N.W. of Ahmedabad, and at no great distance from the favourite European sanatarium, Mount Aboo, at which place his reported proximity occasioned considerable but ill-founded alarm among its convalescent visitors from Bombay and other places.

A spirited affair came off, towards the latter end of January, at Nahirghur, near Goonah, from which last-named place a detachment of the 71st highlanders, under the command of Captain Lambton, was proceeding to join the camp of General Sir R. Napier at Seepore, having in charge 226 camels for the Gwalior camel corps. For the guidance of the party, a route had been furnished (in a native character) to one of the duffadars of the camel corps, with verbal instructions to avoid certain towns of known bad repute; but owing to some blunder, perhaps not intentional, the party first went to Chuprah, a place out of the right direction, and from thence marched to Nahirghur, where they encamped close under the wall of the town. A party was immediately afterwards sent into the town for necessary supplies of food and forage, and were insolently refused assistance of any kind by the townspeople, who referred them to the fort, situated in the town. Proceeding to that place, the party found the gates closed against them, and no reply was given to their requisition. Under these circumstances the men returned to the camp; and having made their report, a stronger party, under Lieutenant Leslie, was sent into the place to enforce the demand for supplies. The like ill-success attended this effort, and the party was, moreover, fired upon from the fort as they approached it. Upon hearing the report of the guns at the camp, which itself was within range of the fort, Captain Lambton hastened with the rest of the 71st to the rescue. They were permitted to come within 400 yards of the fort, when a brisk fire from matchlocks, jingals, and small wall-guns, opened upon them. For 300 yards they ran the gauntlet to reach the outer gate, which, though very strong and massive, was burst open by the axe of a pioneer, and the little party rushed in to find a second gate yet more massive than the first, and well defended by matchlock-men, who kept up a hot fire from the curtains above it. The contest was sharp, but it ended in the rebels abandoning the fort by an outlet on the other side, and taking refuge in the jungles. The casualties on the side of the highlanders, were three men wounded; and of the Gwalior

* A fortified town, capital of the Rajpoot state of that name: it is situated about 240 miles W.S.W. of Delhi, and is surrounded by a strong wall flanked with towers, within which are a number of mud houses painted red, some lofty white buildings, temples, &c., and an extensive citadel. On the north side is a valley tolerably well wooded; but elsewhere all around is an arid desert.

camel corps, a similar number also wounded. The rebels, in their hasty retreat, left behind them in the fort eighteen small iron guns, of native manufacture, loaded and pointed, and a large quantity of native gunpowder and portfire, with some unserviceable tumbrils. The inhabitants, who doubtless felt they had no claim to forbearance on the part of the British troops, also, for the most part, abandoned the place, and for several days it was nearly deserted. Ultimately, however, they appeared to gain more confidence in the moderation of the troops they had insulted, and returned in small bands to reoccupy their deserted homes.

A few days after this affair, a small party of the 8th hussars, and a couple of mortars, arrived at Nahirghur, from Goonah; but there were no longer any rebels to chastise, and the troops were employed in bursting the guns, and blowing up the bastions of the fort. A column from Seepore (thirty miles distant), under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Rich, also marched to the assistance of Captain Lambton, whom it reached on the evening of the 23rd, when all chance of fighting was over.

It afterwards appeared, that the opposition to Captain Lambton's party had been occasioned by some two or three hundred of the Kotah mutineers, who had obtained possession of the fort, and coerced the townspeople, who were not otherwise inclined to be hostile. That the rebels suffered severely, was evident by the quantity of blood which lay on the stone steps leading up to the curtains of the fort—attesting the excellence of the firing of the 71st, whose bullets told through the narrow loopholes.

On the 26th, a reconnoitring party, consisting of 100 of the 71st, 200 of the 25th Bombay native infantry, some irregular cavalry, and 150 of the camel corps (the whole under the command of Captain Little), marched out to a village named Prone, some five miles distant, and suddenly came upon a body of rebel cavalry, who as suddenly vanished into the jungles, where it was useless to pursue them.

The movements of Tantia Topee were again veiled from the general gaze, and speculation had an ample field in discussing his probable whereabouts, and the chances of his next appearance.

The conduct of the Rohillas had for a long period given just cause for disquietude in various parts of the Deccan, in consequence of their openly avowed sympathy with the Oude leaders and their cause; and at length an opportunity presented itself of manifesting their hostile feeling towards the English, by a series of plundering excursions among the villages and districts assigned to the English by the Nizam, for the maintenance of the contingent of that prince. On one occasion, a party of them was engaged in plundering the town of Adjunta, when Brigadier Hill set out with a column from Oomrawutty, for the purpose of operating upon the robbers at that place, or intercepting them on their way to another point. During the march, intelligence was received by the brigadier that the Rohillas had gone off in the direction of Sonar, where they purposed to continue their depredations. The brigadier at once altered his route in a direction to intercept them, and, on the 15th of January, reached Wakud. At this place, a report, dated "6 A.M., 5th," was received from Colonel J. Campbell, Enam commissioner (then employed on duty at Rissoad, about eight miles from Wakud), stating that a strong body of Rohillas were then plundering the place; and the force at once pushed on for Rissoad in the following order:—One troop of H.M.'s 12th lancers, under Captain Campbell; leading B troop of Madras horse artillery, with four 6-pounder guns, under Captain Cadell; the 2nd H.C. Rissalah, under Captain Clogstoun; the 3rd Rissalah, under Captain Nightingale; the 3rd infantry, under Captain McKinnon; and Lieutenant Henchy's detachment of artillery following. Brigadier Hill, with his brigade-major (Captain Hoseason) and orderly officer (Lieutenant Henchy), headed the column.

On nearing Rissoad, the 2nd Rissalah was thrown out to the right, and the 3rd Rissalah to the left, with a view of surrounding the village; and as the lancers and guns reached it, the brigadier was met by the commissioner, Colonel J. Campbell, with information that the Rohillas had "looted" the village, and killed several of the inhabitants; and further, that they had plundered his tents and baggage, besides firing on himself and his people, and had then left the place more than an hour. The lancers and horse artillery were immediately ordered in pursuit, and, guided by Colonel J. Campbell, followed in the direction supposed to be taken by the rebels.

Captain Clogstoun, pushing on rapidly with his Rissalah, was first on the right track of the Rohillas; and distancing the greater part of his force, the captain, with eight of his men, came up with the plunderers just as they reached the village of Chichumba. He charged them most gallantly, and inflicted severe loss; but his own little band suffered severely—four out of the eight being killed, and three others severely wounded. The escape of Captain Clogstoun himself was extraordinary, as he appeared to have been made a target of by the Rohillas, and was struck on the thigh by a bullet, which passed through his holster-pipe, knocking the pistol out of it. When his regiment got up, he took a position within 300 or 400 yards of the village; and the 3rd Rissalah, which had made a circuit round the village of Rissoad, shortly after came in view, and took a position to the left of the 2nd. Brigadier Hill, with the lancers and horse artillery, having also got into position, the guns opened upon the village and ghurree, cavalry being placed so as to encircle the village and prevent the escape of the enemy. A heavy fire was kept up until about half-past two in the afternoon, when the infantry arrived, and an assault was ordered, the brigadier himself leading the party, accompanied by Captain Hoseason, Captain McKinnon, and Lieutenant Henchy. As the head of the column entered the village, Captain McKinnon fell mortally wounded. Several of the men were struck down at the same time, and Captain Hoseason was also severely wounded. Unfortunately, the column had been led in a direction which took it into the densest part of the village, from every corner of which, and also from the ghurree, which commanded the streets, a very heavy fire was kept up; and the column, after an ineffectual attempt to penetrate through the place, fell into confusion, and was compelled to retire. The artillery was then moved up to within 150 yards of the houses, and poured in a sharp fire of round shot and grape, under cover of which the infantry was enabled to rally. The operations for the day ceased at this juncture (5 P.M.); and orders being given for securely investing the place during the night, the troops, who had been upon the march, and without food, since the previous evening, partook of refreshment.

At 9 P.M., an alarm was given that the Rohillas were escaping from the village at the only uncovered point. The 2nd Rissalah were instantly in their saddles, and dashed after the fugitives, upon whom they inflicted severe punishment. Captain Clogstoun pursued them over some very difficult ground to a range of heights covered with low jungle, a level space on the top enabling him to again attack the enemy with advantage, until they took shelter in a deep ravine, where further pursuit by cavalry was impossible. The loss of the enemy upon this occasion was severe; and the moral effect of the blow, falling so swiftly on the perpetrators of the attack on Rissoad (the first of the villages in the assigned districts which had yet been molested), appeared to have a salutary effect. The dispersion of the Rohillas was complete; and from this time they appear to have gradually melted away from before the formidable preparations which had been made for their repression by General Sir Hugh Rose, by whose orders a formidable body of European and native troops left Jaulna on the 11th of February, in a north-easterly direction. This force comprised three companies of the 18th royal Irish, one troop of the 3rd dragoon guards, Kinloch's battery of horse artillery, and two companies of the 3rd native light infantry. At the same time, two light field batteries, a siege-train, a detachment of sappers, two regiments of native infantry, and the head-quarters of a European corps, were ordered to hold themselves in readiness for immediate service. In consequence of these arrangements, troops were removed from Ahmednuggur, and changes were made in the garrison at Sattara; and the preparations altogether betokened a resolution to put down an enemy disposed to, and capable of making, a formidable resistance. The information upon which Sir H. Rose acted, was solely dependent upon the civil commissioner, Mr. Bullock, who appeared to be unaware that the affair of Chichumba had thoroughly cowed the enemy. The following details, however, proved that, at the very moment when all these preparations were in hand, the object for which they were made had already been accomplished by the Berar field force, under Brigadier Hill:—

"After a halt of two days (16th to the 18th of January) at Chichumba, the Berar field force moved on to Ittoly, twenty-four miles, it having been reported that a body of Rohillas had been there. On arrival, we found that they had passed through,

bearing with them some wounded. A few prisoners were made in the village, and, together with our wounded, sent into Hingolee. Ittoly possessed a very strong brick ghurree; but it has just been destroyed, as well as the ghurree of Bamnee and that of Wussa. The force moved on from this place to Bogaon. There, in the morning, there was a false alarm of rebels. Captain Nightingale took a party of troopers and searched for them; but they had no existence, except in the diseased imagination of a native. The country about here, which is called the Bara-huttee, and is also known as the Naikwara, is naturally strong, and capable of affording refuge to marauders in the hills and ravines; to say nothing of the numerous forts, which ought all, without exception, to be destroyed. The ghurree was destroyed afterwards. We next moved to Jhittoor, which is a large town and abiding-place of Rohillas. These, however, had fled. Indeed, as we proceeded, we found that the panic caused by the Chichumba fight was so great, that there was hardly a rebel in all the district. Lieutenant Stewart was sent, with a party of troopers, to search Bamnee for rebels, but could find none, though some of their plunder was discovered. Next day, Lieutenant Johnson was sent, with a troop of the 3rd cavalry, to patrol to the eastward, but found no signs of marauders. From thence the force went to Chartarah, from whence patrols were sent out to a great distance; but they reported the whole district clear of insurgents. We then went back to Jhittoor; and the next day made a march of twenty-six miles, and surrounded the village of Jowla, where we seized a 'Peerzadah,' who is at the bottom of most of these disturbances. He is the 'peer' of the Nizam himself, for which reason the zemindars were all afraid of interfering with him; but as it is proved that he fed and sheltered the band of rebels that has lately committed such outrages in these dominions, it was considered advisable to secure him; which was accordingly done, without any show of resistance on his part. He will be sent to Hyderabad with his son, and, it is to be hoped, will be transported. His fort was dismantled ere we left. Buswuntnuggur, a large and populous town with a strong fort, was next visited. The Arabs holding the place gave it up on being desired to do so; and the next day mines were dug, and the fort blown up by the artillery officers. The strong ghurree of Naguswarree was blown up, and the place burnt on the previous day, by Lieutenant Henchy. This spot has been a perfect nest of villains for some time; and it is supposed the Arabs meant to return to it, as a store of buried powder was exploded by accident. Whilst we were at Buswuntnuggur, reports came in, through our spies, that a body of Arabs, numbering over 500, had, under the leading of their Maous, Sheik Ahmed, attacked and taken the strong mud fort of Digrus; that they had tortured some of the inhabitants, and murdered the son of the Deshmook. They also plundered several villages. The most curious part of the affair is, that the Arabs have with them a palanquin, containing some mysterious personage, who never shows himself, and who is said to be a Brahmin. We had visions of the Nana himself; but we now hear that this species of 'veiled prophet' is only a claimant to the jagheer of Nowsojee Naik (the rebel whose fort of Nowah was stormed many years ago by the Nizam's army). We tried to steal a march on the enemy, by giving out that our field force was to move in another direction, and writing to the commander of the city rabble, yclept 'Moglei Fouj,' to keep the Arabs in play while we marched to Digrus. I must inform you that this 'brave army' from the city of Hyderabad is nominally acting against the rebels, but is composed of precisely the same men as those occupying the fort. Indeed, we have some reason to believe, that a few of the Rohillas who lately fought against us, have now sought refuge in the mass of the Moglei army, which is encamped at Tamsa, two miles from Digrus. It appears that fighting is not so much the object in view as living at free quarters; as, although the 'Fouj' outnumbered the rebels as two to one, they only tried one engagement, in which, having lost one man and two horses, they considered themselves defeated, and retired with precipitation to Tamsa. They had two guns with them; but fearing a sortie from the garrison, and thinking it probable that their artillery might be an incumbrance if they should have to retire with any degree of swiftness, they very wisely left it to guard their camp. I am told that the war was carried on in the strictly Homeric style, and that the flow of 'galee' on both sides would have put Ajax to the blush, though the loss of life was infinitesimal! It may therefore be imagined what useful allies these proved.

It is understood that, instead of surrounding the ghurree, and trying to prevent information of our movements reaching the insurgents, the friendly (?) Arabs in the Moglei camp at once informed their Bhaiee-bunds in the fort of what was coming, and advised them to seek a healthier locality. Acting on this hint, the Arabs, with their *soi-disant* rajah in tow, left Digrus at the very moment we were marching from Buswunth, fifty miles off, and made the best of their way, in the face of the 'Moglei invincibles,' to the dense jungles of Neermul. Our force marched thirty miles; and then, trusting that the brigadier's plans had been carried out by our 'allies,' marched on to Digrus; but, on reaching Tamsa, were informed of the flight of the rebels two days before. It is so unusual for real Vilaytee-Arabs to fly in this way, without firing a shot, that I look upon this as affording another proof of the severity of the lesson taught them at Chichumba, and as a material guarantee for the quietude of the districts we have traversed. For some time past, it appears, the ghurree of Digrus was very defensible; but it is pretty sure that had the Arabs waited for us, they would have been totally destroyed, the ground being favourable for cavalry. The ghurree is now being blown up; and with this, I conclude, closes our campaign, as there is not a rebel now between this and Jaulna, and hardly one fort. The garrison of Digrus are reported as having betaken themselves to the jungle fastnesses of Neermul and Apparowpett, where no force can follow them, and where they themselves must at once break up and disperse, as the necessaries of life are wanting. Whenever these bands wish to avoid us, they can always do so, as they have the fears and sympathies of the villagers with them. Moreover, they pay for intelligence, while we don't; and they thus obtain for both love and money, what we can't get for the one, and are not allowed to purchase for the other—viz., information."

From the above narrative, it seemed probable that the Rohilla war was at an end, and that Sir Hugh Rose had really nothing more to do but to recall his troops, and distribute them into quarters, as Lord Clyde had already done in Oude.

It was doubtless mortifying to the veteran, when the truth was forced upon him, that his great preparations had been thrown away upon an imaginary difficulty; that his troops had been unnecessarily harassed by marches, under a burning sun, to meet an enemy long previously defeated and dispersed, and to capture forts already blown up. Such, however, was the actual result of his dependence upon the incorrect intelligence of the civil authority with his camp.

The Rohillas, in all probability, after their hopeless disasters, would be inclined to confine their depredations to the Nizam's territory, as they have long systematically disregarded his authority. It was probably with a view to this contingency, and to strengthen the position of that prince amongst his turbulent neighbours, that Colonel Davidson, the resident at Hyderabad, was summoned, in the early part of 1859, to attend the council of the viceroy at Calcutta.

According to the official reports of the Nepaulese authorities to their government, at the end of January, the fugitive Oude force was in great strength at several points of the frontier, and in disagreeable proximity to a great magazine at Pewthana. The sepoys and soldiers, it was represented, paid for such grain and animals, goats and sheep, as they required; but their camp-followers, like the profession in general, were a disorderly rabble, whose depredations no severity could check; and, consequently, much ill-feeling had been created among the villagers and their visitors. A strong desire was manifested by the rebel chiefs to advance beyond the frontier, for better security; but, fortunately, the fortress of Doonia Gurree commanded the inner passes of the mountain range; and the troops there stationed received peremptory orders not to allow the begum, or her followers of any rank, to enter them, or upon any pretence to pass into the country, without express permission from Jung Bahadoor.

The position of the begum of Oude and her chief adherents, must have been, at this time, far from satisfactory to them, or encouraging to the troops that still rallied under her standard. After a proclamation had been issued by Jung Bahadoor, by which the fugitive army of Oude was first ordered to quit the country, application was made by that chief for the aid of a British force to expel them; and, as we have seen, Brigadier Horsford, with a column, was ordered to cross the Raptee for the purpose. At the same time, however, Jung Bahadoor is reported to have written to the begum, offering her an

asylum in his kingdom, with her son, and some few of her immediate personal attendants; but desiring her to dismiss her troops, which should be quartered in places appointed by him, pending the efforts he offered to make to obtain pardon for them from the British government. The begum unfortunately declined to accede to the propositions of the maharajah, being advised by her interested councillors, that if she allowed the troops to be separated from her, she would immediately be delivered up by the Nepaul durbar to the British government. Upon receiving her majesty's reply, Jung Bahadoor ordered the inhabitants of the villages near which the troops of the begum had located themselves, to quit their habitations for a time, that no encouragement might be given to the unwelcome intruders; and the chiefs were informed that British troops had been invited to march in the direction of their place of refuge, with the sanction of the Nepaulese government, for the purpose of attacking them, so that their destruction was inevitable, unless they could previously get out of the way. The difficulty of the position in which the rebel force was thus placed, had the effect for a time of rendering the whole desperate; and it was declared by several of the chiefs, that if the begum should submit to the British government, *they* would not cease fighting. On the other hand, the ranee of Toolseypore dispatched her mother to the seat of government to obtain pardon for her; and Ashan Khan, Bahadoor Ali, and Rhasuf Ali Chowdree (who, with 5,000 men and fifteen guns, were encamped a few miles north of Sukalah Ghaut), notified their readiness to present themselves to the British authorities, and lay down their arms, provided they could receive assurance of pardon.

During the correspondence between Jung Bahadoor and the rebels, a Nepaulese officer, dispatched to the camp of the fugitives, had several interviews with the begum; at which her son Birjies Kuddr, Nana Sahib, and Bala Rao were present. This officer, named Buddri Sing, described the followers of the party as numbering at least 60,000 men; of whom, however, 12,000 only were infantry and 5,000 cavalry, the rest being camp-followers and unarmed dependents. He stated also, that the chiefs with this formidable gathering proposed to advance to Khatmandoo, and there seek an interview with Jung Bahadoor; and that it was with difficulty they were prevailed upon to desist from the project, by a plea of waiting for definite instructions from the Nepaulese court with regard to their reception. The correspondence of Buddri Sing is minutely descriptive of the circumstances attending his visit to the fugitive court of the begum. He tells the Jung how long he was kept waiting for an audience of the former; that the troops were drawn out to receive him; that he had an interview with Bala Rao; then with the Nana; then with Mummoo Khan; next with Birjies Kuddr, who "was dressed in royal robes, and sat on a silver throne;" and, finally, with the begum, who said she was hastening to throw herself at Jung Bahadoor's feet. The time occupied in each of these interviews was limited to three minutes, and the interval between each was about the same. The officer further reported, that the whole party were in distress for want of provisions, as the country around them did not yield enough for their support, although they were ready to pay liberally for supplies; and that they had already lost much cattle and many of their horses by starvation. The sepoys had only the ammunition in their pouches; and all were in a state of despondency, declaring that they were but dead men if the Nepaulese government did not afford them shelter; but if the Ghoorka state had not turned against them, they would have driven the English from the country. Through this officer the following correspondence was transmitted to Khatmandoo from the rebel camp. The first is a translation of a letter from Nana Sahib to Jung Bahadoor, dated "28th Jumadee Aosanee, year 1275 Hijrae" (corresponding with the 2nd of February, 1859); and, after the usual Oriental compliments, it proceeds thus:—

"Blessings to the Maharajah!—Your letter, dated 8th Magh Zumbut, 1915 (26th January, 1859), to the address of the begum of Lucknow, inviting her, with all the rajahs, talookdars, and army in her train, to come to Chitoun, came to hand, and the contents have been read. I have heard of your magnanimity from every one, high and low; but now I am sure of it. Although your seven brothers possess great qualities, yet you are as the sun in the midst of a cluster of seven stars. Indeed, I have heard of chiefs of Hindostan of past ages, and seen those of the present, but I find you without a rival; for you have not

refused to give your aid even to the British, who are opposed to you in everything. But that you did at their request, for your own renown. This generosity makes me hope confidently, that when I arrive with the other chiefs at Chitoun, you will, in consideration of the relations that for many years existed between me and your government, not fail to give us your aid. As the poet says, you who are kind to your enemies cannot make your friends hopeless. I have no hope from any one in the world but from you. Do what you think best for me. With those hopes I have determined to go, that I may seek the object I desire. The violation of promises and breach of treaties on the part of the British government towards the chiefs of Hindostan, are so well known, that any enumeration of their acts would be superfluous. Moreover, the British have attempted to destroy the faith and religion of the people of India, which attempt has caused this great outbreak and mutiny. Before my departure, I sent by my brother, Sri Munth Maharajah Gunga Dhur Rao Bala Saheb-Peishwa Bahadoor, a friendly letter, in order to obtain your summons, and he will enter into particulars when you meet him."

This epistle was not signed by the Nana, but it was sealed with the signet-ring of the ex-Peishwa of the Mahrattas, which the Nana had for some time worn and used as a symbol of his rank. With the letter of Nana Sahib, was one also addressed to Jung Bahadoor, from Birjies Kuddr, who styled himself king of Oude. The latter epistle bore a date corresponding with our 1st of February; and, after compliments, said—

"Your letter of January 26th, with pleasant contents, and also desiring me (Sirkar), with my army, rajahs, talookdars, &c., to come to Chitoun, has been duly received and perused. I have seen, with my own eyes, the generosity and bravery for which you are renowned throughout the world. An ambassador of the British asked your aid, and you did not refuse him; therefore, I am fully confident that your magnanimity and bravery (qualities for which you are famous), the treaties which existed between my forefathers and your government, and the regard due to good faith and religion, will not permit you to fail in giving us assistance when I, with the rajahs, talookdars, chiefs, and my army, reach you. I have determined, therefore, to start immediately; and, at our personal interview, I will give you answers to the questions contained in your letter. You know the violation of promises of which the British have been guilty with my forefathers; for the latter left nothing undone to cause the treaties with the British to be binding. I will explain to you, at our personal interview, how the British have attempted to interfere with the faith and religion of the people and of the soldiery."

On the 9th of February, the troops under Brigadier Horsford forded the Raptee, in front of their own camp, and having marched twelve miles into the Nepaul territory, divided themselves—1,200 men recrossing the river and ascending the right bank, so as to get into the right rear of the enemy's position, which was completely commanded by some high rough ground. This being taken advantage of, the men were sheltered from a very heavy artillery fire. The country is described as having been very difficult; but for that reason, also, singularly favourable to the advancing column, which consisted entirely of men of the rifle brigade, the Punjab rifles, and Ghoorkas. The main column had meanwhile marched four or five miles up the left bank of the Raptee, and, crossing a low range of hills covered with magnificent timber, again descended to the Raptee, at a point where the Sitka Ghaut was commanded by the rebel guns. As the front line came in view, the enemy opened fire, but with little spirit; and presently, finding their right covered, at a short range, by riflemen, and their front attacked also, they fled from their guns, as the first of them was taken by a rush from the right. The scene at this moment is described by a soldier as "most beautiful." "The river, upwards of 200 yards broad, deep and swift, though fordable, was dotted with men crossing in haste, to be in time—those who came from the right running into the position, and the guns still smoking; great trees grew quite to the verge of the river, on both sides—the grand Himalayas appearing to overtop everything;—all made an impression upon one unused to such sights, that cannot soon be obliterated. The enemy's guns were, in some places, in little batteries; and here and there trenches had been formed just above the right bank of the river. But small loss was suffered by the enemy as regards numbers, for the cavalry could not act in such a country. The moment the troops rushed in to take

the guns, the enemy fled out of sight, and were lost in the jungle; and scarcely a man on our side was hit. The rocks mostly received the shot; but some men were struck by splinters from the stone: fifteen guns were taken, and with them some royal drums, carriages, and much ammunition. The rebels, who were said to be from 1,500 to 1,700 in number a short time previously, fled into the inner valleys. The Nana, begum, and other rebels of note, are understood to be about thirty-five miles further inland; and to reach them, difficulties of an unusual nature to European troops, will have to be surmounted. Whether we shall penetrate further into this country is not known at present; but we are about 4,000 strong, and able to overcome anything."

The following details, from other correspondence relative to this affair, are interesting. A letter from the banks of the Raptee, dated February 23rd, says—"We have only just returned from Nepaul; the expedition was very successful, and we captured sixteen guns, without any casualties at all on our side. This was the more to be wondered at, as the rebels had posted themselves in a strong position in jungle on the banks of the river, and fired upwards of twenty rounds of canister and round shot at our men as they advanced over the broken and stony ground. Several of the rebels were killed, and hackeries and various odds-and-ends were taken. We remained in Nepaul a week, and, on our return to the old ground near the Sudherrea Ghaut, found our position occupied by the 1st Bengal fusiliers. The 7th hussars left us this morning *en route* to Umballah; and the parting between that gallant regiment and the 2nd battalion rifle brigade, was quite touching, the band playing them out of camp for a mile, and our men following and bidding farewell to their old friends. When they reached the nullah, they formed up, and cheered as only Englishmen can. This was responded to by the 7th in the most enthusiastic manner: and so they parted, never having been separated a day since March, 1858."

Another writer observes—"Colonel Hill conducted his flank movement in a most efficient manner; but it must not be forgotten that the march of his party was one of the most fatiguing perhaps experienced during the mutiny. The total distance could not have been less than thirty-four miles; and within that distance scarcely a greater number of obstacles could be met with in the shape of streams, sands, marshes, hills, and jungles. The streams crossed comprised the Raptee and its tributaries. Thrice during the march the Raptee itself was forded—a dangerous service, owing to the rapidity of its current. However, it was accomplished, the enemy driven from their guns, and fifteen or sixteen of the latter captured before sundown—not a bad day's work."

To prevent any successful attempt by the rebels to return into Oude, a column under the command of Colonel Kelly, consisting of H.M.'s 34th regiment, a wing of the 16th, the 3rd Sikhs, and the Jat horse from Fyzabád, with a battery of royal artillery, was concentrated at the foot of the hills on the Gunduk, from whence it shortly afterwards moved forward to block the passes; while Brigadier Horsford marched on Bareitch, and thence to Toolseypore.

The Mhow field force under General Michel, on the route for Neemuch, had a favourable opportunity afforded it of disposing of the rebel band under Feroze Shah and the Rao Sahib; but, by some misadventure, it was allowed to slip from their grasp. After separating from his companion chiefs, Tantia Topee was for some time lost to sight, and was next heard of in a south-east direction, while passing between Tonk and Jeypore. He then struck off for the Sadow jungles, and joined his force to that of Maun Sing at Narwar, in Scindia's territory, whence it was supposed he would make for Jaloun. The Rao Sahib and Abdil Mohammed of Bhopaul, crossed from Awah, about the middle of February, into Mewah, by the Amail Ghaut, having eluded the vigilance of Brigadier Somerset (who was posted to guard the pass) by moving through it in the night. After a slight affair near Soojat, the rebel force continued its march in the direction of Neemuch; and being checked by Captain Haycock's column at Burra Sadir, the rebels made for Jheerum; but finding that locality one of imminent peril for them, the vakeel of the Rao was dispatched to the camp of General Michel with an offer of submission, provided the terms proposed by him could be accepted. While the general was amused by the pretended negotiations of the vakeel, the several columns under Brigadiers Parke, Smith,

Somerset, and Becher, in conjunction with his own, had gathered round the rebels almost in a circle, which only required to be contracted to crush them to a man. They were on an open common, prostrated with fatigue, and quite four days' march from any jungle. For them to fight in such a situation was to be destroyed *en masse;* while to flee was to be cut to pieces in detail. In this extremity, it occurred to the wily chiefs to try the effect of stratagem; and the vakeel was sent as stated, with instructions to negotiate for their surrender, stipulating for a truce of four days previous to the chiefs coming in. The general, who did not suspect the scheme veiled by the proposition, at once acquiesced in the request, halted all his columns, and patiently waited the return of the emissary with the penitent rebels; who, however, having no intention to gratify him by their appearance in his camp, had availed themselves of the interval allowed them to retire across the Trunk road into the Muxoodeenghur jungle, leaving some 250 of their number behind them to mask their movements. As soon as Michel found out the trick by which he had been duped, he started in pursuit of the fugitives; but again his ill-fortune intervened, and he took a wrong direction, which after a short march he abandoned, and returned without laurels to his cantonment at Mhow.

To compensate in some degree for this disappointment, 200 rebels surrendered with their arms to Brigadier Somerset at Boda, in the Neemuch district, on the 1st of March; while two chiefs of some note (the nawabs of Jowla and Kanconia) also surrendered themselves and their adherents under the royal proclamation. After separating from the rebels under Rao Sahib, Feroze Shah contrived for some time to remain in concealment, his followers being reduced to a comparatively insignificant number. Although not so generally successful in his movements as either Tantia Topee or the Rao Sahib, the Shahzadah was equally enterprising, and had a fair claim to share with them whatever of military renown their persevering hostility to the British troops might entitle them to. This prince was a great-grandson of Shah Alum; his mother, Abadee Begum, being a daughter of Mirza Munjoo, a cousin of Akber Shah, who was the immediate predecessor of the last king of Delhi. He had thus the *prestige* of royal descent: and apart from the odium he shared as a participator in the rebellion, his character was exceptionally good, when compared with that of his relatives the defunct princes of Delhi, whose profligacy and debaucheries appeared to have no charms for one of his more studious disposition.

The following telegrams notify the increasing disposition of the rebellious chiefs, and their adherents, to throw themselves upon the clemency of the government:—

"*Service Message from Indore* (28*th February*, 10.30 P.M.) *to Bombay. From Sir R. Hamilton to Lord Elphinstone.*—Three hundred rebel cavalry, under Peerzoo Ali, principal officer to Feroze Shah, surrendered on the 27th, at Sunjail, and more are said to be coming in."

"*From Indore, 3rd March. Sir R. Hamilton to Lord Elphinstone, Bombay.*—Peer Zaor Ali and his party of rebels surrendered to General Michel, and laid down their arms on the 1st of March. General Michel afterwards marched to Sonail."

Of the last-mentioned band, it was stated in a letter from Augur, dated March the 7th, that they were merely deprived of their weapons, and sent to their respective homes, without even being required to relinquish the plunder with which almost every man of the 200 was laden; the object of so much consideration being, probably, to inspire confidence in the leniency of the government.

A letter from Saugor, of the 5th of March, referred to the movements of Tantia Topee as follows:—"This troublesome and slippery chief was at Seronge yesterday, coming down to Rahulgurh. He cut up, on his way, about 200 of the Bhopaul troops, by pretending that he had been sent by the British to assist them against Tantia Topee, who was at hand; and, when among them, cutting them up right and left before they could help themselves. Brigadier Wheeler went out against him last night, and will doubtless, if in time, give a good account of the rebel, who, after his successful stratagem, went off with his party towards Perone."

About the middle of the month, some intimation of the existence of the fugitive chiefs—Tantia Topee, Feroze Shah, and the Rao—was comprised in the following brief reference to their supposed movements:—"The three principal leaders of the rebellious bands have, within the last few days, lost most of their followers. Tantia Topee,

who has recently taken to a disguise, and assumed the name of Ram Sing, has completely disappeared; but it is suspected that he was lately near Jhansie, under the name of Jeel Jung. Feroze Shah has also disappeared, and is probably hiding under an assumed name. The Rao, accompanied by Adil Mohammed, a sirdar of Bhopaul, appeared near Beora, after having defeated some new levies of the maharajah of Gwalior at Bhilsa, and taken four guns from them; but, in the flight from Bhilsa to Seronge and Beora, the guns had to be abandoned. From the close pursuit by Colonel Rich's and other columns, there was little chance that the annoyance from this source would be of long duration."

In the Banda district, the yet flickering embers of revolt suddenly burst into a devouring flame, which was destructive alike of life and property in a quarter least expected to be exposed to the visitation. A party of railway *employés* connected with the Allahabad and Jubbulpore line, consisting of a Mr. Evans, chief engineer, and Messrs. Limnell and Campbell, his assistants, were engaged in the survey of the district around the village of Etawah, some ninety miles from Allahabad. These persons had with them a party of workmen and native servants, and they had also an escort of twenty mounted Sikhs, for their protection. From some unexplained cause, Messrs. Evans and Limnell distrusted the fidelity of the Sikhs, and did not take any trouble to conceal the fact. Shortly after their arrival at the village, a zemindar of the neighbourhood informed them, that a large body of insurgents, led by Hushmut Sing, sirdar of Rewah, was approaching the camp with hostile intentions. The information was treated as unimportant; and the friendly zemindar was informed by Mr. Evans, that his guard of twenty men could protect him. According to the account of a native who formed one of the unfortunate party, the most of them were asleep in their tents, except the guard, who were cooking their food, when, about 2 P.M. of the 26th of February, the rebels surrounded the camp. Mr. Evans then inquired of the officer in charge of the detachment, if his men would save them; and his characteristic reply was, "They would fight for the camp, but the sahibs must save themselves." Upon this, Evans and his two assistants got upon their horses to escape, when a sowar transfixed Evans with his spear, and the horse stumbling, fell with his rider into a ditch. The sowar then dismounted, and despite the entreaties of Mr. Evans that he would spare his life, the murderer struck off his head. Mr. Limnell was meanwhile thrown from his horse, wounded, and made prisoner by the rebels, who compelled him to accompany them on foot, carrying the head of his murdered chief in his hands, until he, also, was relieved from his misery by death. The remainder of the party contrived to hide themselves in the jungle; and ultimately, Mr. Campbell, with the Sikh guard, found their way into Allahabad, from whence a detachment of the 97th regiment was sent in pursuit of the rebels and their prisoner. The following extract, from a letter of an individual connected with the survey in which Messrs. Evans and Limnell were engaged, affords some further details of the occurrence:—"Doubtless you will have received the terrible news of our narrow escape from the rebels, and the death of poor Limnell and the chief engineer (William Evans) of the Jubbulpore line. As you will find by my letters from Allahabad, we were all ready to start on our surveying expedition on the new line for at least a month, and were only waiting for the civil servants to let us know when the country was quiet. We received intelligence to that effect, and started. We got up to the top of the ghaut, or mountain pass, and came back to the foot of the range of hills that lie about 120 miles from Allahabad. We left two engineers on our way from Allahabad, and proceeded up to the place where Mr. Evans's, Limnell's, and Colin W. Campbell's tents were attacked. The name of the place is Erutowah, a small village about ninety miles from this; and it was our two tents—viz., Strong's, the engineer, whom I was with, and mine, which they came to attack; but we had fortunately left that place two days before, and were both levelling through a very thick jungle. Evans, Limnell, and Campbell, afterwards came and encamped in the very same place; and at about half-past two on Saturday afternoon, February 26th, 1,000 men came down with elephants and camels with swivel guns on their backs, and began firing into the camp in all directions. Poor Limnell and Evans were both thrown from their horses, and the latter's head was cut off, and Limnell taken prisoner. They made him march to the place where I had passed a day with him, and the last place I saw him in, and there put him to death. I believe

he was made to carry poor Evans's head all the way. We received news of the affair when encamped about five miles from the rebels, and were obliged to jump on our horses and scamper off to Thirowan, and thence by forced marches into Allahabad. Yesterday and the day before we rode seventy-five miles in the broiling sun, but, thank God! are all safe. Campbell is also safe here; he owes his life to the swiftness of his horse. Twelve engineers have gone out surveying that line; five were killed in the Cawnpore massacre, and this time we have lost two out of seven. We shall not be ordered out there for some time, as there are 7,000 or 8,000 men in the hills. Everything was burnt and destroyed, and all I have of poor Limnell is a scarf. Four of the servants were killed. The mail is just going out, and we are all so tired that we can only write short notes; otherwise we are all right. Poor Evans has left a wife and three children. She is in a terrible state of mind, but does not know how horribly they were put to death. Limnell's body is not yet found."

In the Deccan, a murderous attempt upon the life of Sala Jung, the chief minister of the Nizam at Hyderabad, occasioned some alarm in March, and led to a vigorous investigation, the result of which showed, contrary to the first impression, that the outrage arose from causes wholly disconnected with the general revolt. The attempt was made on occasion of a visit by the British resident, Colonel Davidson, to the Nizam, for the purpose of presenting a khapeeta (despatch) from the governor-general. Colonel Davidson had fulfilled his mission; and on leaving the durbar, was accompanied from the presence by the dewan, Sala Jung, followed by Captain Thornhill and Lieutenant Fraser. The party had scarcely reached the courtyard of the palace, where the attendants were waiting, when a mounted sowar of the Nizam's guard deliberately raised his carbine, and took aim at the minister. The charge miscarried; and the assassin immediately drew his sword, and attempted to cut down his intended victim; and in all probability would have succeeded in doing so, owing to the suddenness of the attack, but for the prompt interference of one of the attendants of Sala Jung, who rushed between his master and the sowar, and received the blow aimed at the former upon his open hand, which was severed in two. The momentary interruption gave opportunity to draw a score of swords from their scabbards, and the assassin was cut down, falling from his horse a terribly mangled corpse. Intelligence of the attempt spread like wildfire through the city; and, conceiving it to be the signal for a general outbreak, numbers of the inhabitants, as well as Europeans attached to the English mission, fled with all speed to Secunderabad, carrying with them the rumour that the resident himself had been either slain or wounded.

An investigation was immediately set on foot, to trace the motive for the outrage; and the fact was elicited that the sowar was a retainer of the family of the Ameer Kabeer Shumseer Oomrad, between whom and Sala Jung a feud had long subsisted, and that his object was merely to avenge some offence offered to his patron by the dewan. The sons of the Ameer, upon learning what had taken place, hastened to the residency, to disavow any complicity in the outrage perpetrated by their servant; but their asseverations of entire ignorance of the man's intent, and of regret for his conduct, were coldly listened to by Colonel Davidson, who declared to them his determination to have the instigators of the attempt discovered, and that all found implicated should be severely punished. The minister fortunately escaped without personal injury; but the affair had ultimately the effect of banishing his enemies, including the Ameer himself, from the court of the Nizam.

The uneasiness occasioned by this violent act did not subside without an attempt to convert the opportunity afforded by it into a political crisis; and rumours were set afloat that, by the intervention of the English, the Nizam's troops were to be disbanded, and the people disarmed. The report spread quickly and widely; and on the 12th of March, the Arab mercenaries of the contingent assembled in an excited and tumultuous manner at the house of their principal jemadar, alleging they had heard the British troops had arrived at the residency, and had already entered the minister's Barrah Durree, which was within the city walls, and near one of the principal gates. The jemadar, influenced by the statement, at once took measures for resistance, and stationed pickets round the Arab quarters; but, fortunately, the falsehood of the report was soon established; and beyond the alarm, no evil resulted from the occurrence.

A few months only had elapsed since the proclamation of the Queen was made public throughout India; but the result of its conciliatory and indulgent declarations was by no means so satisfactory and tranquillising as had been hoped would have been the case; and thus reference to the supreme government became frequently necessary from the distant provinces and minor presidencies, for the purpose of ascertaining, from the highest authority, the correct interpretation of passages in that important document. For instance, the declaration respecting the inviolability of Indian rights, was in many cases ignorantly, or perhaps intentionally, misunderstood by the natives; and especially so were the clauses in which her majesty declared, that "none shall be in anywise favoured, none molested or disquieted, by reason of their religious faith or observances;" and that, "generally, in framing and administering the law, due regard shall be paid to the ancient rights, usages, and customs of India." These clauses, which bear an obvious and unmistakable meaning in the original language of the proclamation, were, by the process of incorrect interpretation into the various languages of the races of India, sought to be rendered subservient to the purpose of carrying out native religious prejudices to a very great extent, and were held to justify the maintenance of many absurd concessions to native intolerance, and the most aggressive customs, by virtue of which one class of society justified a violent interference with the rights of another, or of the public in general. At Tinnevelly (the principal town of Travancore, a district in the Madras presidency), the inhabitants of which are chiefly Hindoos preserving the Hindoo customs with extraordinary strictness, the Brahmins considered themselves justified, by their reading of the proclamation, in offering positive resistance to the law; and, among other claims of privilege, insisted upon the maintenance of regulations which, in effect, closed the Queen's highway against all processions connected with low-caste funerals. At Tinnevelly, it seems, a custom was in existence which prevented the passage of low-caste funerals before pagodas; and in a district of the town where caste riots were of frequent occurrence, the authorities sought to evade the difficulty by ordering that a street should be made by which low-caste funerals and processions might pass without offence to the more sacred communities of Hindoo worshippers. Before this expedient was resorted to, it was no uncommon sight to see two rival castes carrying their idols in procession, meeting at the intersection of two lanes, and, forgetting the sacred character of their gods in the ardour of their fanaticism, dropping their misshapen images into the gutter, to exhaust their rage and hatred of each other in blows and curses. At Cuddalore and other towns, scenes of such a character were frequently repeated; but the authorities, from a disinclination to interfere in religious quarrels with which they had no concern, hesitated to repress the cause of them, which they could have done by declaring peremptorily, that the public highway was open to the use of all classes of the community. This neglect of duty, and weak indulgence by the civil magistrate, served to strengthen the high-caste fanatics in the belief that their outrageous claims were based upon a right it was perfectly legal for them to seek to uphold, the words of the Queen's proclamation being construed into a formal acknowledgment of the privileges of caste.

It happened at Tinnevelly, as in many other towns of British India, that there were two leading religious parties—the Brahmins and their followers, and the Christian missionaries and their converts—between whom at all times a strong feeling of jealous rivalry existed. On the 22nd of December, a Hindoo of low-caste, who had become a Christian neophyte, died in the civil hospital of Tinnevelly. In conveying his remains to the place of interment, the Christian friends of the deceased, against the established practice of the Hindoos, insisted upon carrying the corpse through the street fronting the Tinnevelly pagoda. To this the Brahmins and their party objected; a disturbance arose, and a great number of people assembled. The tehseeldar being unable to disperse the crowd, applied to the acting magistrate for assistance, which was speedily obtained in the shape of three companies of sepoys from the 2nd extra regiment stationed at Palamcottah, about three miles and a-half distant; and with these the chief magistrate, accompanied by his head assistant and several military officers, marched into Tinnevelly. The novelty of their appearance added much to the excitement of the people, and a vast crowd followed the magistrate and his party.

One company of the sepoys was posted at the front gate of the temple, and the other two companies marched to the place where the funeral party was assembled; and under this escort the convert's body, in a coffin covered with a pall, was moved towards its last resting-place. Notwithstanding the tehseeldar pointed out that there were three other streets through which the procession could pass, and that he distinctly stated his apprehensions that nothing could prevent a breach of the peace if the party took the street facing the pagoda, the Christians refused to listen to his remonstrances, and insisted upon going by the way they had chosen. For a while all went on quietly; but on the procession coming up near the pagoda—on forbidden ground, according to the Brahmins, whereby they considered that their religious prejudices and feelings were outraged, and their caste superiority insulted and infringed under the sanction of civil and military authority, which they hoped would have been exercised in their favour—a shower of stones came pouring down from the crowd, and from persons concealed in the houses of the Brahmins and in the gobarums or pinnacles of the pagoda. The military were then unfortunately ordered to use force to put down this violent conduct; and they fired among the crowd, striking down about thirty-nine men, women, and children, and wounding a great many more. Thus a loss of valuable lives, and a great effusion of blood, was sustained merely because a Brahminical crowd thought fit to consider their caste privileges in danger, and fancied, by their interpretation of the Queen's proclamation, that her majesty would protect them in their hostility to Christianity and Christian converts, and also that the military were bound to protect them in the full enjoyment of their exclusive privileges. The occurrence at first produced a degree of alarm throughout the district, and, for a time, had a repressive influence upon the spread of Christianity, as well as upon the good feeling of the inhabitants generally.

A similar misconstruction of the language of the proclamation gave rise to a formidable riot at the town of Nagarcoil, in the Travancore district, in the course of which many lives were lost, and a vast amount of property belonging to the European residents and the native Christian population, was sacrificed before order could be restored.

The population of Travancore is composed mainly of two classes—the Sudras (Nairs*) and the Shanars. The former

* The following account of the Sudras, or Nairs, appears to be in perfect accordance with ancient testimony respecting them:—"One of the most singular people of India are the Nairs, who occupy the southern parts of Malabar. They are the pure Sudras of that coast, and all profess to be born soldiers, though all do not follow the profession of arms. They are of various classes and avocations. The highest are on some occasions cooks, which is always an honourable employment, as an individual may eat food prepared by a person of higher rank than himself, but must not partake of any that is cooked by an inferior. In earlier ages, before these countries were invaded by foreigners, the submission of the Nairs to their superiors was very implicit, and they exacted the same from their inferiors, with a promptitude and severity never practised but among the Hindoos. They always went armed, and a Nair was expected instantly to cut down a Tiar (cultivator) or a Mucua (fisherman) who touched him; while some of the inferior castes, if about to meet a Nair, were obliged to turn out of the way to let him pass, lest they should pollute him by their approach. But the greatest singularity manifested by this caste, is relative to marriage, and the treatment of their females, which is the reverse of all other people in India. They marry very young, generally before they are ten years old, but the husband is not expected to live with his wife. It would even be considered scandalous to do so. She remains in her mother's house, or, after her death, with her brothers. Her husband allows her oil, food, clothing, and ornaments, but she is at perfect liberty to entertain as many lovers as she pleases, provided they are of an equal or higher rank than herself. Should she choose a person of lower rank, she not only forfeits all supplies from her husband, but is considered as a disgrace to herself and connections, and is expelled from the caste. Females are not put to death for capital offences, or even mutilated as in other parts, but only banished from the country." In consequence of the extraordinary arrangements respecting the women, no Nair can be supposed to know his father. Every man considers his sister's children to be his heirs. His mother manages the family, and after her death, the eldest sister assumes the direction. A Nair's movable property, on his decease, is equally divided amongst the sons and daughters of all his sisters. From a very remote period, Malabar was governed by the descendants of thirteen Nair chiefs' sisters; amongst whom, and the different branches of the same families, there existed a constant confusion and change of property, which were greatly increased by the assumption of sovereign power by many inferior chiefs. The country thus became subdivided in a manner of which there is no other example; and it was a common saying in Malabar, that a man could not take a step without going from one chief's territory into that of another. Taking advantage of these dissensions, Hyder Ali subdued the *northern* division of the country, which is now known as the province of Malabar; while the rajah of Travancore, and the Cochin rajah, conquered all the chiefs of the

are the chief landowners, and monopolise nearly all offices under the Sirkar, to none of which is a Shanar, however intelligent, ever admitted. As a body, although there may be a few praiseworthy exceptions, the Sudras are proud, oppressive, corrupt, and cowardly; ignorant in the extreme; scarcely ever leaving their own district, and treating the lower castes with great insolence and tyranny. On the other hand, the Shanars have been for years increasing in intelligence, wealth, and general respectability. Many have availed themselves of the education offered them; and many also have put themselves under regular Christian instruction.

In former times, when caste prejudices were in their full vigour in Travancore, the man or woman who had the misfortune to be of an inferior order in regard of birth, was scarcely recognised, by the proud and exclusive Nairs, as forming part of the human species; and to such a height did their arrogance extend, as to declare it a serious offence for females of the Shanar caste to appear in public with any covering above the waist, having the whole of the upper part of the body perfectly nude, as a mark of their inferiority. The practice had, however, under the moralising influence of Christianity, gradually fallen into disuse; and the Shanar people awakening to a sense of the decencies of life, and especially such of them as came under the spiritual direction of the English missionaries, were led to assume an attire consistent with feminine delicacy. This improved state of things continued for some time, and gradually extended to females who were not members of the Christian church, but yet had the modesty of their sex. At length some of the higher class of native society began to look with jealousy upon the change, which they deemed an insolent invasion of their exclusive privileges; and the proclamation of the Queen being construed as restoring to them the full possession of all caste privileges, they at once fell back upon the restrictions with regard to dress above alluded to, and insisted that the Shanar women should revert to their original semi-nakedness, as the degrading distinction of their caste. The dewan of Travancore adopted the views of the Nairs generally in this respect, and issued an order for reviving the obsolete practice, and compelling Christian wives and mothers, as well as others, to expose their persons to the gaze of the public. This outrage to decency was no longer unheeded by the women in question, the Christian portion of whom appealed to the missionaries, who very properly encouraged them to disobey the order, and refused to allow their congregation to submit to an observance so repugnant to delicacy. The result of this opposition to the authority of the dewan and the rigid prejudices of caste, was a terrible riot, in the course of which the resident's bungalow and the protestant church were burnt down, and the houses of the missionaries (Messrs. Russell and Baylis) were materially injured. All the persons connected with the mission fled for safety to Travandrum, the chief town of the district (about fifty miles N.N.W. of Cape Comorin), and threw themselves upon the protection of General Cullen, the British resident at Travancore. From this officer they received but small consolation; as, in reply to the complaints of the Shanars, that their women had been beaten, and the clothes torn from them, the general told them, "that as their Christian women had violated the Shanar custom of exposing the upper part of their bodies, and had so far

central and *southern* divisions. Notwithstanding the accession of Christians, Jews, and Mohammedans, the great mass of the population of Malabar are still Hindoos. And, as already remarked, the distinctions of caste amongst them are kept up with the utmost strictness. The distances—so many steps or paces—within which an individual of an inferior may not approach one of a superior caste, are defined with the most scrupulous nicety. The distinctive names of the castes are:—1. Namboories, or Brahmans; 2. Nairs, or Sudras; 3. Tiars, who are free cultivators of the land; 4. Malears, who are musicians and conjurors, or jugglers, and also free men; 5. Poliars, or Shanars—slaves, mostly attached to the soil, and considered as below all caste. And there is an out-cast tribe, inferior even to these, called Niadis, who are considered so very impure, that even a slave of caste will not touch them. "They generally wander about in companies of ten or twelve, keeping a little distance from roads; and when they see any passenger, they set up a howl like dogs that are hungry. They who are moved by compassion, lay down what they are inclined to bestow, and go away; the Niadis afterwards approach, and take up what has been left. They have no marriage ceremony; but one man and one woman always associate together. They are said to kill tortoises, and sometimes alligators, both of which they eat, and consider excellent food." There are several divisions of the first three castes. The Poliars are bought and sold like cattle, either with or separate from the land, one of them being generally considered equal in value to two buffaloes. They are of a miserable appearance, squalid and diminutive, and are often treated with much severity—a natural consequence of their abject servility to their superiors.

unjustifiably adopted the Sudra costume, they had only themselves to blame, and must take the consequences." He, however, ordered a detachment of the Nair brigade to escort them back to their homes, or to the ruins of them; and the dewan, Madhava Row, also left to enforce measures for the re-establishment of order—a result which he finally accomplished.

The volcanic element that had seared and scarred some of the finest districts of India, yet smouldered beneath the surface, and seemed to require but a trifling impulse to transform it once more into a glowing mass of flame. At Rawul Pindee (a fortified town of the Punjab, forty-seven miles E.S.E. of Attock), in which were cantonments for the British and native troops, the subahdar-major of the disarmed 58th regiment of native infantry, received a letter by dâk, purporting to be from the native officers of the 18th irregular cavalry, urging him to get his regiment to mutiny, promising the aid of the 18th, and also of the 2nd irregular cavalry, which was passing at the time through the district. The subahdar at once took the letter to the officer in command at the station, who ordered the 18th regiment to be immediately paraded; and the letter being read to them, it of course was indignantly repudiated by all. The native officers of the regiment, moreover, offered a reward of a thousand rupees for the discovery of the writer; and within two hours of the notification of this offer, a trooper of the regiment shot himself. On searching his hut, a *fac simile* of the letter was found, also the seal that had been used, and a number of letters addressed to various native officers yet in the service, instigating them to prevail upon their regiments to rise against the British. Whether the suicide had acted in this matter upon his own impulse, or was but the secret agent of other parties, remained doubtful; as, in consequence of his sudden death, no clue to the origin of the affair could be distinctly traced.

Looking back once more to Oude, where, by this time, the last embers of revolt had been nearly trodden out, through the effective measures adopted for the disarming of the people—up to the middle of January, the official returns showed a seizure of 173 cannons, 79,729 muskets, 279,930 swords, 14,365 spears, and 177,126 offensive weapons of other descriptions. To the same date, 483 forts, of various degrees of strength and military importance, had been destroyed or utterly dismantled; and about 1,800 sepoys had surrendered upon the faith of the amnesty. Such, in short, was the favourable aspect of affairs in Oude, that the whole of the Sikh regiments which had rendered important service in the progressive tranquillisation of the country, were ordered back to the Punjab; and the Oude stationary army was diminished, as already stated, by more than one-third its effective strength. To better ensure the peace of the city, an order was issued in Lucknow, commanding every Affghan affecting to be a trader, to sell his goods within a certain time, and then to return home—the unusual swarm of Affghans who had flocked into the city upon pretence of being merchants, having excited the suspicion of the authorities.

The number of sepoys who manifested a desire to throw themselves upon the mercy of the government, upon the terms prescribed by the royal proclamation, continued to increase materially, and, towards the end of January, became uninterrupted. Most of them admitted that they had felt the hopelessness of the struggle for months previous; they knew their position was desperate; but they could not have faith in the conciliatory offers made to them for submission. Among those men, the case of many officers and old soldiers belonging to disarmed and disbanded regiments, was in some instances pitiable. They had, by their mutiny and desertion in pursuit of a shadow, hazarded all, and lost all: their pay was of course stopped; their pensions were forfeited; and they had nothing before them but starvation, or a wretched state of existence dependent upon the charity of their countrymen. Such, even after the bullet, the sword, and the hangman's cord had done their work, was the probable future of a great portion of the existing remnant of that once noble army which, in the unclouded season of its loyalty, had been worthy co-rivals in martial glory with the bravest of its European compeers.

The chiefs, also, now generally felt that there was nothing left for them but unconditional submission, although, in many breasts, there yet lingered a secret expectation that a day would arrive for the exhumation of buried guns, and the renovation of dismantled forts. Much uneasiness was also naturally felt among the chiefs—the more intense as the rank

ascended—with respect to the future intentions of the government. "They can never forgive us!" was an exclamation frequently heard even amongst those assured of pardon. They had not yet learned to understand the difference between their Christian conquerors, and the Moslem and Hindoo tyrants of their own races.

With regard to the atrocities perpetrated by the mutinous troops and budmashes of the various towns in revolt at the early stages of the insurrection, much contradictory evidence, or rather allegation (partly founded upon actual occurrences, and partly upon rumour), had occupied the attention of people in all parts of the world, as well as upon the scenes of the terrible realities. That, in the early days of tumult and revolt, the terror inspired by the sudden and unlooked-for visitation, led to much exaggeration as to the atrocity and extent of the outrages by which the innocent and the defenceless—weak women and tender children, feeble age, and helpless unoffending infancy—were offered up as the first victims to revenge and brutal lust, there is now little room to doubt; but that cruelties and enormities were perpetrated of the most terrible description, there is also ample and incontestable proof; and in the case of the massacre at Cawnpore, the more clearly the transactions connected with it are investigated, the more hateful appears to be the deliberate cruelty, cowardice, and malignity of its perpetrators. It has been shown, in the progress of this work, that massacres were perpetrated at many stations in British India. There was one at Delhi, within the king's palace; but it was in some degree relieved by the conduct of natives, who protected Europeans, and assisted them to escape. There was a massacre at Futteghur; but it was afterwards found to have been the work of the vile population of budmashes, and of some few sepoys in a state of frenzied excitement, and wild with license, lust of blood, and plunder. From that place some Europeans were suffered to escape; and two women were received into the nawab's palace, where they were, for a time at least, protected; while others were sheltered by Hurdeo Bux. At Shahjehanpore, also, there was a massacre; but there, again, Europeans got away; and others were equally fortunate at Bareilly. There was also a massacre at Lucknow; but it appeared not to be the work of the authorities or of the sepoys, but of an assassin who had been favoured by the family of one of the victims. Even at Jhansie, it afterwards appeared that some degree of extenuation might be found: but for Cawnpore alone there was not a plea to be urged—that incomparable atrocity was deliberate and complete: its guilt was divided into two parts—the one characterised by superhuman treachery; the other by relentless cruelty, and by every circumstance that could intensify guilt. As the number of the murdered exceeded that of the victims in any other place, so did the greatness of the crime excel, in all its incidents, the magnitude of the offences which marked the mutiny of the Bengal army, and the subsequent revolt. There were, indeed, some survivors of the first Cawnpore massacre; but the second and the worst—that of the women and children in the house and compound—was dreadful, and, in its full accomplishment, unexampled.

And just in proportion to the magnitude of the horrors presented in that city, was the scepticism as to their reality and extent; for persons were found who, either from ignorance or design, affected to believe, in the face of reiterated proof, that the statements put before the world in reference to the Cawnpore murders, were little other than exaggerated fictions. Gradually, however, evidence living and unassailable appeared upon the scene, to testify in person as to the general accuracy of the details that had pictured the fiend-like inflictions of the Nana Sahib at Cawnpore. One of these living witnesses, a survivor from the first massacre, was the daughter of an Eurasian clerk; who, snatched from the uplifted sword of an assassin by a sowar of the Nana, was afterwards compelled to travel about with him, and, to escape persecution, became a Mohammedan; and subsequently making her escape to an English camp, was sent down to Calcutta, where the memory of her sufferings and compulsory degradation was gradually soothed to calmness, by the assiduity and sympathising kindness of strangers. Another, who escaped the savage fury of the reckless murderers of her whole family, was a girl of thirteen, named Georgiana Anderson, whose parents resided at Humerpore. All her relatives were massacred in her sight, herself receiving a desperate cut from a tulwar on the shoulder in the course of the murderous outrage. No other injury was inflicted upon the child personally; and a native

doctor took compassion upon her, and, extricating her from the dying and the dead of her house, took care of her, and afterwards sent her in safety to the English commander, by whom she was restored to some friends at Monghyr. Some further details of the actual proceedings of the Nana in Cawnpore, were also furnished at a later period by a half-caste Christian band-boy, named Joseph Fitchett, who stated to the commissioners appointed to investigate the charges of massacre and violation preferred against Nana Sahib and his ruffian adherents, that when the mutiny broke out, he was a musician in the band of one of the native infantry regiments at Cawnpore, and, in the general massacre, he saved his life by declaring that he would become a Mohammedan, which he did by an easy process almost on the spot. He remained in Cawnpore, and was enrolled in the Nana's force, with which he did duty. On the afternoon of the 15th of June, 1857, when it became known that the British were advancing from Pandoo Nuddee, a council was held by the Nana, at which it was resolved, that the women and children at the Beebeeghur, about 205 in number, should be murdered. The news went rapidly through the town, and some men of the 6th native infantry, entering the enclosure, proceeded to take from the unfortunate captives such articles of value, or trinkets, as they retained on their persons. When the Nana heard of this plunder, he was very much displeased, and sent down a body of sowars, with strict orders to surround the house, and permit no one to enter but the executioners. By the statement of this band-boy, it appeared that four English gentlemen were at the time confined with the women and children in the enclosure; namely, Mr. Thornhill, magistrate and collector of Futteghur; Colonel Smith, 10th native infantry; Brigadier Goldie, of the clothing department; and a fourth, not clearly identified, but supposed to be one of the Greenaway family. Shortly before half-past four o'clock, a message was brought to those gentlemen, that Brigadier Jeekin, a native officer of the mutineers, desired to see them; and they left the house to repair to his quarters. They walked quietly along the road, in the direction indicated to them, suspecting nothing; but when they had got as far as the assembly-rooms, they were suddenly attacked from behind, cut down, and murdered on the spot. Meantime, preparations were being made for the execution of the orders of the Nana and his council, with respect to the women and children;* but there was some difficulty in getting instruments for the meditated horrible butchery. The sowars wished to save themselves from the defilement of blood, and the infantry were equally averse to the task; but at length, some soldiers of the 6th native infantry were sent in, and ordered to fire upon the terrified and helpless crowd before them. These men, not yet dead to human instincts, fired in the air; and were so dilatory with their work, that it became evident the purpose of the Nana would not be accomplished by their hands. Sowars were therefore dispatched into the town for some of the common butchers of the bazaar; and two Bhooreas and a Velaitee, who were armed with hatchets and tulwars, were brought, and ordered to go in and kill every one within the house and enclosure, all egress from which was prevented by the sowars outside. It was a long and dreadful sacrifice; Fitchett, who was on duty near the place, declaring that the assassins entered the enclosure about 5.30 P.M., and that it was 10 P.M. before they came out to announce that the terrible butchery was accomplished! Once during that interval of four hours and a-half, a ruffian appeared at the gate, with his sword broken in two; but on obtaining a sabre from one of the sowars, he returned to continue his infernal labour. The Nana was in the hotel close at hand during this horrible tragedy; and when informed that all were dead, he gave orders that the doors should be closed for the night, and guards put over the place. That night the Nana gave a nautch ball to his friends in Cawnpore.

Early in the morning of the 16th, the Nana gave orders that the doors should be opened, and that all the bodies inside should be flung into a well within the compound; but as it was far too small to contain so many bodies, Fitchett considered it was probable that some were dragged away to other places, or were thrown into the Ganges.

* In the earlier accounts of this horrible transaction (see vol. i., p. 376), the massacre of the women and children took place *after* the defeat of the Nana's troops on the 16th; whereas, by the statement of Fitchett, the act was perpetrated the previous evening, and while General Havelock's force was still on its triumphant march from the Pandoo Nuddee: but whatever the date, the fact of the murder remains.

So far, the testimony of one near to, and almost an eye-witness of the act of slaughter, corroborates the account first received in its material parts. Of the hellish outrages perpetrated within the walls of that terrible compound, no living tongue was spared to tell; and in the returns that have appeared in reference to the punishment of the mutinous sepoys found in the city, and of the miscreant through whom the orders of the Nana were conveyed to the butchers employed in the wholesale slaughter of 205 helpless women and children,* there is no clue to the fact (if, indeed, it is one), that more than one of the three ferocious instruments of the Nana's malignity—*i. e.*, the butchers and the Velaitee—were, either at the recapture of the city, or at any other time or place, identified and punished.

Upon the defeat of the Nana's troops on the 16th, Fitchett fled, with his new friends the sepoys, to Futteghur; and during his stay there, it would appear, by the account he has rendered, he frequently saw a lady whom he recognised as the daughter of a late superior officer at Cawnpore, but who was then under the protection of a sowar, who had fled with her from Cawnpore after the first massacre. The lad affirmed that he was repeatedly shown into the room in which the lady sat, where he was ordered to read extracts from English newspapers which the rebels received from Calcutta, he being employed by them for the purpose of translating the news, in which they took great interest, and more especially so in that which related to the war in China. He said further, that the lady had a horse with an English side-saddle, which the sowar had procured for her, and that she rode close beside him along the line of march, with her face veiled. When the British troops approached Futteghur, orders were sent to the sowar to give the lady up; but he again escaped with her, and, it was supposed, went to Calpee.

The fatigues of the campaign, and the effect of the accident before Mujidiah on the 26th of December, had seriously impaired the health of Lord Clyde, who, after his return to Lucknow, was compelled to restrain his desire for active service, and to facilitate a return to convalescence by an interval of repose.

A very perplexing difficulty arose to the government, in consequence of the view taken of the outrages at Nagarcoil by the British resident at Travancore, who appeared to justify the Nairs of that district in their preposterous notion, that, by the royal proclamation, they were reinstated in the full enjoyment of every obsolete right or privilege in connection with their peculiar religious customs, or the exclusive usages of their caste. To encourage them, and others also of the various creeds of India, to imagine they might again revert to practices it had been the object of the government for years past to repress and discountenance, would simply have led to the utter disruption of all rule whatever, except that of the sword; since, if the letter of the proclamation was to be rigidly interpreted, and held to, in the sense assumed, it would be impossible to maintain the salutary enactments which had abolished, among the natives of India, the grossest and most revolting of their superstitions. The Pariahs, for instance, as of old, might be compelled to wear bells; and *Nairs* might once more shoot the *Nayadi*, whose shadow is projected on their persons: the Todars might perpetuate the custom of killing their female children, and indulge in the enjoyment of a plurality of husbands: fanatics might again claim the privilege to swing on hooks at their festival of the Churrockpoojah; and the rite of Suttee would again belch forth its unholy and consuming fires, in defiance of humanity and reason. But it was quite clear, that whatever ambiguity might exist in the rendering of an English state document into the vernacular dialects of India, such never for a moment was intended to be its effect; and it was therefore important that it should be announced to the people of India, that the rites and customs protected by the proclamation were not those which civilisation rejected, and which the laws had for years strenuously endeavoured to repress. It was absurd to suppose that the public highways of a city must necessarily be closed because of some imaginary defilement to the neighbourhood of a pagoda, by the funeral of a low-caste native passing it; or that it could be permitted, that females who had covered their breasts from womanly delicacy, should be maltreated and stripped in the streets, because women of a higher caste chose to consider that mode of dress the distinctive and exclusive badge of their own superiority. Thus it became necessary at once to enforce, without any qualification whatever, the operation of a clause

* See vol. i., p. 391.

in the royal proclamation, which directly affected the point in dispute, but which the fanatics of high-caste desired to ignore—namely, the paragraph which called upon "all the Queen's subjects" to submit themselves to the authority of those whom her majesty had appointed to administer the government of her Indian empire. It was also important that it should be dictinctly understood by the people, that the government was determined to repress, with a strong hand, all indignities and provocations offered to the natives of any race, upon the plea of caste privileges, however lowly might be their rank in the native populations. A new element of dissatisfaction had thus been engendered by the partial misinterpretations of the royal document; which it became essential to check in its earliest phase, by supplying a correct key to the native reading of the proclamation—the want of which had been mischievously demonstrated by the outrages at Tinnevelly and Travancore, as well as by the difficulty suddenly presented to the governments of Bombay and the Punjab, by a perplexing question as to the positive sense in which the terms "British subjects" were to be taken, as distinguished from the expression "our subjects;" both of which were used in the proclamation, and the doubtful application of which had been seized as an authority for the display of most objectionable feeling on the part of the native races of high-caste. The definition of those particular terms, in the sense in which it was desired they should be understood, afforded occasion for a vast amount of correspondence between the viceroy and his lieutenant-governors, which ended rather in evading the point mooted, than in a lucid exposition of it; and the real interpretation was left to the practical teaching of the civil and military authorities, as occasion arose for their interposition.

The rebellion had now, as a national movement, died out; and the few-and-far-between rumours which reached the seat of government towards the end of March, possessed but a faint degree of interest, as well from their uncertain truthfulness as from the unimportance of the operations to which they referred. It was reported, for instance, on the 22nd of the month, that the Nana, with a considerable force, was encamped at Someysur, a short distance beyond the Tirhoot frontier; that a body of rebels were marching upon Goruckpore; and that two companies of H.M.'s 34th regiment had been cut up in a night attack: but these rumours, which at one period would have occasioned both alarm and inconvenience, now scarcely inflicted a moment's uneasiness. The mighty evil of a popular rebellion had been so entirely crushed, that these isolated cases of petty annoyance were almost unnoticed, and certainly were uncared for; although the force still adhering to the begum in the Nepaul territory was sufficiently numerous to render great vigilance necessary on the part of the column of observation, under Brigadier Horsford, at Beyram Ghât. A movement of these rebels was notified in the following telegram from the secretary to the government of India, at Calcutta, to the home government, on the 23rd of March:—

"Since the date of my last message, the rebels, under the begum and Ram Sing, have recrossed the river Gunduk, and have marched westward through the Nepaul Terai. On the 16th of March, about 200 rebels, supposed to be an advanced party, entered the Toolseypore territory. The main body, with the chiefs, were said to be at Bhootwal, about twenty-five miles east of the Toolseypore boundary. They are believed to number about 5,000, including women and children. Brigadier Kelly was to have been at Lotun, thirty-six miles from Bhootwal, on the 18th instant. The province of Oude continues tranquil; the disarming of the country, and the demolition of the forts, progress satisfactorily.

"Information has been received from Chundeyree, that the Rao Sahib, with 2,000 cavalry, arrived in the Chundeyree district on the 13th instant; and arrangements were made for pursuing him. Overtures of surrender had been received both from the Rao and Feroze Shah, who are both said to be anxious to come in. Tantia Topee, when last heard of, was threading the jungles on the Chumbul, under the assumed name of Rao Sing."

The only results, for some time, known of the movements above reported, were, that the force with Rao Sahib occupied itself in plundering and harassing the district in which it had become located; and that, in accordance with the usual practice of the chief, he fled with his troops as soon as he learned that detachments of the Queen's troops were on the march towards him.

Among other subjects by which the European mind, in India, was kept on the

qui vive during a part of the month of March, the revival of an old Sikh prophecy, referring to the year 1863 of our era, was not the least exciting. By the author of this (a Sikh of Jubbulpore), it was declared, that in the year mentioned, the Sikhs should arise in their strength as a race of mighty warriors—exterminate the Christian Kaffirs, keep Englishwomen as their slaves, and restore the supreme power of the Khalsa. This prognostication came to light under the following circumstances:—An old officer, of superior rank in the Sikh force stationed at Lahore, named Cheytee Sing, was suspected of treasonable practices in conjunction with a fakir, named Bhood Sing, who, in the course of his pilgrimage, had found his way to the before-named city. The house of the Sikh officer was searched, and papers were found connected with the prophecy mentioned, copies of which had been secretly but very extensively distributed among the people. The prediction was, doubtless, agreeable enough to the parties expectant; but it was wofully disastrous in its immediate and unanticipated consequences to those concerned in its promulgation, as the Sikh and his confederate were seized, tried, convicted, condemned to five years' penal servitude at the Andamans, and were on their way thither in chains within forty-eight hours of the discovery—an example of promptitude which, although it somewhat disturbed the English idea of the grave deliberation of justice, was of infinite service in repressing any inconvenient display of native belief in the promised downfall of English authority in 1863; and as the first duty of all governments is to prevent anarchy by repressing it at its source, the vigour manifested in the treatment of this affair was most commendable and effective.

The transmission of the nawab of Furruckabad from the commander-in-chief's camp on the Raptee, to Cawnpore, *en route* for Futteghur, has been already noticed. During the first portion of the journey, the prisoner was in the safe keeping of the 80th regiment, then on its way also to Cawnpore, and no incident occurred to interrupt the regular order of the march; but similar good fortune did not attend the second portion of the journey. The native officer in command of the escort appointed to conduct the prisoner from Cawnpore to Futteghur, had, for meritorious services rendered during the siege at Lucknow, been promoted to an adjutancy in the mounted police, and it happened that the custody of the nawab was entrusted to a detachment of that corps of which the adjutant had the command. During the journey, the nawab, who by this time had began to feel the peril into which he had fallen by his voluntary surrender, and was naturally desirous to avert it if possible, made overtures to the commander of the escort, through his servant, with a view to escape, which, although the officer rejected, and ultimately delivered his prisoner in safety, he did not report to his superiors. The circumstance, by some means, became known to the authorities, and the adjutant was in turn put under arrest and sent to Agra for trial by court-martial, and the charge of corresponding with the prisoner upon the subject of a bribe for his escape, being established by documentary evidence in the possession of the adjutant, he was thereupon sentenced to degradation from his rank, and to six months' imprisonment. Three men of the escort were also sentenced to a like period of imprisonment, for complicity in the error of their commander.

In due course the nawab was put upon his trial for treason, and for the aggravated outrages perpetrated upon Europeans at Futteghur in the early days of the revolt.* The evidence on both points was incontrovertible, and he was adjudged guilty of all the crimes alleged against him, and sentenced to death. On the day the judgment of the court was delivered, the principal hall of his palace, in which the trial took place, was crowded by an anxious multitude of the native inhabitants of Furruckabad, who were deeply impressed with the scene around them, as were also many of the civil and military officers and other residents of the station. Upon the president taking his seat, the prisoner was placed at the bar; his countenance exhibiting calm but haughty indifference. After a few moments, during which profound silence reigned over the crowded assemblage, the president proceeded to deliver the judgment of the court in the following terms:—

"Prisoner at the bar,—Your trial has lasted one month, and the fullest investigation that was possible has been made as to your guilt or innocence. You have been defended by an able English gentleman, who, relying on your own statements, has taken the greatest pains to prove you innocent

* See vol. i., p. 350.

of the heinous crimes with the commission of which you were charged; and he has also endeavoured to procure your release by every argument of a legal and technical nature which he thought would assist your cause. Nevertheless, we three judges, sitting calmly and deliberately to hear the case for and against you, have unanimously decided that you are guilty. In arriving at this judgment, do not for an instant believe that we have given implicit belief to every word uttered by every witness for the prosecution, or that we have not allowed all the weight that it was worth to the evidence for the defence.

"You yourself have never attempted to deny the facts—*i.e.*, the occurrence of those dreadful crimes which have conferred an historical infamy on Futteghur and Furruckabad, and which have led to your being brought to the bar of justice. And now, prisoner at the bar, consider what are the crimes with the commission of which we, your judges, have convicted you. For what crimes, I repeat, is it, that, as far as we are concerned, we have condemned you to suffer death?

"Her majesty the Queen's gracious amnesty has saved you from that extreme punishment for the crime of being a principal leader and instigator in treason and rebellion which you so ungratefully committed. But if you had committed only that offence, you would have to pass the remainder of your life in a miserable exile. But you stand at that bar, convicted first of being accessory after the fact to a wholesale massacre of English gentlemen, ladies and children, with most of whom you had been living on terms of intimacy—that is, in the language of the law, you received, comforted, and assisted the perpetrators of this massacre; and not only that, but honoured and rewarded some amongst them.

"Secondly, you stand convicted of being both accessory before and after the fact, to the cold-blooded slaughter of twenty-two Christians, including amongst them women and children, who were killed for no other cause than that they were Christians—that is, you not only received, comforted, and assisted the perpetrators of this crime, but you previously procured, counselled, commanded, and abetted those who took away those unhappy victims from your own door. And, as if this were not enough, you have been convicted of this same double crime in regard to three poor natives (and there is reason to believe that others perished in a similar manner), whose only fault was, that one was faithful to his salt, and that the others were carrying English letters.

"And what is your excuse for all these crimes?—what? but that you were afraid of losing your wretched life (which, after all, has been forfeited) at the hands of the mutinous soldiery, and that you were a puppet in the hands of their leaders, some of whom were of your own kith and lineage. Even if it were true that you occupied this position, what a degrading one it was; how much of cowardice it showed in the descendant and representative of a family and race, hitherto well known in Hindostan for courage and manly qualities! But it is quite impossible to believe that this plea of duress is true, even if there had not been produced ample and trustworthy evidence to refute it.

"You were able to save the lives of Christians, and you twice did save such—once to appease the anger of Heaven, when you were sick and thought yourself dying, and once to gratify your own feelings and inclinations. You were not a close prisoner, and you did exercise all the powers of a ruler in this territory; and in their exercise you committed the awful crimes which I have enumerated. If for the innocent blood that is crying to us from this river and this land we did not sentence you to suffer death—which is mercy itself to the cruel death inflicted under your sanction on so many victims—we should fail in our duty both to God and man.

"It is for the government which is our master, and your master, to decide finally on your fate. You may rely on the whole of your pleas of defence being submitted to that authority. In the meanwhile, I implore you to repent of your crimes, and to make your peace with that God whose laws you have so ruthlessly violated."

During this solemn address, the prisoner was not able wholly to maintain his unconcerned demeanour; and just as the enumeration of the fearful crimes of which the court had adjudged him guilty approached to a close, a change passed over his countenance, and his look became downcast. Soon, however, he controlled his features, and his face resumed its usual expression, except that he now continued to cast down his eyes. The sentence of death by hanging did not produce any further outward and visible sign of feeling,

and no emotions of remorse were manifested by him at any period of the investigation. As soon as the president had concluded, the prisoner was led from the court, and placed under a strong European guard in an apartment of the fort at Futteghur, where he awaited the confirmation of his sentence by the governor-general. It was generally believed that, although the justice of the extreme penalty was universally admitted, it would, for reasons of policy, be commuted to transportation for life.

The case of the rajah of Mitawlee Lonee Sing also occupied the attention of the tribunal about the same time that the crimes of the nawab of Furruckabad were under investigation. The rajah was charged with having been a leader of revolt during the outrages of 1857-'8, his treason being aggravated by brutality and avarice; he having, for the sum of 8,000 rupees, betrayed into the hands of the begum of Oude the following fugitives from Seetapore, who had sought his protection at Mitawlee, in June, 1857—viz., Captain Patrick Orr, with his wife and daughter; Sir Mountstuart Jackson and his sister Madeline; an orphan girl, daughter of the civil commissioner of Seetapore (Mr. Christian, who was murdered, with his wife and son, at that place on the 3rd of June, 1857);* Lieutenant G. J. H. Burnes, and Sergeant-major A. Morton; all of whom, except Mrs. Orr and daughter, and Miss Jackson† (Sophia Christian having previously died), were murdered at Lucknow on the 17th of November, 1857.‡ The miscreant, Lonee Sing, was convicted of treason and murder upon the most conclusive evidence, and received sentence of transportation for life, his property being confiscated to the state. From this sentence the sordid traitor appealed to the supreme government; but mitigation in such a case would have been a wrong to mankind.

While the sword of justice was thus uplifted for the punishment of guilt, the state was not unmindful of the claims upon its gratitude for services rendered. Among many others, of various rank and country, who had distinguished themselves by their loyalty and usefulness, were the nawab of Kurnaul (to whom was granted a remission of revenue equal to 5,000 rupees per annum, and a dress of honour, valued at 10,000 rupees, presented in full durbar), and the rajahs of Furreedkote and Moorshedabad, who were also specially regarded as meriting honour and reward. Of the first-named rajah, it is recorded, that "the supreme government, in consideration of the valuable services rendered by him during the crisis of 1857-'8, had directed that, for the future, he should be exempted from furnishing ten sowars to the irregular cavalry, which he had previously been required to do; that his killut should be raised from seven to eleven pieces; and that his title, which then was simply Rajah Sahib Furreed Koteea, should be raised to Berar Buns, Rajah Sahib Bahadoor Furreed Koteea." The services of this individual were active, and at all times zealous. At the first news of the mutiny at Ferozepore,§ he hastened thither with his troops, and guarded the ferries for a considerable distance along the banks of the Sutlej, to prevent any accession to the strength of the mutineers. His troops also accompanied Major Marsden to Seykotee, to quell an insurrection raised by a fanatic Gooroo, who was killed in the fray. He assisted General Van Cortland in arresting fugitive sepoys who endeavoured to escape through the district, and he contributed 35,000 rupees to the Punjab loan for the exigencies of the state. The recognition of services by the nawab of Moorshedabad was yet more substantially shown, as, "in consideration of the valuable services rendered by him during the late mutiny, while exposed to many and severe temptations and trials, to induce him to swerve from his fidelity to the British government," the latter directed that a new palace should be erected for his residence, at a cost of three lacs of rupees.

The hitherto apparently interminable series of ever-shifting and harassing manœuvres by which, for many months past, the most active and energetic of the rebel chiefs of Hindostan had contrived to escape

* See vol. i., p. 203.

† The following announcement from a Calcutta paper, in reference to this young lady, appeared in the *Homeward Mail* of May 7th, 1859:—"We are glad to learn that Miss Jackson, who was so providentially saved at Lucknow, was married in March last to her cousin, Mr. Jackson, of the Bengal civil service. Lady Canning presented the bride with a beautiful necklace of pearls and rubies, and the governor-general lent the happy pair a house at Barrackpoor-park for the honeymoon. Among the bridesmaids was Miss Louisa Orr, who had shared the perils of the bride both at Seetapore and Lucknow.

‡ See *ante*, pp. 94; 257; 259; 380.

§ See vol. i., p. 119.

pursuit, and wear out his pursuers, was about to terminate, through the unexpected capture of the one individual who had so long formed in his own person the chief focus and rallying-point for the insurgent bands of Central India. The star of the renowned Tantia Topee was about to sink below the horizon; and by the treachery that precipitated its declension, the last hopes of the rebel chiefs of India were destroyed.

One of the most remarkable features of the revolt had hitherto been the unswerving and long-continued fidelity of the sepoys, the rebellious natives, and the chiefs, towards each other. Treachery is the traditionary policy of all Asiatics; and the greatest and most successful rulers among them have generally risen to empire through its instrumentality; while the early ascendancy of British power was greatly, if not chiefly, aided by it. To pass slightly over the long, dark record of Anglo-Indian greatness, "the treachery of the merchant Ormichund in 1757, established English supremacy in Bengal; and, in the same year, the double treachery of Lord Clive destroyed the all-powerful Ormichund—the stepping-stone to power:"* but in the rebellion just suppressed, there had, until now, been scarcely an instance of it. Rewards were offered for delivering up rebel sepoys, sufficiently stimulating in ordinary cases—fifty rupees for each one armed, thirty for each disarmed; yet the people did not deliver them up, although, after battles in which sepoys were defeated, they were straggling singly all over the country. On the march in search of the enemy, the English commanders could either obtain no information at all, or such only as misled them, and many of their battles were rather the consequence of surprises than of preconcerted strategy. Immense rewards were offered for the persons of rebel chiefs; but none were given up. At first, the reason assigned for this unexpected, and, in this case, *un*national, fidelity was, that the people were incredulous as to the stability of the power of the Europeans, and were afraid to compromise themselves with the rebels, less the latter should eventually succeed in the struggle; but, on the other hand, it was predicted, that when they were really satisfied the mastery was with the British, they would aid them. Battle after battle followed, all ending in victory. The British columns closed in from the south on all sides, defeating the enemy as they advanced, and wresting from him his strongest fortresses. Delhi fell; Lucknow was taken; Oude laid prostrate; and Rohilcund overrun by the victorious troops: but no sign of treachery was exhibited among the rebels. Such an unanimity of fidelity, so foreign to the Asiatic character, was little other than marvellous.

But, at length, a revulsion to the natural state of Hindoo feeling commenced, and the old leaven of insincerity began to work upon the native character. The earliest instance of its appearance was in the case of a Brahmin at Gwalior, who, in August, 1858, had endeavoured to instigate some sepoys, Hindoos of Oude, to induce the 25th Bombay native infantry to join the Nana. The sepoys were treacherous: they pretended to approve the plot; obtained all necessary information; joined the conspirators; and then sold them to their officers.† Such was the first instance of Hindoo treachery to Hindoos. The next,

* Martin's *India*, pp. 276; 280.

† The annexed details of this plot are from a private letter from Gwalior:—"As many different accounts of the following affair may get into circulation, I am anxious to give you the true version, which tends to raise still higher the loyalty of the Bombay army, as exemplified by the undermentioned men of the 25th regiment of native infantry. About three weeks ago, the havildar-major of the above corps, by name Koonjul Sing, reported to his adjutant that a Brahmin pundit, named Wamun Bhut, had come into the lines, and was endeavouring to tamper with him and a naik named Doorga Tewaree; and from what he had said, the havildar-major thought there were others concerned in the plot in the city of Gwalior; and he offered, if allowed, in conjunction with the naik, to endeavour to find out and seize the chief conspirators. This secret was communicated to the commanding officer, Captain Little; and, with his sanction, the following plan was adopted, and a private of the 25th also let into the secret, named Punnoo Ladh. The naik and the private went to the city, along with the Brahmin pundit, Wamun Bhut, and were by him introduced to another Brahmin, named Ball Kissen Baba. Their conversation would be too long to repeat here. Suffice it to say, that after first swearing them on the 'Toolsee and Gunga-panee,' he told them he had a purwana from the Nana Sahib, authorising him to raise as many men as he could for the Peishwa's service; that he and the havildar-major were to seduce the Purdasees of the 25th from their allegiance to the British government, and get them to join the rebels under the Peishwa, who would collect in the city of Gwalior to the number of 600 men with four guns. That they were to do as much mischief as they could by killing all their officers, and as many Europeans as possible; that the day after they would be joined by 20,000 rebels under the Rao Sahib, &c.; and much more

as will be seen, was developed in a higher grade of society, and at a later period; but the work of treachery had recommenced. All confidence between the rebel hosts and their leaders was shaken; and it became likely that the emulation among them would now be in striving to obtain pardon by being first in denouncing each other. The neck of the rebellion was broken; for the link in the vertebral pillar which had hitherto supported it, was rent asunder; and the energies of the government of India were henceforth to be directed to the restoration of order, rather than to the punishment of crime.

The capture of Tantia Topee, the most dangerous, persevering, and elusive of the rebel leaders, was immediately preceded by one or two successful skirmishes with the troops under his command; and the outline of these operations may be described as follows. It has already been stated that several of the chiefs had surrendered to the English commanders in different localities; and the exigencies of the struggle had at length become so desperate in every direction, that it was confidently expected despair and regret would quickly compel most of the other leaders to give themselves up. With this idea, Sir R. Napier was occupied in watching the jungles of Seronge, in the heart of Central India, and about 213 miles directly south of Agra. At the same moment, the Rao Sahib and Feroze Shah were at Mungrowlee, some thirty miles distant, on their way to Chundeyree; while General Wheeler, who had marched from Saugor on the 4th of March, to shut the outlets of escape on the east, moved first to Ratghur, then to Bagrode, and thence to Korrai, where, on the 13th, he gave up the chase.

The rebels had now reached Chundeyree, and were within twenty miles of Brigadier Little's column at Lullutpore; but this officer, in ignorance of the position of the enemy, moved, on the 13th, from the last-named place to Pahlee, without encountering even a straggler from the flying camps of the rebels. General Napier, wearied by inaction, now determined upon entering the Seronge jungles, that he might, if possible, beat up the enemy's quarters; and a force under Colonel Rich, another under Colonel Meade, a wing of the 92nd highlanders, and the brigade of Colonel De Salis, moved into the jungles, taking different directions. The disposition of the troops was admirable—Colonel De Salis patrolling the Trunk road north to Budrunghur; Colonel Rich going through the jungles to his right, at a distance of five or six miles; the 92nd to the right of Colonel Rich; and cavalry on the right of the 92nd;—these parallel lines all joining at Budrunghur. On the 25th of the month, the 92nd arrived at that place, and immediately went on to Goonah, where the cavalry arrived in the morning, and the infantry in the afternoon, the patrols of Colonel De Salis retiring to Ragoghur: but, during these movements hitherto, not a single rebel was seen or heard of; the villagers, who appeared profoundly ignorant of all useful intelligence,

conversation of the same stamp. The naik returned, and duly reported all he had seen and heard; and he was certain there were others in the conspiracy. From the difficulty of seizing and securing the rebels in a large city, it was determined not to allow the havildar-major (whom they were most anxious to meet) to go there, being fully convinced that if he did not go to see them, they would eventually be induced to come to him, which would ensure a better chance of securing them. The plot went on ripening for days, the naik duly reporting everything that occurred; until one day the naik and private met, by appointment in a house in the city, the before-mentioned two rebels, and also a chief conspirator named Khannoo, and a pundit named Govind Row, who showed and read to them the above purwana from the Peishwa. At length, after great difficulty, on Sunday, the 29th (August), the naik made an appointment for the Mahratta chief and pundit, Govind Row, to meet the havildar-major under a large tree, a little way from camp, the next day, and they were to bring the purwana with them. The officers, viz., commanding officer, adjutant, and quartermaster, were told of the appointment; and it was arranged, when the havildar-major went to meet them, these officers should go quietly on horseback as if riding for pleasure, get near the tree, and seize the parties. The rebels did not come up on Monday, as it rained; but on Tuesday, the 31st, they came, were seized, and the purwana found on them—thus two were captured on the spot. Two officers and the naik immediately proceeded to the city, and with the assistance of the political agent, Major M'Pherson, seized the Brahmin, Ball Kissen Baba, in the house the naik pointed out; and to make everything successful, the Brahmin pundit, Wamun Bhut, was seized in the lines on Wednesday morning by the havildar-major." Later intelligence, communicated in a letter dated the 8th of September, says—"The four gentlemen Pandies detected tampering with the 25th regiment of native infantry, were blown from the guns on the 7th instant. The papers taken from these would-be traitors, have yielded some very valuable information, which has led to the apprehension of sixty prisoners, who are now under trial, and probably we shall be compelled to waste a little more powder. This place is at least half as large as Bombay, and seems a regular hotbed of sedition."

only knew that they had been there ten days or a fortnight previous, and either could not, or would not, give any further information: the jungle was almost impenetrable, and the columns met with immense difficulty in the attempt to pass through it. One officer (Captain Mayne) repeatedly climbed trees, to discover, if possible, some opening by which the cavalry might advance; and Colonel Rich was compelled to cut down a considerable extent of forest, to open a road for his infantry on camels. Colonel De Salis's patrols lost their way, and one of them came upon Colonel Rich's camp. Colonel Lockhart's commissariat arrived at Ragoghur, instead of Goonah, having taken a route south-westward, instead of due north. The day after the troops reached Goonah, an order from General Napier directed a movement upon Arone, some twenty miles distant.

On the 30th of March, Sir R. Napier still lay at Seronge, and De Salis's brigade at Ragoghur; the rebels being still undiscovered, but supposed to have separated into small parties—the bulk of them being on the Parbuttee river, south-west of Nursinghur. Whilst thus unsuccessful in this part of Central India, somewhat of better fortune crowned the operations in the districts lying eastward. The rebels Ronmast Sing, of Rewah, and Furzund Ali, who had ordered the attack and murder of the railway engineers at Etawah,* were pursued by Captain Venables with a portion of the 97th regiment, and Captain Rushton with some Madras rifles, into the territory of the rajah of Singrowlee, where, in their panic, they separated. The pursuit, however, continued, and a portion of the fugitives were caught at Saleia, in the neighbourhood of Punnah, where they were severely cut up. Another body of them made their way from Doodee, westward, along the Soane, and got into the Rholas hills—some of them even finding their way into the Sonthal territory, where they were roughly used by the inhabitants, who refused to harbour them; others, driven from this cheerless shelter, crossed the Ganges by means of the Sangha, or Jhoola, or such expedients as came to hand, carefully avoiding the Ghauts, and so managed to get away into the hills of the Nepaul territory; thus for a time escaping from the retributive sword which flashed behind them.

* See *ante*, p. 584.

Up to the end of March, therefore, the several detachments employed in tracing the rebel bands to their lair, were fairly baffled, and wearied by their unprofitable exertions. But this unsatisfactory state of things was about to terminate; and, on the 2nd of April, a portion of the force, under the command of General Napier, came up with a body of the enemy near the Seronge jungles, and signally defeated them; Maun Sing, rajah of Powrie (a fortress near Jhansie), who was with the rebels, surrendering himself to Colonel Meade immediately after the action; and by the instrumentality of this defeated traitor, the capture of his chief, the redoubtable Tantia Topee, was eventually accomplished.

Immediately after the successful *rencontre* of the 2nd of April, the columns under Colonels De Salis and Rich, and Captain Bolton, made a combined movement in the jungles, and, on the 3rd, succeeded in discovering a strong body of the rebels under the Rao Sahib, Feroze Shah, and Tantia Topee, whom they attacked and dispersed with great loss.

The circumstances attending this fortunate occurrence were as follows:—On the 3rd of April, Captain Bolton, the assistant-quartermaster-general, assisted by his spies, discovered the lurking-place of the rebels. They were amongst the hills, at a place called Goonjaree, about twelve miles from De Salis's camp, and it was therefore resolved to attack them. Captain Bolton discovered a path through the jungle practicable for men and horses, and by this route the main body of the brigade marched upon the enemy; the remainder, with the baggage, proceeding by the direct road. About nine o'clock it was discovered that the enemy were doubling round the right of the main body, and on the other side of the hill. The force accordingly counter-marched for some distance; and, upon ascertaining the position of the enemy, the column was formed in skirmishing order, the 8th hussars keeping to the right, which was the only ground where cavalry could act. After advancing for nearly a mile through thick jungle, the enemy were seen under a large tope of trees at the foot of the hills. This, however, was only for a moment. They disappeared, and all traces of them were lost for several hours, until a body of 300 cavalry, well mounted and equipped, suddenly dashed out of some deep nullah, upon a part of the baggage, then only

protected by a few soldiers of the 95th and some men of the 10th native infantry, whose combined strength did not amount to more than ten or twelve men. Few as they were in numbers they were in no ways daunted, but presented a bold front to the enemy, and by their rapid fire prevented the whole of the baggage from being carried off. They were, however, unable to save the bandmaster of the 10th native infantry, who was hacked to pieces by the murderous sepoys. While engaged in their work of pillage, the Gwalior guardsmen are stated to have indulged in a good deal of boasting at the expense of the brigade in front. They were continually demanding to know where the brigade was, so that they might have an opportunity of cutting up the whole force. They disdained, they said, to fight with a few scattered soldiers and camp-followers, and would infinitely prefer cutting up our troops *en masse*. While indulging in such empty gasconading, and helping themselves to whatever they could lay their hands upon, they suddenly perceived the rear-guard of the 10th native infantry pouring through the trees, and a squadron of the 8th hussars debouching upon the open. The sowars were in their saddles in a moment, and were far in the dense of the jungles before the reinforcement could reach the baggage. Captain Bolton having discovered the place where they had concealed themselves, a column was detached on the evening of the 6th inst. to attack them. It consisted of detachments of her majesty's 8th hussars, 95th foot, and 10th native infantry, partly on foot, and partly on camels. After a march of twenty-four miles the rebels were surprised, and at once attacked. Our troops committed fearful havoc amongst them, remembering their cowardly and brutal conduct the previous day. They were shot down and bayoneted in heaps, and no quarter was either asked or given. A considerable number managed to effect their escape, but it was only to fall into the hands of Rich's column, which was advancing from the opposite direction. A number took refuge in a village, which they resolved to defend to the last. It was surrounded; but, driven to desperation, they resisted every effort to drive them from the houses in which they took shelter. To prevent an unnecessary sacrifice of our soldiers' lives, it was resolved to fire the village, and in a short time the place was enveloped in flames. Those who tried to escape were either sabred by the dragoons, or bayoneted by the infantry. Many, however, preferred remaining in the houses until they were consumed, and met death with a stoicism worthy of a better cause. Those who had sought refuge round the village were soon hunted up and cut down by the cavalry. In the two actions of the morning and the afternoon, upwards of six hundred of the rebels perished, including many officers and men of rank amongst them. A subahdar of the Gwalior contingent was recognised amongst the slain; and the appearance of many others showed that they were above the ordinary standard of those the troops had hitherto been in the habit of engaging. The rebel body-guard of Scindia were conspicuous for the splendour of their appearance, and the brilliancy of their equipments. Their belts and pouches shone with polish, and their buckles and silver ornaments sparkled in the morning sun. They were all magnificently mounted; and both riders and horses seemed perfect, both as regarded equipment and caparison.

Some particulars of the action of the 5th of April, are supplied by the following letter from Mhow:—

"An express has just reached Mhow, with the good news that part of Smith's brigade, consisting of 80 of the 8th hussars, 150 of the 95th, and 130 of the 10th N.I., the two latter mounted on Samni camels, after marching all night on the 4th (twenty-three miles), came upon and surprised 800 rebels at daylight the next morning, at a village called Tinsia, in the heart of the dense belt of jungles west of Seronge. Tinsia is about thirty miles due west of Seronge, and about ten north-east of Muxoodeen-nuggur fort, and near Jookur. Smith's brigade started after them on the 3rd; but the rebel party under the Rao, hearing of their approach, soon horsed, and made direct for the Trunk road, where they fell in with a portion of the baggage-train of the brigade, two gharries of which they plundered, and killed some of the men, one of whom was a European band-master of the 10th N.I. They then appeared to have turned north, and united with Tantia Topee and Feroze Shah, who thought themselves securely encamped in the thickest part of the jungles. The prisoners taken—some of whom were Bengal sepoys, and others men of Scindia's body-guard—reported that Tantia, Feroze Shah, and Govind were all

present. One man of some distinction among them, and supposed to be the last-named, was cut down by an 8th hussar. Of the 800 rebels at the beginning of the encounter, 350 at least were killed; while our casualties are but trifling, having only ten wounded, and not one killed; but many of our men are reported missing, having doubtless lost themselves in the jungle. A large quantity of baggage, and some camels, horses, and ponies fell into our hands."

After the fight, Tantia Topee separated from the Rao and Feroze Shah, and again ran to cover; but his haunt was known to his late confederate and friend, Maun Sing of Powrie; and, upon his treacherous information, the chief was captured by Colonel Meade's force on the 7th of April. The following telegram, from Colonel Meade to Lord Elphinstone, officially announced the event:—

"From Mahoodra, *viâ* Sepree, 8th April, half-past six P.M.—Tantia Topee captured by this detachment, with Maun Sing's assistance, last night. He is now a prisoner in camp, awaiting orders for his disposal."

After the defeat and dispersion of the rebels on the 5th and 6th of April, both Feroze Shah and the Rao Sahib were lost sight of for some time, although supposed to be still lurking in the jungle. In the meantime the double traitor, Maun Sing, was busied negotiating with the English commander for the betrayal of Tantia Topee, as the price of his own safety; but having surrendered to Colonel Meade, as stated, immediately after the action of the 2nd of April, he took up his quarters in the English camp at Sepree. About midnight on the 3rd, he sent word to the colonel, that Agret Sing, with other rebels, were in the Parone jungles, ten miles off, and might be surprised. Meade at once started with a detachment to effect this; but it turned out that the party was sixteen miles distant, and the detachment did not reach their neighbourhood till the sun was up. The consequence was that they escaped, leaving their clothes, pugries, &c., on the ground; and Maun Sing, affecting reluctance, would not speak out about Tantia Topee till the afternoon of the 7th, when at length, after much discussion, he agreed to make the attempt to seize the chief. At his request, a small party of native infantry was placed under his orders, and sent quietly to Parone that evening, Maun Sing having previously gone there himself in the afternoon. The men were placed in ambush by his people; and about 2 A.M. he took them himself to the spot where Tantia Topee was sleeping, with two pundits. Maun Sing seized his arms, and Tantia Topee was at once secured. The pundits escaped. He had got twenty-five miles off on his way to join the Rao, when Maun Sing's men deceived him, and induced him to return. He would have been quite out of reach in two hours more. He was at once conveyed into Sepree in a dhooly, where the party arrived on the morning of the 13th instant. Every precaution was taken to prevent escape or rescue; and at first, it appears, some indecision was exhibited at head-quarters as to his disposal. No natives were allowed to approach the prisoner; and, on the 14th, an escort was told-off to convey him to Gwalior, where the members of his family were already confined in the fort. During the day, however, in consequence of a telegraphic communication, the order for his removal was cancelled, and it was determined he should be tried by a court-martial on the spot. While imprisoned in the camp, although heavily fettered, the demeanour of the betrayed chief was dignified and consistent. On the 15th he was brought before the military judges, the charges on which he was arraigned being confined to rebellion, and opposition to the British government by force of arms. The proceedings occupied the whole day; and the decision of the court was at length announced, that he should perish on a scaffold. When the officer told him, the previous day, to prepare for his trial, Tantia said that he knew, for fighting against the British government, his punishment would be death; he wanted no court, and he therefore wished to be dispatched (holding up his manacles) from this misery, either from a gun or by the noose, as quickly as possible. He did not wish to see his relatives; but the only thing he asked the government was, that they would not punish his family for transactions in which they had no concern. The charge on which he was tried was read to him on the previous day; in answer to which he made a statement, which was committed to writing, and afterwards read to him by a moonshee, to whom he listened attentively, occasionally correcting the statement, which he ultimately signed in good English characters—"Tantia Topee."

The following personal description of the

doomed chief, is from a letter dated "Sepree, April 14th:"—"Tantia Topee is forty-nine years of age; stands about five feet six; is stout and well made; has a pretty large head, of great breadth from ear to ear. It is covered bountifully with strong grey hair, with beard, moustache, and whiskers to match. His cheek-bones are slightly elevated; and his black eye, under sharply-arched eyebrows, is clear and piercing. Altogether, his features are intelligent and expressive, denoting decision, energy, and ability. Tantia is a Brahmin; and the Brahminical cord is always very religiously placed over the ear when he goes out of his tent to prepare his meals, &c. He performs his ablutions, goes through his genuflexions, and prepares and devours his *khanna* once a day, with all the strictness and religious ceremonies of his caste, having members of the Brahmin caste there to attend him. His execution was announced to take place at 4 P.M. on the 18th; so I proceeded to where the scaffold was erected. The ground was kept by some men of the 24th and 9th native infantry, and some of Meade's horse. Tantia was brought from his tent in the fort by an escort of the 3rd Bengal Europeans; and then a considerable square was formed, with the gallows in the centre. The companies of the 24th and 9th native infantry formed one side; the men of the 14th dragoons and 17th lancers, who had come into the station that morning and the previous day, were drawn up on another side; the detachment of 3rd Bengals and Meade's horse, in considerable strength, formed the two remaining sides. A considerable number of natives were scattered all over the plain; and any little elevation commanding a view of the scaffold, was thickly studded with white-clad spectators. Tantia had expressed some anxiety to know his fate, and to have it expeditiously executed.

"'On the brink of the grave he did not wish to keep hovering,
Nor his thread wish to spin o'er again.'

Consequently, at twelve (noon), it was intimated to him that he was to be executed that evening. He again feelingly expressed a wish that, as they were about to take his life, the government would see to his family in Gwalior. Major Reade read the charge—that he, being a resident at Bithoor, in British territory, was guilty of rebellion in waging war against the British government. The finding of the court was 'guilty;' and the sentence, that he be hanged by the neck until he was dead. The *mistree* then knocked off the leg-irons; he mounted the rickety ladder with as much firmness as handcuffs would allow him; was then pinioned and his legs tied, he remarking that there was no necessity for these operations; and he then deliberately put his head into the noose, which being drawn tight by the executioner, the fatal bolt was drawn. He struggled very slightly, and the *mehters* were called to drag him straight. A sergeant of the 3rd Bengals acted as hangman. Thus finished the career of the rebel chief, Tantia Topee, with all the due solemnities of British military routine. When the suspended body became motionless, the troops were all marched off, and the body remained hanging for the remainder of the evening. After the troops left, a great scramble was made by officers and others to get a lock of his hair, &c."

Tantia Topee was a Brahmin of the Deccan, having been born in the zillah of Ahmednuggur. He attached himself, at an early age, to the court of the late Peishwa, Bajee Rao, and was, from his boyhood, the constant companion of Dhoondia Punt, of Bithoor, commonly called the Nana Sahib. He was well skilled in military tactics, and had made the old predatory system of Mahratta warfare his study. From the hour of his capture to that of his death, he exhibited no symptoms of either trepidation or despondency. He seemed to feel that the end was come; and it was easy to perceive, in his general demeanour, that he was quite prepared to yield up the life he had hazarded upon the cast of the die. Revolting as were his crimes, he attempted neither palliation nor extenuation. He gave no mercy, and he sued for none; stern and relentless to the last, he yielded up his life without a murmur or a struggle, betraying as little symptoms of nature or humanity on the scaffold at Sepree, as he must have done by the well at Cawnpore. He denied having taken any part in the massacre; but it is known that he commanded, at the time, one of the divisions of the Nana Sahib's army; and his exploits were more numerous and dashing than those of any of the other rebel leaders. He led the Gwalior contingent in person when Wyndham's camp was burnt, in November, 1857. Sustaining, however, a severe repulse at the hands

of Sir Colin Campbell, and losing sixteen of his guns, he crossed the Jumna, and fell back upon Calpee. But here he did not remain long. Intelligence of the victorious entry of Sir Hugh Rose into Central India, the relief of Saugor, the fall of Garrakota, and the perilous position of the ranee of Jhansie, induced him to evacuate Calpee, and march southward. On the 1st of April, 1858, he first crossed swords with Sir H. Rose on the banks of the Betwa, and his troops were driven in disorder, by only a handful of the Central India field force, from under the very battlements of the beleaguered city. He also commanded at Agra, and sustained a severe repulse at the hands of Brigadier-general Greathed. In the course of twelve months he fought twenty pitched battles, viz.:—The Betwa, Koonch, engagements before Calpee, Gwalior, Kote-ke-Serai, Sanganeer, Budwarra, Kotarra, Inoor Gowlie, Sindwa, Kurrai, Rajpore, Oodeypore, Pertamburgh, Dhoosa, Burrache, Zeerapore, Koorhana, and Seronge. In every one of these engagements he was defeated, with the loss of guns innumerable, and hundreds of his followers. During the whole period he had only two successes—one at Gwalior and one at Esangurgh; and, on both occasions, they were over native troops, who, instead of opposing him, ranged themselves under his banners. Setting aside his skirmishes, he encountered, in successive engagements, more than a dozen of our best British general officers and brigadiers. His first vanquisher was Greathed; and he was succeeded by Rose, Napier, Michel, Roberts, Smith, Parke, De Salis, Showers, Benson, Somerset, Horner, and Rich, who worsted the Pindarree leader wherever they encountered him. His success lay in the celerity of his marches, his knowledge of the country, and the freebooting manner he adopted to obtain supplies. He carried along with him neither baggage nor commissariat, compelling the countries through which he passed to provide him with everything that his army required.

A notice of this remarkable man appeared in a Calcutta paper,* from which the following passages are extracted:—

"Tantia Topee, according to the official account, is a Brahmin, from the neighbourhood of Calpee. Up to the period of the mutinies he is said to have been a money-changer, and probably never saw a shot fired in anger in his life. The mutinies, however, so full of possible careers, and so deficient in men to pursue them, seem to have woke him up to a new ambition. Where or how he became connected with the Nana, or whether he was connected with him at all, seems to be one of the endless uncertainties attending his biography. It is doubtful, even, whether the strange name by which he is known among Europeans is an invention, a nickname ('the weaver artillerist'), or a corruption of his real title as commandant of the Peishwa's artillery. His first appearance as a recognised leader was at the battle of the Jumna, where he appeared as commander-in-chief of the army of the Peishwa—so called, we imagine, not because it obeyed the Nana, but because its nucleus was formed from the Gwalior contingent. These men—Scindia, their immediate sovereign, being openly hostile to them—had no resource but to fall back upon the ancient authority of the Peishwa, just as the sepoys of the Mussulmân states, passing over the king of Oude, fell back upon the emperor of Delhi. It is curious, by the way, to observe how little the theory of legitimacy, in the European sense, entered into their ideas. They looked only to the powers who immediately preceded the British raj. The true head of the Mahrattas, for instance, is the heir, whoever he may be, of the Sattara family, the descendants of Sevajee. The only legitimate Hindoo monarch in Northern India, the rana of Oodeypore, was defied and insulted by his own troops.

"At the battle of the Jumna, Tantia planned the most formidable attack with which Sir Hugh Rose had to contend. He was not, however, present—retiring, then and ever afterwards, at the very beginning of the fray. His career is a strange one for a coward; but either personal timidity, or a mistaken policy, has made this habit the weak point of his proceedings. Thoroughly acquainted with his countrymen, their prejudices, and their credulity, Tantia has repeatedly raised armies from the ground. He seizes some admirable position, posts his force with a skill which leads English generals to anticipate a severe contest, and then flies on ahead to plot again, leaving the web he has already spun to be torn to pieces. Immediately after the fall of Calpee, his influence was felt in one of the heaviest blows dealt us in the war. He had contrived to secrete himself in Gwalior,

* *The Friend of India.*

where, screened by a small section of the durbar, who longed for the old days of plunder, he opened communications with Scindia's remaining troops. He secured them all. Scindia, aware as he was of the character of his countrymen, finding he could not obtain Europeans, met the rebels advancing on Gwalior with his own forces. They all fled or deserted, except a few of his body-guard, and Tantia Topee gained a kingdom at a stroke. He had possession of the city, the richest remaining to the Mahrattas; of its fortress, one of the strongest in India; stores to equip a great army for the field; artillery in abundance, and a treasure estimated at from £1,500,000 to £5,000,000. He had at least 22,000 soldiers; and a single victory, a successful skirmish against the Europeans, would have brought him 100,000 men. The blow was felt by every Englishman in India; though the natives, who have an instinctive perception of the vital points of the empire, considered the march of a few hundred men into the Delta infinitely more important. With an enemy less persevering than the British, Tantia might have founded a great state, rebuilt the Mahratta power, and reigned as Peishwa—an office not originally hereditary. Sir Hugh Rose, however, approached; the old terrors fell fast on Tantia and his followers, and Gwalior was evacuated without the contest it deserved.

"And then commenced that marvellous series of retreats which, continued for ten months, seemed to mock at defeat, and made Tantia Topee's name more familiar to Europe than that of most of our Anglo-Indian generals. His reputation, though exaggerated by the fact that all other resistance had ceased, was by no means undeserved. The problem before him was not an easy one. He had to keep together an army of beaten Asiatics, bound by no tie to his person, and bound to each other only by one common hate and one common fear—hate of the British name, and fear of the British gallows. He had to keep this ill-assorted army in constant motion, at a pace which should baffle not only the enemies who pursued him, but the enemies who streamed down at right angles to his line of march. He had, while thus urging his half-disciplined host to mad flight, to take some dozen cities, obtain fresh stores, collect new cannon, and, above all, induce recruits to join voluntarily a service which promised only incessant flight at sixty miles a-day. That he accomplished these ends with the means at his disposal, indicates ability of no mean kind. Slightly as we may hold the marauding leader, he was of the class to which Hyder Ali belonged; and had he carried out the plan attributed to him, and penetrated through Nagpore to Madras, he might have been as formidable as his prototype. As it was, the Nerbudda proved to him what the Channel was to Napoleon. He could accomplish anything, except cross the stream. His original idea, if we may judge from his marches, was to collect a great army from the little states bordering on the Nerbudda valley, fly down towards Bombay at a pace which should baffle pursuit, cross into the Deccan, and raise the true Mahratta provinces, and perhaps a large section of the Bombay army. He was disappointed by movements which form one of the most remarkable features of the struggle. The government of Bombay could find no troops to catch, or even seriously to threaten him with capture. But they could and did find a succession of movable columns who presented themselves at the shortest notice at every menaced point. From the moment he quitted Gwalior to the moment he surrendered at Seronge, Tantia Topee found but one great place at once rich in munitions and undefended. These columns, which moved at first as slowly as British columns are accustomed to move, learnt to march at last; and some of the later marches of Brigadier Parke and Colonel Napier were equal to half of Tantia's average rate. Still he escaped; and through the hot weather, and the rains, and the cold weather, and the hot weather again, he was still flying, sometimes with 2,000 'dispirited' followers, and sometimes with 15,000 men. His last experiment was to penetrate into Bikaneer; but it failed, and he was compelled to double back on Bundelcund, where all hope of further retreat seems to have left him. He took, as Koer Sing did, to the jungle—was caught, and died. His betrayer, Maun Sing, is not held in very high estimation, although he carries himself with a lofty air enough at Sepree, his capital city. He is described as being a fine-looking man, standing upwards of six feet high. When he reached the camp he appeared to have undergone a great deal of hardship, his habiliments looking rather worn. He has a long black beard, with a very sharp black eye. He had on his head a red pugrie; on his back, one of those thick padded coats,

all ornamented with sewing in gold thread; and, on his legs, a pair of silk pantaloons the worse for wear. His arms consisted of a fine brace of pistols, gold-mounted; a double-barrelled rifle, with one of those country-made swords. He had 200 followers, but twenty only came in along with him; all of them fine, big, strapping fellows, to all appearance likely men for anything. He has his tent and his guard under some trees, close by the encampment of the European detachment, and is the lion of Sepree at present. Maun rides out on his prancing charger or smart-going elephant, driving the latter himself, iron spike in hand, followed by his limited retinue and the tag-rag-and-bobtail of the station. The fellow is reported to have met Tantia in an adjacent village, where he left him under the pretext of going to collect his men. Instead, however, of doing so, he rode straight to the British camp, and gave the necessary information. He then returned to the village, and lay down with the man he had betrayed, to have a little sleep. At a given signal, the sepoys of the 9th native infantry rushed in and seized Tantia almost before he was thoroughly awake. No resistance was offered, and the Pindarree leader was carried in irons into Sepree. The rest is known."

While, by the successful operations of the British troops, the last fires of rebellion in Central India were being trampled out, the borders of Nepaul still continued the scene of a desultory mountainous warfare, of which an idea may be gathered from the following glance at the movements of the respective forces opposed to each other.

We have already seen that the outlets from the Nepaul territory, on the Gunduk, were to be carefully watched, to prevent the possibility of any portion of the rebels, with the begum, crossing back into Oude. The river Gunduk, as traced upon the map, falls into the plains at Soopoor, north-east of Goruckpore; and, amidst the hills west of Soopoor, at a place called Betaul or Bhootwal, the forces of the begum were encamped. From this position they might either advance into the plains, directly south from Betaul, or by a pass to the eastward, through which the Gunduk ran. It was therefore highly important that these two outlets should be effectually closed before an attempt could be made to use them. Accordingly, Colonel Kelly placed himself on the east bank of the river at Boggah; whilst Colonel Simpson, on the west bank, took a position at Nichnowl, from whence he could watch the two passes leading from Betaul into the plains. Such, it appears, were the relative positions of the several forces on the 13th of March. Somewhat later, it was ascertained that there was nothing to be feared on the east bank of the Gunduk; and both Kelly's and Simpson's forces advanced towards Betaul, where, on the 25th, Colonel Kelly attacked the rebels, drove them back into the jungles, and inflicted severe loss upon them, at the same time capturing four of their guns. Again, on the 28th, Kelly encountered the enemy, and defeated them, capturing, upon this occasion, six elephants, 30 camels, and more than 300 horses, with a large quantity of baggage. In this affair about 400 of the begum's troops were left dead upon the field, and many prisoners were taken. The mass of the rebels were then driven over the first line of hills on the Nepaul territory; the begum, Bala Rao, and the Nana, seeking safety beyond the second line. A chief, named Mirza Nadir, with fifty followers, surrendered immediately after the action, and several other leaders also applied for permission to come in under the terms of the amnesty. In the extremity to which the begum and her principal adherents were now reduced, Jung Bahadoor again chivalrously offered that princess, and the Ranee Chunda of Lahore, an asylum within his territories; but he accompanied the offer with a declaration, that if the Nana, or other leaders of the rebel troops who had trespassed upon the frontier of Nepaul, should fall into his hands, he would assuredly deliver them over to the British government.

The almost monotonous calm that prevailed in Oude for some time after the commander-in-chief published his announcement that the war was at an end, was at length disturbed by some stirring events in that quarter. The defeats inflicted on the Oude rebels on the 25th and 28th of March, have been recently noticed; and the surrender of several personages of distinction in the rebel army, which followed those disasters, for a time encouraged the belief of a general intention on the part of the enemy to give up the hopeless struggle. Such, however, was not the case; and, on the 31st of March, a sharp engagement between a party of the 1st Ferozepore Sikhs and a strong body of the

rebels, which at first promised a favourable result to the latter, showed that the sword was not yet destined to rest useless in the scabbard. The circumstances of this affair were described as follows:—

The 1st Ferozepore Sikhs, who had marched from Toolseypore for the Jirwee Pass, ten miles off, were attacked *en route* by a greatly superior rebel force. The regiment was soon completely surrounded, and formed square, their baggage being in the enemy's possession for some time. Lieutenant Grant, the adjutant, was killed; Lieutenant Beckett most dangerously wounded; and another officer (Anderson) less severely. According to the *Standard*, Major Gordon also fell. Thirty-five Sikhs, and ten of Hodson's horse, were killed; several camp-followers, and a great number of men and horses, were wounded. The rebels retreated at last from the fire of the square; and a battery, with some men of the 53rd regiment on the carriages, got up just too late to be of service.

According to the latest intelligence, the Rao Sahib and the Nana, with perhaps 10,000 men, are between the first and second range of hills. The Gonda rajah and Nusseerabad brigade had gone westward—a large body turning south, and scattering themselves over the districts of Nanpara, Bhinga, Gonda, and Bareitch. A second encounter now ensued. While Brigadier Horsford was pursuing the rebels who had fought in the above action from the direction of Toolseypore, they appeared near Chandanpore, due north of Bhinga. Here Major Ramsay attacked them with the Kumaon battalion and a squadron of the 1st Punjàb cavalry, and drove them back with loss into the jungle near Toolseypore. They seem to have dispersed—part, on the 6th of April, crossing the Raptee near Bhinga; and part going to the jungles east of Toolseypore, where Colonel Brasyer, with part of the Dakharea force, was pursuing them. About 1,000 of the enemy attacked Akonah, a fortified village near Bareitch, and plundered and burnt it.

On the 13th of April, a numerous body of rebels were utterly beaten and dispersed eight miles from Gonda, on the Fyzabad road, by a force under Lieutenant-colonel Cormick, consisting of a wing of H.M.'s 20th, 200 of the 1st Sikh cavalry, and a squadron of Hodson's horse. The rebels were chiefly men of the 1st, 53rd, and 56th regiments—infamous for having been engaged in the massacre at Cawnpore: 300 or 400 of the rebels were killed. Captain Jones, of the Sikh cavalry, was slightly wounded, and two troopers were killed.

The commander-in-chief arrived at Delhi, on his way to Simla, on the 22nd of March, and was received under a salute of seventeen guns. The Belooch regiment, which formed his escort thus far, marched on the 6th of April, *viâ* Sirsa, for Hyderabad (Scinde), where they were to be quartered. His lordship minutely inspected the troops, and looked well into their quarters; saw the magazine, the ruins of the Moree bastion, Cashmere gate, &c. After inspecting the troops, he addressed them, and paid a just tribute to the personal appearance and good conduct of the 2nd fusiliers. The natives, it was said, had a curious idea about the visit of the commander-in-chief. They evidently thought it was somehow or other connected with the punishment so many felt that they richly deserved; and for some days a report prevailed in the city, that the chief was to have a *morah* placed on the steps of the Jumma Musjid, and, *à la* Nadir Shah, superintend a general massacre of the native population. It was a great relief to them when they saw that the great conqueror had left Delhi as he found it, though they could hardly believe that he had been and gone without the *Salamee* due to his exalted rank. Several improvements were ordered in the city, the most important being the erection of two bastions—one at the Lahore gate of the palace, the other at the Delhi gate: each bastion to mount sixteen heavy guns; sufficient to lay the city in ruins if necessary. During Lord Clyde's stay, many of the servants of the ex-king of Delhi were released from confinement, there being no specific charge against them; and the begum, Taj Mahal, had a pension of fifty rupees a-month granted to her for her support. The discovery of some intrigue led to a report that all Mohammedans were to be sent out of the city on the 1st of April. A party of police who had got scent of some treasure buried in a Moofsid's house, thinking they had the best right to it, dug it up, and divided the proceeds. As usual, they quarrelled over the division, and the aggrieved party gave information to some of the civil officers, which led to still further discoveries of appropriated treasure. The commander-in-chief and staff left Delhi, *en route* for Simla, on the 9th of April.

CHAPTER XX.

ERROR IN THE MILITARY CODE OF BENGAL; MATERIEL OF THE NATIVE ARMY; PREFERENCE FOR MEN OF HIGH-CASTE, AND ITS CONSEQUENCES; LIST OF MUTINOUS REGIMENTS; CONSIDERATIONS AS TO THE RE-CONSTRUCTION OF THE INDIAN ARMY; REPORT OF MILITARY COMMISSION; THE DELHI PRIZE-MONEY; MEDALS AND CLASPS FOR DELHI AND LUCKNOW; CIVILIANS ENTITLED TO HONORARY DISTINCTIONS; THE VICTORIA CROSS; ADMINISTRATION OF SIR JOHN LAWRENCE; SQUARING ACCOUNTS IN THE DELHI DIVISION; NATIVE FEROCITY; EXPLOSION AT KURRACHEE; RESTORATION OF ARMS TO THE 33RD N.I. AT JULLUNDER; COURTS-MARTIAL; RETURN OF THE VICEROY TO CALCUTTA; CONFISCATION AND COMPEN-SATION; THE PEARL NAVAL BRIGADE AND 1ST MADRAS FUSILIERS; THE NEW CUSTOMS TARIFF; RE-NEWED UNPOPULARITY OF LORD CANNING; THE INDIAN PRESS; MISSIONARY GRANTS OBJECTED TO; REORGANISATION AND DECENTRALISATION; LORD CLYDE AT DELHI.

THE seventeenth chapter of the present work closed with a record of the loyal manifestations that spread over the empire of Great Britain in the East Indies, upon the assumption of direct sovereignty by Queen Victoria, over the varied races that were henceforth to owe fealty and service to her throne. The last and crowning act in India of that great corporation under whose auspices the mighty empire had been built up, until its stability became endangered by its vastness, was also referred to;* and we have now to resume such continuous details of events in connection with the new government, as may be necessary to conclude, upon the soil of Hindostan, the history of the mutinies of 1857.

One of the earliest and most important measures of the government of the viceroy of India, was associated with the military service, by a bill introduced into the legislative council, to amend the law under which the discipline of the native regular army, consisting of men of all tribes, religions, and castes, had been carried on until the outbreak of the revolt. By the existing law (Act 19, of 1847), no non-commissioned officer or soldier could be discharged as a punishment, except by the sentence of a court-martial, or by order of the commander-in-chief at the presidency to which he might belong; neither could any non-commissioned officer be reduced to the ranks but by sentence of a court-martial, or by order of the commander-in-chief of the presidency; nor could any commanding officer inflict a punishment drill, or restrict to barrack limits for a period exceeding fifteen days, without the intervention of a court-martial. The effect of this restraint upon the authority of the commanding officer of a regiment, had been gradually to undermine and destroy that wholesome fear and respect on the part of the men, which constituted the best security for their good behaviour; and, in fact, had rendered the authority which remained to enforce discipline, little more than a subject for barrack-room contempt. It was now proposed, after the dear-bought experience of the mutiny of the whole native army, to repeal such portions of the military code as so mischievously affected the discipline of the native troops; and, in order to maintain that, and to make the soldier fear, if he would not respect his officer, it was enacted by articles 2 and 3 of the proposed act, that the commanding officer of a regiment should have it in his power, without the sentence of a court-martial, to dismiss or reduce to the ranks any soldier or native officer in his corps—such dismissal involving forfeiture of pension. In cases of light offences, it was also provided that he should have power, without the intervention of a court-martial, to award such extra drill, or the performance of such other extra military duty as he might think fit, provided he did not contravene any order of the commander-in-chief by such judgment.

The discipline of the native army of India had formerly been maintained by the same safeguards and penalties as were applied for its protection in the European element of the Anglo-Indian force; and there is no doubt that the highest state of efficiency of that army, may be traced to the period when the European system, with all its faults, was applied indiscriminately to both arms of the service. The first error committed was that of tampering with the authority of the commanding officer, and consequently weakening that of every subordinate authority; and next, by the abolition of corporal punishment, which experience, up to the present day, proves is an extreme penalty possibly necessary for example, and

* See *ante*, pp. 519; 527.

therefore, in flagrant cases of aggravated crime, perfectly and humanely justifiable. This terrible agent of repression was abolished in the native army by Lord William Bentinck, in 1834, against the advice of an immense majority of the military committee then appointed to report and give their opinions on the subject. Colonel Morrison, and sixteen military officers, decided against the abolition of flogging; while two civilian members of council, and the governor-general himself, were in its favour. It was, consequently, in defiance of military experience of its necessity, abolished; but the new system worked so badly, that, in the time of Sir Henry Hardinge (1844 to 1848), who exerted himself in improving the condition of the army, corporal punishment became again part of the military code. Most unfortunately, a short time afterwards, instructions were given from the highest authority, "never to inflict the punishment;" and thus the threat implied by its restoration, became nothing better than an idle mockery and a mischievous insult.

Owing partly to the disuse of this powerful regulation, and to the diminished authority of the European officers of the native regiments from the colonel downwards, as well as to the system by which the ranks of the army were recruited, by inducements of superior pay and pension to the private soldier, and to the suicidal desire of commanding officers to obtain men of "good caste" only for their regiments—the ranks of the Bengal army were filled by a haughty and arrogant soldiery, who were untamable by the ordinary means resorted to for maintaining discipline, and could only be kept true to their colours by the excitement of active service. Such men were not slow to find out grievances when the excitement was wanting; and having no cohesion of principle or feeling with their European officers, they fell into a state of mutiny as a thing of course, when the external relations of the state reached that point from whence a prospect of a long-continued peace was apparent.

This fact became too clearly demonstrated by the occurrences of 1857-'8 to be longer doubted; and at length it was proposed to seek, in the North-West and Upper Provinces of Bengal, a nucleus for the native element of the future Anglo-Indian army, by enlisting men of the lowest caste, or even of no caste at all, with whom, previous to the revolt, the Bengal sepoy would have disdained to stand in the ranks, and would have considered himself contaminated by compulsory association with, as a fellow-soldier.

The actual extent of the defection of the Bengal army is shown by the following summary, from a return presented to parliament (session 1859), of "the names or numbers of each regiment and corps in India, which has mutinied, or manifested a disposition to mutiny against its lawful commanders, since the 1st of January, 1857." In this list the mutinous regiments included the following corps:—In the presidency of Bengal division—the 19th, 32nd, 34th, 63rd, and 73rd native infantry, the 11th irregular cavalry, and the 1st Assam light infantry battalions; in the Dinapore division—the 7th, 8th, 17th, 37th, and 40th native infantry, the 5th irregular cavalry, the Loodiana regiment, and the Ramghur light infantry battalions; in the Meerut division—the 3rd and 6th companies of the 8th battalion of artillery, the 9th, 44th, 54th, and 67th native infantry; in the Saugor district—both wings of the 1st light cavalry, the 23rd and 31st, 50th and 52nd native infantry, the 42nd light infantry, and the 3rd irregular cavalry; in the Sirhind division—the 6th light cavalry, the 3rd, 5th, 33rd, 36th, 60th, and 61st native infantry, the Hurreana light infantry battalion, and the 4th irregular cavalry; in the Lahore division—the 8th, 9th, and 10th light cavalry, and the 46th, 16th, 26th, 45th, 49th, 57th, and 69th native infantry; in the Peshawur division—the 5th light cavalry, the 14th, 24th, 27th, 39th, 51st, 55th, 58th, 64th native infantry, and the 9th and 10th irregular cavalry; at Nusseerabad—the 2nd company 7th battalion of artillery, the 15th and 30th native infantry; and at Neemuch, the 72nd native infantry. In the Benares district, the 17th regiment of native infantry at Azimgurh is specially stigmatised. The 37th regiment is also included in the return from this district. Other mutinous regiments were the 3rd and 6th companies of the 8th battalion of artillery, the 9th native infantry, No. 8 company of the 44th native infantry, the 50th, 67th, 3rd, 33rd, 61st, and 36th native infantry, the 4th Bengal irregular cavalry, the 8th light cavalry, the 16th native infantry grenadiers, the 5th and 9th light cavalry; and other regiments of native infantry.—The return relative to the Bombay army, states that the mutinous regiments of that presidency were the 3rd and 5th

companies 4th battalion artillery (Golundauze), the 2nd regiment light cavalry, the 2nd regiment native infantry grenadiers, a detachment of the 12th native infantry, and the 21st and 27th native infantry. The Guzerat irregular horse also mutinied, but the rising was speedily suppressed.

This return enumerates eighty-six regiments as having thrown off their allegiance to the government of India; but other regiments also, whose numbers are not included, were affected by the mutiny.

Upon the important subject of the reorganisation of an army for the protection of British India, it was observed, that while there were but few persons in the country who held the extreme opinion that a native army should be dispensed with altogether, there were undoubtedly many who, recalling the events of the preceding eighteen months, might question the propriety of ever placing the rifle in the hands of the sepoy, or of longer maintaining the establishment of the Golundauze, or native artillery. Gunpowder, it was remarked, was a great leveller; and its discovery did more to destroy the feudal system and the powers of the privileged classes in Europe, than any other event of the period. The superiority of their arms had made the chivalry of Christendom despise the burgomaster and the villain; but gunpowder placed the knight and the peasant upon an equality in the field. Had the revolted army of Bengal held the Minié rifle in their hands, Delhi might still have belonged to the Mogul; and, in place of a wretched charpoy in a prison-chamber, the descendant of Timur might even now have been sitting upon the crystal throne in the palace of his ancestors. It is impossible to say where the revolt would have stopped had the sepoy been armed with the rifle; and the proposal to place this weapon in the hands of a new levy of 80,000 Sikhs, embodied by Sir John Lawrence for service in the Punjab, was looked upon as bordering upon an insane temerity. The necessity for maintaining a native army to some extent in the country, was admitted; but an adherence to a few leading cautionary principles in its reorganisation, was also insisted upon, which, while they might render it efficient for all purposes for which it could be required, would free the state from any danger through its existence. First, it was suggested that the artillery arm of the service should be exclusively European—a measure perfectly unobjectionable in itself, and one that would tear up by the roots the chief source of danger in revolutionary times; since, in following out this principle, every arsenal in the country would necessarily be garrisoned by European soldiers: and without artillery, and destitute of military stores, the finest army the world could produce would be at the mercy of one-tenth part of its number. The whole of the existing arsenals throughout India, it was alleged, could be garrisoned effectually by 15,000 Europeans, who should be all trained artillerymen; and of the 100,000 men proposed to form the future European force, at least 35,000 ought to belong to this arm of the service.

The next important principle to be attended to in the reconstruction of the army, was expressed by the single word DISCIPLINE. A great authority has long since affirmed that mutiny is impossible in any army which is effectively disciplined; and it would be presumptuous to question the dictum: but it is a notorious fact, that this truism was lamentably disregarded in the management of the native army of Bengal. It now became an imperative necessity, therefore, that whatever might be the numerical strength of the future native levies, they should be disciplined with the same sternness and inflexibility that prevails in the English army; and that the difference between drill and discipline should be better understood, and acted upon, by those to whom the efficiency and control of the men was entrusted. The mutiny of the Bengal army was mainly attributable to the indulgence of a tone of insolent insubordination, which had been tolerated in its ranks for years; and that fact ought necessarily to be borne in mind when contemplating its reconstruction. Instant, unreasoning obedience, or death, is the only alternative presented to the soldier's mind in every well-disciplined army; and how strong its instinctive perception should be made with mercenary troops, common sense might easily understand. In India, it was now evident, such a principle could not be maintained without entrusting all but despotic power to the commanding officer; and that such power might be delegated without fear of its abuse, it was necessary that each officer should be selected carefully, and judged strictly. In this respect there ought to be no excuse for failure.

A third point was urged as a guiding principle of importance—namely, the indiscriminate enlistment of all castes in the ranks. The raising of 80,000 Sikhs in the Punjab by Sir John Lawrence, was looked upon by many as a standing menace to the future stability of the empire, as they were no sooner collected together, than they had to be watched; a regiment of Sikhs being, in its way, as much influenced by caste as a regiment of Poorbeahs; while, from its natural and characteristic superiority, it is considerably more dangerous. The experiment had succeeded for the time; but it was followed by much anxiety, and some degree of embarrassment. Such levies, it was held, must be broken up, or, if retained, so mingled with the general native army, as to lose their individuality. So long as they remained exclusively Sikh or Bengalese battalions, so long they were dangerous to the state in their isolation.

It was also recommended, with respect to the weapons of the native troops, that they should be armed with the old musket only, and that upon no account should the rifle be entrusted to them, until the distinctions of caste had been rendered thoroughly and practically subservient to the paramount requirements of discipline.

A commission was at length appointed by royal warrant, to consider the entire subject of the reconstruction and management of the Indian army, which had now become a question of importance in connection with the Eastern possessions of the British empire; and the result of the inquiry was, after some time, presented to parliament in a report, of which the following is a brief analysis:—

With reference to the first point suggested in her majesty's warrant, viz., "The terms on which the army of the East India Company is to be transferred to the crown," the commissioners observed, that the 56th clause of the act for the better government of India, assures to the forces which now belong to her majesty's Indian army, "the like pay, pension, allowances, and privileges, and like advantages as regards promotion and otherwise, as if they had continued in the service of the said Company."

The second question—viz., the "permanent force necessary to be maintained in the Indian provinces respectively, after the restoration of tranquillity," did not appear to the commissioners to admit of a reply in a definite numerical form, as the amount of force must depend on the probability of either internal disturbances or external aggression; and they observe—"The estimates of force given in the evidence are most conflicting, ranging from 50,000 to 100,000 Europeans; and there can be no doubt that it will be necessary to maintain, for the future defence of India, a European force of much greater strength than that which existed previous to the outbreak of 1857." The amount of such force should, in the opinion of the commissioners, be about 80,000; of which 50,000 would be required for Bengal, 15,000 for Madras, and 15,000 for Bombay.

As regarded the third question—the proportion "which European should bear to native corps in cavalry, infantry, and artillery respectively," the commissioners were of opinion that the amount of native force should not, under present circumstances, bear a greater proportion to the European in cavalry and infantry, than two to one for Bengal, and three to one for Madras and Bombay respectively; the evidence before the commissioners being unanimous that the artillery should be mainly a European force: and they agreed in the opinion thus expressed, exceptions being made for such stations as were peculiarly detrimental to the European constitution. In connection with this question, the commissioners observe, that "military police corps have been formed, or are in course of formation, throughout India. They see in this force, in its numerical strength and military organisation, differing as it does in no essential respect from the regular sepoy army, the elements of future danger. They therefore recommend that great caution be used in not giving to this force a stricter military training than may be required for the maintenance of discipline, lest a new native force be formed, which may hereafter become a source of embarrassment to the government."

On the fourth question—as to "how far the European portion of the army should be composed of troops of the line, taking India as part of the regular tour of service, and how far of troops raised for service in India only?" the commissioners were unable to arrive at any unanimity of opinion.

On the fifth question—"The best means of providing for the periodical relief of the former portion, and securing the efficiency of the latter," the commissioners observe,

that "if it be determined that the European force be partly of the line and partly local, the periodical relief of the former portion may be effected as has hitherto been done; but they strongly recommend that the tour of service in India should not exceed twelve years. The establishment of a convalescent station at the Cape of Good Hope, for the invalids belonging to European regiments serving in India, is worthy of consideration."

With reference to the sixth question—"Whether it be possible to consolidate the European forces, so as to allow of exchange from one branch of the service to the other; and what regulations would be necessary and practicable to effect this object with perfect justice to the claims of all officers now in the service of the East India Company?" the commissioners were of opinion that, although there are many difficulties in so amalgamating the local European forces with those of the line, such an arrangement would be advantageous, if it could be effected without prejudice to existing rights.

On the seventh question—viz., "Whether there should be any admixture of European and native forces, either regimentally or by brigade?" the preponderance of evidence showed, that any admixture of the two forces, regimentally, would be detrimental to the efficiency and discipline of both; but that the admixture, by brigade, would be most advantageous; and the commissioners concurred in this opinion.

On the eighth point—"Whether the local European force should be kept up by drafts and volunteers from the line, or should be, as at present, separately recruited for in Great Britain?" the commissioners were of opinion that the European force, if local, might be partially kept up by volunteers from regiments of the line returning to England; and that the recruiting in England should be carried on under the same authority and regulations as for regiments of the line, officers of the local force being employed on that service.

As regarded the ninth question, the commissioners considered that it would not be advisable to raise any regiments in the colonies, composed of men of colour, either for temporary or permanent service in India.

With regard to the tenth point—"Whether the native force should be regular or irregular, or both; and if so, in what proportions?" the commissioners were of opinion that the irregular system was the best adapted for native cavalry in India; and recommended that it be adopted.

The commissioners were of opinion, with regard to the point—"Whether cadets, sent out for service with native troops, should in the first instance be attached to European regiments, to secure uniformity of drill and discipline?" that such officers should be thoroughly drilled, and instructed in their military duties in this country, as recommended in the reply to question 5, before they are sent to India.

The commissioners having disposed of the questions specially referred for their inquiry, submitted the following recommendations on certain important points which, in the course of examination of evidence, came under their notice:—1. That the native army should be composed of different nationalities and castes, and, as a general rule, mixed promiscuously through each regiment. 2. That all men in the regular native army, in her majesty's eastern possessions, should be enlisted for general service. 3. That a modification should be made in the uniform of the native troops, assimilating it more to the dress of the country, and making it more suitable to the climate. 4. That Europeans should, as far as possible, be employed in the scientific branches of the service, but that corps of pioneers be formed, for the purpose of relieving the European sappers from those duties which entail exposure to the climate. 5. That the articles of war which govern the native army be revised, and that the power of commanding officers be increased. 6. That the promotion of native commissioned and non-commissioned officers be regulated on the principle of efficiency, rather than of seniority, and that commanding officers of regiments have the same power to promote non-commissioned officers as is vested in officers commanding regiments of the line. 7. That whereas the pay and allowances of officers and men are now issued under various heads, the attention of her majesty's government be drawn to the expediency of simplifying the pay codes, and of adopting, if practicable, fixed scales of allowances for the troops in garrison or cantonments, and in the field. 8. That the commander-in-chief in Bengal be styled "the commander-in-chief in India," and that the general officers commanding the armies of the minor presidencies be commanders of the forces, with the power and advantages

which they have hitherto enjoyed. 9. The commissioners observed, that the efficiency of the Indian army had hitherto been injuriously affected by the small number of officers usually doing duty with the regiments to which they belong; which evil had arisen from the number withdrawn for staff and other duties, and civil employment. All the evidence before the commissioners pointed out the necessity of improving the position of officers serving regimentally. For the attainment of this object, and for the remedy of the evil complained of, various schemes have been suggested, viz.—1. The formation of a staff corps. 2. The system of "seconding" officers who are on detached employ, which exists to a certain extent in the line army. 3. Placing the European officers of each presidency on general lists of promotion.

The commissioners not being prepared to arrive at any satisfactory conclusion on this point, without further reference to India, recommended that the subject should be submitted, without delay, for the report of the governors and commanders-in-chief at the several presidencies, with a view to the framing of regulations which might ensure the greater efficiency of regiments.

While referring to military affairs, it may be noticed, that the sum available as prize-money for Delhi, amounted to about twenty-eight lacs of rupees, or £280,000, which, it was decided, should be borrowed by the government of India, and bear interest at the rate of five per cent. per annum, the whole or any part to be reclaimable after three months' notice, given either by government or by the prize-agent. It was also notified by the governor-general, that the Queen had been pleased to command that a medal should be granted to the troops in her majesty's service, and in that of the deposed Company, who had been, or should be, employed in the suppression of the mutiny; with clasps to those engaged in the capture of Delhi, and in the defence and relief of Lucknow: and further, that all civilians, whether or not in her majesty's service, who had been actively engaged in the field, or otherwise before the enemy during the recent operations, should participate in the same honorary distinctions.

It was further announced, by a government notification, that her majesty had been pleased to determine that non-military persons who, during the progress of the operations in India, had borne arms as volunteers against the mutineers, and had performed deeds of gallantry, should be considered eligible to receive the high distinction of the Victoria Cross, under the same rules and regulations as were applicable to officers and men of her majesty's army and navy, and Indian army and navy, upon the fact being established in each case that the person was serving for the time being under the orders of a general or other officer in command of troops in the field; the latter condition invidiously shutting out all isolated cases of individual bravery, such as those of Boyle and Wake at Arrah, and Venables at Azimgurh; whose valour, and services rendered to the state, were second to none recorded in the history of the revolt.

As descriptive of the progressive advance to order in one portion at least of the vast territory that had been shaken to its centre by rebel force, the following statement, from the *Mofussilite*, will be read with interest:—"The Delhi division, which last year (1857) was the focus of rebellion, has, under the administration of Sir John Lawrence, been reduced, in the short space of six months, to perfect order; affording a marked contrast to the proceedings of government in every other division of the empire—Lucknow, perhaps, only excepted. Sir John Lawrence, from the first, had opposed all projects for the destruction of Delhi as childish and impolitic;* but he had no intention of allowing the citizens to escape the just punishment of crime. One of the first acts of his administration, therefore, was to establish a system of penal fines. No property was confiscated, except after trial by the commission, and proof of active assistance in the rebellion; but all the Mussulman inhabitants who had heartily assisted the mutineers, and submitted willingly to the king, were subjected to a property-tax for one year, of twenty-five per cent. The Hindoos who, while less hostile, had still failed in their duty as subjects, were assessed ten per cent.; the whole being payable within the year, under penalty of Act 10, of 1858—the Norman and Saxon law.†

* See vol. i., p. 526.

† In Sir John Lawrence's report of his administration of the Punjab, special reference is made to his proceedings at Delhi, in the 131st, 132nd, and 133rd paragraphs, which are as follows:—"For some time the city of Delhi was placed

"The money was paid; and the citizens, as sensitive to taxation as Italians, will not speedily forget the lesson of rebellion. The next step was to compel the inhabitants of the division, generally, to repair the losses of the sufferers. Every community was compelled to pay up instantly the amount of the damage done. If the loss were public, the buildings were restored at the expense of the surrounding villages: if private, they paid the ascertained amount, which was at once handed over to the sufferers. A strict debtor and creditor account was kept; and as the fines were irrespective of any punishment incurred by the rebellion, the balance was decidedly on the side of order. There is, perhaps, no argument more readily comprehensible by a native: execution is nothing—he can risk that; but to be deprived inexorably of his plunder, of the very reward for which he steeped himself to the lips in crime, is bitterness indeed.

"The same principle has been carried out in the Gogaira. The tribes inhabiting that region rose in September, 1857; the revolt was trodden down, but not till infinite mischief had been accomplished. The rebels, even when defeated, exulted in their gains; but they did not comprehend the man with whom they had to deal. A commission quietly examined all claims sent in by the sufferers, and then ordered compensation. The expenses incurred, it was found were—

	Rupees.		
Plundered property . . .	5,22,104	3	6
Expense of sales	3,616	4	1
Money given back to punished rebels	10,919	2	4
Extra police in Gogaira . . .	7,403	11	3
" Mooltan . . .	1,922	15	5
Damage to public property . .	850	8	0
To salt-mine stores . . .	495	14	0
Damage in Jhung	597	12	8
Cost of fortifying buildings in Gogaira	2,825	11	0
Ditto in Mooltan	1,071	2	3
Total . . .	5,51,807	4	6

"That is all to the rebels' credit; but there is a small per contra:—

	Rupees.		
Property recovered and restored .	1,18,643	12	9
Compensation in cash . . .	1,35,114	0	6
Compensation in property . .	1,57,969	6	6
Realised by fines, &c. . . .	78,194	13	8
Balance of fines (coming in) . .	30,325	0	0
Property sold at Mooltan . .	11,019	1	9
Jhung	18,997	1	11
Total . . .	5,50,263	4	6

"Balance, to be realised from rebels, 1,544 rupees; which little sum will be realised without fail. Moreover, the people of Gogaira, when they have leisure to reflect on the rebellion, will find, that not only did they gain nothing, but their leaders had a somewhat heavy account. It is true only thirty were hung; but twenty-seven more were transported for life, eighty-five

under a military governor, but by the commencement of 1858, the civil authorities resumed their functions. As might have been expected, the number of persons who suffered death for crimes connected with the rebellion was very considerable. It is difficult to analyse all that may have been done during that period of excitement. Towards the end of February, 1858, however, when the chief commissioner visited Delhi, he found that 1,400 political prisoners were awaiting trial. He immediately organised a judicial commission, composed of three officers, two civil and one military, and invested them with the requisite powers (including those of life and death) to dispose of these cases. By May, 1858, no less than 851 persons were disposed of by this commission, of whom 41 were punished capitally, 173 imprisoned, 104 flogged and fined, 533 released on security or unconditionally. But as fresh arrests have been made from time to time, there were still 200 and upwards to be tried, and the commission is still sitting. Commissions of two officers each were appointed for the other districts also, but their work has been less onerous.

"As regards the city itself, one European regiment is accommodated in the palace of the Moguls, and one in the government college; the Sikh corps in the great mosque; the European artillery in the Arabic college. The great magazine is of course held by Europeans. The treasury is within the citadel palace. The most important gates of the city are guarded by Europeans. The city walls and fosse are standing. The church is restored for divine worship. The houses of the city have not materially suffered. For some time after the recapture, it was deserted of its inhabitants like a city of the dead. At first the Hindoo inhabitants were gradually and cautiously re-admitted; and in March last, the privilege was extended to Mohammedans also. The Delhi townspeople have in some measure suffered the punishment which their rebellion deserved. The mass of them have lost nearly all their movable property; they had to endure hunger, exposure, and every privation throughout the winter. They are now permitted to return, and the city is being gradually re-peopled. The population may now amount to one-fourth of its former numbers. Many houses of rebels have been confiscated. On all other houses it is proposed to levy a cess. With the proceeds of those confiscations, cesses, and fines, it is proposed to establish a fund for the compensation of the Christian sufferers by the mutiny and outbreak at Delhi. Outside the city the extensive suburbs of native mansions and gardens, and the old British cantonment, are in ruins, and will probably remain so.

"In January, 1858, a general disarming of the people was ordered to be carried out after the same manner as in the Punjab. By April, some 225,000 stand of arms of all kinds were delivered up to the police; and besides these, there were taken at Delhi forty cart-loads of arms, which were not enumerated. There can be but few arms now remaining in the Delhi territory." [For these, a rigid and persevering search continued to be made].

imprisoned for fourteen years, twenty-two for seven years, thirty-nine for short periods, and 122 were flogged, fined, and dismissed. Gogaira is again at peace, and will remain so; for this generation will scarcely forget how Sir John Lawrence squares his accounts."

An instance of the ferocious hatred that was cherished by some of the native population of India towards anything European, is afforded by the following extract of a letter, dated from Nassick, near the city of Bombay, September 24th. The writer says—"On the 21st instant the following scene was enacted amongst us, in broad daylight, and in one of the principal streets of the town. Privates J. and G. Cameron and Chisholm, 92nd highlanders, at present quartered here, walking quietly through the town, met a fair little English child in the arms of its nurse. The soldiers, glad to see a white face, stopped and spoke to it, little knowing that by so doing they would, under Providence, be the saviours of its life. They had passed on their way but a few yards, when, hearing a noise behind them, they turned and saw the child and nurse in the hands of a desperate fanatic, who, having seized the child by the neck, was using his best endeavours to strangle it: the natives about, instead of rendering assistance to the nurse in rescuing the child, had all fled. It was but the work of a moment for the soldiers to rush to the rescue, strike the would-be cowardly assassin to the ground, and snatch the poor little thing from his felon grasp. I am happy to say the wretch was so handled by the highlanders, that he is still in hospital, and not unlikely to continue there. He is a well-known character in the place, and was very lately discharged from the Poonah hospital, cured of a malady that renders him sacred in the eyes of the miserable natives, but a dangerous pest to all others."

A tremendous explosion occurred at the arsenal at Kurrachee on the 21st of October, by which the greater part of the buildings were destroyed, and every house in the town shaken to its foundation. The affair, which at any other time would have produced a panic, and been attributed to design, appears to have been perfectly accidental, through a rocket exploding when being driven, the flame of which reached some uncovered ammunition boxes. The whole of the ball ammunition, amounting to upwards of a million rounds, was blown up with the portfires and fuzees; but the magazine and a portion of the arsenal were preserved. The left front of the latter was, however, a mass of ruins, the fire being confined to that part of the building. So powerful was the explosion, that the *débris* was scattered several hundred yards from the arsenal, and into the centre of the bazaar. The body of one man was thrown above forty yards from the building; but the list of human casualties extended only to two killed and five wounded.

Amidst all the crash and wreck of the native army of Bengal, the bulk of the 33rd regiment of infantry stood firm in its allegiance, notwithstanding the defection of two of its companies, and that, for precautionary motives, it had been subsequently deprived of its arms. The time had now arrived when it became possible to evince the approval of the government of its loyal and soldier-like conduct, by restoring to the men the arms of which they had been deprived. This gratifying incident took place at Jullunder, on the 17th of January, 1859, when the following characteristic address was delivered to the regiment, in the presence of a brilliant staff, by Major Lake, upon whom the pleasing duty had devolved:—

"Native officers and sepoys of the 33rd regiment,—On the part of Brigadier Milman, I congratulate you and your colonel that the day has come in which the government has recognised your fidelity and devotion. When General Nicholson took away your arms, he promised you that they should be restored if you behaved well. Knowing all that has happened since that day, I can testify that in every respect you have proved true. I therefore rejoice that the day has come in which General Nicholson's promise has been fulfilled. A soldier without arms is like a scabbard without a sword: this reproach is now removed; and, as medals are given to soldiers in token of their bravery, so the restoration of arms will be to you a mark of your fidelity—a proof that you remained loyal when so many others proved traitors. The brigadier, myself, and all of us, have full confidence that the bravery displayed by the 33rd regiment at Bhurtpore, in Cabool, at Ferozeshah, and Sobraon, will always be shown against all traitors and all enemies of her majesty Queen Victoria, and her government. Officers and men of the 33rd, resume your arms, which

I am proud to declare you have never disgraced."

The positive necessity which arose for prompt and decisive action in every department of the government, through the events of the rebellion (which, at times, crowded upon each other with uncontrollable rapidity), had, as the war progressed, and particularly towards the close of operations in the field, been productive of results not strictly accordant with the gravity and decorum of justice, which, although perhaps not really prejudiced by the measures resorted to, was still open to question, when the life or liberty of an individual depended upon the calm investigation and deliberate judgment of a court upon his peculiar case. It had frequently happened, that in disposing of prisoners before courts-martial, persons accused of mutiny and murder, and lesser crimes connected with the outbreak, were arraigned before the courts in batches, and subjected to a general and indiscriminating sentence. This evil at length attracted the notice of the commander-in-chief, who—with a laudable desire to restore to the functions of the military tribunals the reputation for strict, although prompt, justice, which was their peculiar characteristic—on the 15th of January, 1859, issued the following notification for the future guidance of his officers:—

"The commander-in-chief having had before him for review the proceedings of several general courts-martial, held under the Act No. 8, of 1857, before which large bodies of prisoners were brought for trial at one and the same time, his excellency considers it expedient to offer a few remarks upon the subject, for the particular consideration of officers authorised to hold such courts. In Lord Clyde's opinion, the measure above adverted to, is not one well calculated to secure the deliberate administration of justice, or to lead to that dispassionate inquiry into each prisoner's case, which, however culpable he may have been, he is entitled to expect when placed upon his trial before a military tribunal. His lordship does not, however, consider it advisable to issue any definitive instructions that would limit the number of prisoners to be ordinarily tried together under Act No. 8, of 1857, as the effect of such a course might be to inconveniently interfere with the discretion which should remain in the hands of officers who find it necessary to convene courts-martial under that act; but he would earnestly impress upon all officers empowered to carry out the intentions of the legislature, the necessity that exists of carefully considering the ends of justice on all occasions of trial, and the right of the accused to a fair and unimpeachable mode of procedure. This, as a general rule, may be best accomplished by not arraigning the prisoners in large bodies when there is time, and when opportunity offers, to divide and try them in small numbers; and it is only in case of great emergency, when the interests of the state would suffer by delay, that this rule should be departed from."

On the 24th of January, the government gazette contained the following announcement:—

"Fort William, Calcutta, Jan. 24, 1859.

"With reference to the proclamation of the 30th of January, 1858,* it is hereby notified, for general information, that his excellency the Right Hon. Viscount Canning, viceroy and governor-general of India, having returned to the presidency, has this day resumed the seat of president of the council of the governor-general of India."

The question of confiscation was brought before the supreme council at the end of January, by the authorities of the North-Western Provinces, who submitted to government lists of the estates confiscated before the amnesty, requesting it to determine whether it would in such cases confirm the sentence, or waive the right which it conferred upon the state in favour of the offenders, as an act of grace. After classifying the various degrees of guilt into five heads, the decision of the government was as follows:—Class 1.—In cases of mutiny and desertion, the confiscation to hold good. Class 2.—Murder and plunder, accompanied with murder of British subjects. That whenever the persons murdered were not of European blood, a reconsideration of the cases will be admitted. Class 3.—Local rebellion, unconnected with the great political centres of disaffection. The list to be carefully revised by the magistrate, who must submit a recommendation for mercy whenever there may be a reason for doing so. Class 4.—Complicity in the general rebellion. The confiscation to hold good. Class 5.—Cases in which revision is regarded by

* The document referred to, merely notified his lordship's removal to Allahabad, and the appointment of a president of the council during his absence. See *ante*, p. 406.

the board as necessary; that the sentence of confiscation should be remitted in all these cases, except when the magistrates see a sufficient objection to the remission, which should be explained in detail.

The subject of compensation to those who had sustained heavy losses by the rebellion, in many cases extending to the entire amount of their property, was neither so quickly or so satisfactorily disposed of by the government. On the 1st of May, 1858, the government of India, after a delay of ten months (excused by the state of the country), ordered an inquiry into the extent and character of claims for compensation. The information—which embraced losses to the Christian subjects of her majesty, computed at one million and a-half sterling, besides a probable equal amount sustained by loyal Hindoos and Mohammedans—was collected from all accessible quarters, and reported to the proper authorities; and there the affair rested. Some six months after this, the sufferers considered, that though prepared to endure the inevitable delay of official routine, they would like to learn something of the progress that had been made towards a result; and therefore, on the 6th of January, the secretary of the compensation committee was directed to inquire of the secretary to the government, at what stage the consideration of the claims had arrived, and whether the result of that consideration might be communicated to the parties deeply interested in it. To this application the following reply was forwarded:—

"Fort William, Jan. 19th, 1859.

"Sir,—I am directed by the right honourable the governor-general to inform you, that the investigations of claims for losses resulting from the late disturbances, have been finished in the North-West Provinces, the Punjab, Oude, Central India, and Rajpootana; and that reports, for the most part complete, have been submitted to this government. The investigation in Bengal, it is believed, is also finished. A copy of the instructions under which these investigations have been conducted, is inclosed.

"His lordship, I am to observe, does not consider it necessary, in the present state of the case, to communicate to the compensation committee a statement of results, either individually or collectively.

"As regards an opportunity being given to claimants of supporting their claims, I am to state, that no reply can be returned until a decision on the main question is taken by the right honourable the secretary of state for India.

"I am desired to add, that a general report will be sent to her majesty's government, as soon as the local reports are quite complete.—G. R. SIMSON,

"Under-Secretary, &c., &c."

Here, again, the affair rested; and the treatment to which the loyal sufferers by the mutinous and rebellious outrages were subjected by official indifference, was unfavourably contrasted with the consideration shown to the rebels and plunderers by the act of amnesty. It was felt by the sufferers, that the state, in entirely forgiving its enemies, had closed the door of redress against its friends. The claims for compensation upon actual losses, amounted, as computed, to nearly three millions—wrested from the loyal subjects of her majesty, for their fidelity during a crisis of anarchy and ruin, and which they had, morally at least, a clear right to be reimbursed. The government, it was alleged, was without the power of repaying such a sum from the ordinary resources of the state; but the perpetrators or promoters of the wanton destruction that had created these claims, were still in existence; and it was on them, as precedent to the amnesty, that the government should have imposed the *onus* of making good the losses sustained by their act, or encouraged by their sanction—a purpose which might at once have been effected, had a levy been made upon the populations of the whole of the affected districts, of a fine sufficiently serious to cover the amount of the claims for compensation. It was considered that the local government ought not to have wasted time, or shifted its responsibility, by referring to the home government a question it was competent itself to decide upon the spot, and that it ought to have imposed fines upon all the great *foci* of the rebellion; which, with the sums arising from the sale of forfeited lands and the forfeited pensions, would have been sufficient to satisfy the claims of the sufferers.

The magnitude of the sum required to cover the losses sustained, however embarrassing it might be to the government whose want of foresight had permitted them, was now only capable of liquidation by one of two ways. Either the imperial government must grant the sum required from the crippled revenue of the country, or it must be raised by adopting the principle acted

upon in the Delhi and Gogra divisions by Sir John Lawrence, and imposing a fine upon the offending districts, and the cities and towns most prominent in rebellious outrages, such as Benares, Allahabad, Delhi, Cawnpore, Meerut, Bareilly, &c. It was suggested, that the fines imposed upon the cities should be paid at once; the other portion, levied upon the districts, being collected within a given period, as an extra assessment. To this it was objected, that the offences of the inhabitants of these places had since been condoned by the amnesty, and that it would be contrary to good faith to retract the full and free pardon of the sovereign, already offered, and generally accepted. This objection, however, left the question of injustice as it stood; and if it was necessarily to exist at all, it was felt that those who had been in arms, aiding and abetting, if not actually perpetrating, the injuries complained of, were the parties to sustain it, rather than those who had suffered by their conduct. Besides, although the government, by the amnesty, had waived the offence against itself, it had no power or right to waive the wrong against individuals. The public question was over; the private one remained to be settled; and the mussids and budmashes, and their abettors, who had had their revelry, their incendiary fires, their religious war, and puppet king, ought to be made to pay for their amusements. It was quaintly observed—"It will not do to issue tickets for such entertainments at such a low price as to make them popular. Bengal has had its holiday, and has now to settle the bill; and we must take care that the settling of the account shall be remembered for many a year to come."

The subject was one of deep interest to those whose property had been swept away by the ravages of the insurrection; and the indifference with which their applications were treated, added much to the sense of injury already sustained, which was not at all mitigated by the haughty refusal to communicate the results of the government proceedings, "either individually or collectively."

Wearied at last by the tardiness of official movement, and the supercilious *hauteur* of official dignity, the sufferers by the revolt embodied their grievances and their claims in an appeal to the British parliament. The petition to the Lords was entrusted to the Earl of Ellenborough; that to the Commons being placed in the hands of Mr. Roebuck, M.P. for Sheffield. The dissolution of parliament by Lord Derby, on the 23rd of April, 1859, prevented its attention being called to the subject; and the question of compensation remained open for some session of a new parliament.

The suppression of the revolt was by this time looked upon as a fact accomplished, and the movement of troops from the disturbed provinces to permanent quarters, or *en route* to the presidencies from which they had been collected, commenced from all points. The following farewell order by the commander-in-chief, indicated the regiments first moved from the lately disturbed provinces:—

"GENERAL ORDER.—February 25th, 1859.—The following regiments being under orders to return to England, and the Madras fusiliers to their own presidency, the commander-in-chief bids them a hearty farewell:—9th (Queen's royal) lancers, 14th light dragoons, 2nd battalion military train, the naval brigade H.M.'s ship *Pearl*, 10th regiment of foot, 29th, 32nd, 61st, 78th, 84th, 86th, and 1st Madras fusiliers.

"It has seldom happened that any regiments have been more distinguished than has been the case with all these corps, during the years they have passed in India.

"1. The 9th lancers began their fine career with the Gwalior campaign, including the battle of Punniar, after which they participated in the Sutlej and Punjab campaigns, with the battles of Sobraon, Chillianwallah, and Goojerat. In 1857 and 1858, they were most prominent at the siege of Delhi—having served and driven guns, in addition to their other duties, during that trying time—at the relief of Lucknow, the battle of Cawnpore, the siege of Lucknow, the campaign of Rohilcund, and the campaign of Oude, ending in the reduction of the province.

"2. The 14th light dragoons bore a part in the Punjab campaign, including the battles of Chillianwallah and Goojerat; they were present in the Persian expedition under Sir James Outram; and having been incessantly and most admirably engaged in Central India, till very lately, since the Bombay division first took the field in the autumn of 1847; including more particularly the siege of Jhansie, the actions of the Betwa and Golowlie, and the relief of Gwalior. Their squadrons and troops have also been engaged in very many minor affairs, in which much honour has been won.

"3. The 10th foot were greatly distinguished at the battle of Sobraon, at the siege of Mooltan, and the battle of Goojerat. During 1857 they were employed at Benares and in Behar; and in 1858 they assisted at the siege of Lucknow—having since been frequently engaged in the Azimgurh and Shahabad campaigns.

"4. The 29th foot gained much honour in the Sutlej and Punjab campaigns, including the battles of Ferozeshah, Chillianwallah, and Goojerat.

"5. The 32nd light infantry, as is well known, formed the chief part of the illustrious garrison of Lucknow, under the late Sir Henry Lawrence and

Sir John Inglis; their previous career in India having embraced the siege of Mooltan, the battle of Goojerat, and the operations in the Peshawur Valley. Subsequent to the relief of the Lucknow garrison, the 32nd were at the battle of Cawnpore; and in the autumn of 1858 were engaged in the reduction of the province of Oude.

"6. The 61st foot won great reputation for themselves at Chillianwallah by their extraordinary steadiness at a moment of very great peril. That reputation was well maintained afterwards at the battle of Goojerat, and again at the siege of Delhi.

"7. The 78th foot were in Persia under Sir James Outram: without landing at Bombay, they came round to Calcutta, and were among the first, under the late Sir Henry Havelock, to restore confidence in British arms after the outbreak of the mutiny. Present at the various actions under that lamented officer, and at the first entry into Lucknow for the reinforcement of the original garrison, they completed their service by the siege of Lucknow and the campaign of Rohilcund.

"8. The 84th foot and Madras fusiliers were both sent round from the presidency of Madras when the first note of danger was sounded in 1857. Like their comrades of the 78th, they participated in all the actions of that eventful period. They both took part in the siege of Lucknow—the Madras fusiliers pursuing a campaign in Oude during the subsequent summer; while the 84th foot performed the like arduous duty amid the swamps and jungles of Behar.

"9. The 86th have been engaged in Central India under Sir Hugh Rose, having borne a most prominent part in all the principal actions commanded by that officer; viz., the siege of Jhansie, the battle of the Betwa, the action of Golowlie, the capture of Calpee, and the relief of Gwalior, together with numerous smaller affairs.

"10. Such is a very slender sketch of the services performed by the above corps. The limits of a general order render it impossible to do more than allude to the principal actions in which they have been engaged. But it will be a satisfaction to all these regiments to recollect hereafter how well they have deserved of their Queen and country; and that in the opinion of those best qualified to judge, they have well maintained the reputation which was committed to their charge by those who went before them.

"11. Let the army well reflect on the meaning of a regimental reputation. In it is contained not only the reputation of every man at present in a corps, but also the reputation of those who lived in it in former days; while the future fortunes of a regiment may to a great extent be influenced by it.

"12. Feeling this very strongly, the commander-in-chief considers he can pay no higher or heartier compliment to the regiments of which he is now taking leave, than to assure them, in all sincerity, that they have on all occasions during their Indian career, proved themselves worthy of the reputation won in former days by men wearing the same numbers and badges as themselves.

"13. It remains for the commander-in-chief to notice, with feelings of admiration, the exploits of the military train, and of the naval brigade of the *Pearl*.

"14. The former was converted into a cavalry corps in the midst of war, and learnt to act as cavalry soldiers before the enemy. Their duty has always been done well, and included the relief of Lucknow, various affairs under Sir James Outram, siege of Lucknow, and the campaigns in Azimgurh and Shahabad. The battalion of the military train, now returning to England, will be warmly welcomed by the new corps, of which it may be said to have begun the active career before an enemy.

"15. The naval brigade of the *Pearl*, which for a long time formed the principal European force in Goruckpore district, has been engaged in numerous actions, in all of which the steady gallantry of the officers and men under Captain Sotheby, C.B., rendered a great and enduring service to the state. They have shown themselves in every respect to be worthy comrades of the famous crew of the *Shannon*, which won such renown before Lucknow, under the late gallant and lamented Sir William Peel."

The various troops mentioned in the above general order, shortly afterwards proceeded on their respective routes, receiving, on their way, gratifying testimonials of the admiration to which their valour and endurance had eminently entitled them. A description of the reception given to the naval brigade and to the 1st Madras fusiliers (formerly commanded by the illustrious Neill), may suffice as a specimen of the feeling generally manifested towards the whole force.

The officers and men of the *Pearl* naval brigade, 205 in number, arrived at Calcutta from their glorious campaign on the 2nd of February, and, like their mates of the *Shannon*, were received with much enthusiasm by the inhabitants, who, on the 16th, entertained them at a public dinner in the town-hall. The following is a brief sketch of the military career of this band of naval heroes. Just one year and five months previous they had left their frigate (the *Pearl*) to proceed to the North-West, proceeding by steamer to Buxar, where they remained for a short time guarding the fort there; thence they proceeded to Chuprah and Sewan. At Gai Ghât they built a bridge of boats, over which the Ghoorka force from Nepaul advanced to the aid of the British troops. Subsequently the brigade moved to Almorah, where, on the 5th of March, from 16,000 to 18,000 of the rebels attacked the encampment, in which, besides the *Pearl's* brigade, there were but 80 of the Bengal yeomanry cavalry, and 800 Ghoorkas. In the ranks of the enemy were 3,500 disciplined sepoys, and they had with them ten guns. Notwithstanding this immense disparity of force, the Europeans not only gallantly defended themselves, but assumed the offensive, capturing eight of the rebels'

guns, and pursuing the enemy to their intrenched camp at Rewah, a distance of ten miles. After this encounter, the enemy again took courage, and attacked the British camp about half-a-dozen times, in bodies of from 3,000 to 5,000 men, but on each occasion were repulsed. The *Pearl's* brigade encountered the enemy about twenty times altogether, the first engagement being at Sonepore, in the Goruckpore district, and the last at Toolseypore; but numerous as were its engagements during the campaign, it lost but one man, killed in battle—namely, Second-master Fowler, who fell at Almorah; although, in the course of the struggle, many of them were wounded: at the battle of Almorah, about thirty, all of whom recovered. Several died of disease from the fatigue and heat of the weather; which was not extraordinary, considering the exposure to which they were subject during seventeen months. After deducting for deaths and invalided men during the campaign, 205 men of the original brigade of 250, returned in excellent condition to Calcutta.

The 1st Madras fusilier regiment also arrived at Calcutta, on its homeward route, on the 14th of February, and was received with great demonstrations of welcome. A portion of H.M.'s 3rd and 99th regiments, with the Calcutta volunteer guards, were drawn up in front of Government-house, where the viceroy, with a number of military and civil officers, had assembled. On the arrival of the regiment upon the parade, it was received with military honours, and loudly and repeatedly cheered. When silence was obtained, the governor-general advanced, and addressed the men in the following terms:—

"Colonel Galwey, officers, and soldiers of the Madras fusiliers,—I am glad to have the opportunity of thanking you publicly, in the name of the government of India, for the great services which you have rendered to the state. More than twenty months have passed since you landed in Calcutta. The time has been an eventful one, full of labours and perils, and in these you have largely shared. Yours was the first British regiment which took assistance to the Central Provinces, and gave safety to the important posts of Benares and Allahabad. You were a part of that brave band which first pushed forward to Cawnpore, and forced its way to Lucknow, where so many precious lives and interests were at stake. From that time you have, with little intermission, been in the front of danger.

"You are now returning to your presidency, your ranks thinned by war and sickness; but you return covered with honour, carrying with you the high opinion of every commander who has led you in the field; the respect of your fellow-soldiers in that great English army in which, from the beginning, you have maintained a foremost place; and the gratitude of the whole community of your fellow-countrymen of every class. Further, you have the satisfaction of knowing that you do not leave behind you a single spot of ground upon which you have set your feet, where peace and order have not been restored.

"When you reach Madras, tell your comrades of the Madras army, that the name of the 1st fusiliers will never be forgotten on this side of India. Tell them that the recollection of all that is due to your courage, constancy, and forwardness, will never be effaced from the mind of the government under whose orders you have served. Tell them, especially, that the memory of your late distinguished leader is cherished and honoured by every Englishman amongst us; and that though many heroic spirits have passed away since the day when he fell in front of you in the streets of Lucknow, not one has left a nobler reputation than General Neill.

"I now bid you farewell, fusiliers, and I wish you a speedy and prosperous voyage to your own presidency. You are indeed an honour to it."

It will be recollected that this gallant regiment saved Benares and Allahabad,* and was present in all the actions consequent upon Sir Henry Havelock's efforts for the relief of Lucknow. So greatly was the precision of their fire dreaded by the natives, that the Nana issued a general order, commanding his people "not to meet the 'blue-caps,' who killed without being seen." The regiment had lost, during its service in Bengal, more than three-fifths of its original number, or 600 men.

At the termination of the viceroy's address, the men formed again in marching order, and proceeded to the ghât, where they were to embark for Madras. As they marched along the strand, they were saluted by the guns of the fort and the shipping in the river, and all the vessels in the

* See vol. i., pp. 223—226; 256—264.

harbour were dressed with colours in their honour.

The fusiliers reached Madras harbour on the 21st of February, and landed the following day, under a royal salute; a government notification, to the following effect, being issued for the occasion:—

"Fort St. George, Feb. 15th, 1859.

"Intimation having been received by government, that the Madras fusiliers would leave Calcutta, on their return to their own presidency, on the morning of the 15th instant, in H.M.'s steamer *Sydney*, and transport *Tubal Cain* in tow, they may be expected to arrive here on the 21st instant. Their arrival will be made known to the public by the firing of four guns from the St. George's bastion, at intervals of a minute. Should the vessels be sighted before seven o'clock A.M., the regiment will land at three o'clock P.M. the same day; but if after that hour, they will not be landed till three o'clock P.M. the following day. Should they arrive on Sunday, at whatever hour, they will not land till the following day at three o'clock P.M.

"The whole of the effective troops in garrison, including the body-guard, will parade in full dress on the north beach, at Messrs. Parry and Co.'s office, at half-past two o'clock, on the occasion of the landing of the Madras fusiliers, and will form a street thence to the railway terminus, by opening out files as much as may be necessary. The troops will be under the orders of the senior officer on the parade. The Madras fusiliers will march through the street of troops to the railway terminus, where an entertainment will be prepared to do them honour. After the Madras fusiliers have arrived at the railway terminus, the troops will return to their respective barracks."

The day was observed as a general holiday in all the government offices, and by the community at large. Along the street formed by the military, the veterans marched amidst the enthusiastic cheers of the ladies and gentlemen who crowded the verandahs of the buildings, and of an immense multitude of the native population. As they passed on, the troops presented arms to the colours that had come victorious from so many fields of battle; and upon its arrival at the railway station, congratulatory addresses were read to the regiment from the European and native communities. The men then partook of more substantial refreshment, and, after dinner, stepped into the special train, which conveyed them to Arcot, from whence they proceeded to Bangalore, whither their wives and families had previously been sent, to be in readiness to receive them.

On the 14th of March, a notification in the government gazette, contained the following recognition of the services and meritorious conduct of H.M.'s 10th and 32nd regiments, then *en route* to Calcutta, for embarkation to England:—

"*No.* 360, *of* 1859.—H.M.'s 10th regiment of foot is about to embark for England. His excellency the governor-general in council cannot allow this regiment to pass through Calcutta without thanking the officers and men for all the good service which they have rendered in the last two eventful years; first at the outbreaks of Benares and Dinapore; next as a part of the column under their former commander, Brigadier-general Franks; and more lately in the harassing operations conducted by Brigadier-general Sir E. Lugard, and Brigadier Douglas, on either bank of the Ganges. The governor-general in council desires, in taking leave of the 10th regiment, to place on record his cordial appreciation of their valuable services. The regiment will be saluted by the guns of Fort William on leaving Calcutta.

"*No.* 361, *of* 1859.—The services of H.M.'s 32nd regiment light infantry, which formed a part of the heroic garrison of Lucknow, and which is now about to leave India, claim a special acknowledgment from his excellency the governor-general in council. These services extended through the defence of Cawnpore, and through the final operations of the commander-in-chief in Oude. The governor-general in council thanks the 32nd regiment for all that they have done and endured. His excellency congratulates officers and men on their return home after a long and distinguished career in India, and bids them heartily farewell. A salute will be fired from Fort William before the departure of the regiment."

The popularity of Lord Canning, which, during the progress of the rebellion, had been frequently and rudely assailed, was now destined to receive a shock, in consequence of a financial measure introduced by him to the legislative council of India, in March, 1859. In the extraordinary circumstances of the country, the imposition of new taxes to meet interest of new loans and the increased war expenditure, had become a matter of necessity, about which there was no dispute; but the question how the two millions requisite for the emergency were to be raised, gave occasion for a vast diversity of opinion, which at length concentrated into a general expression of discontent on the part of the commercial and mercantile interests of the three presidencies. The circumstances under which

a perfect hurricane of useless indignation was evoked by the members of these important communities and their organs, were as follows.

At a meeting of the legislative council of India, held on Saturday, March the 12th, at which were present the viceroy and governor-general, the Hon. Sir J. Colville, Sir C. Jackson, Major-general Sir James Outram, H. Ricketts, B. Peacock, H. B. Harrington, H. Forbes, E. Currie, and P. W. Le Geyt, Esqs.—his excellency laid upon the table a "Bill to alter the Duties of Customs on Goods imported or exported by Sea;" the clauses of which, and schedules annexed, were as follows:—

I. From and after the passing of this Act, so much of Schedules A and B annexed to Act 14, of 1836; so much of Schedules A and B annexed to Act 6, of 1844; so much of the Schedule annexed to Act 9, of 1845; so much of Schedules A and B annexed to Act 1, of 1852; and so much of sections 2, 3, and 4, Act 30, of 1854, as prescribe the rates of duty to be charged on goods imported into, or exported from, any port in India by sea—are repealed.

II. From and after the passing of this Act, all the provisions now in force of the above-mentioned Acts which have reference to the duties of customs now charged and leviable on goods imported into, or exported from, any port in India by sea, shall be taken to have reference to the duties of customs prescribed in the schedules annexed to this Act; provided that nothing in this Act shall authorise the levy of duties of sea customs at any free port, or be deemed to affect the provision of Acts 6 and 7, of 1848.

III. Nothing in this Act shall apply to the articles of salt or opium, or to teak timber exported from the Arracan, Pegu, Martaban, and Tenasserim provinces.

IV. And whereas contracts or agreements may have been made for the sale or delivery of goods on which increased or additional duties are imposed by this Act, and which contracts or agreements may have been made without reference to such increased duties, and thereby the several contractors may be materially affected. It is therefore further enacted, that if any person shall, by virtue of any contract entered into before the passing of this Act, be bound to deliver, at any time after the passing of this Act, goods hereby made liable to an increased or additional rate of duty, and shall, upon the importation or exportation of any goods which he may deliver on performance of such contract, pay a rate of duty higher than that which was imposed by law on such goods at the time when the contract was entered into, every such person is hereby authorised and empowered to add to the price of such goods a sum equal to the difference of the duty paid under this Act, and the duty which would have been payable under the laws in force when the contract was entered into, and shall have the same remedy for the recovery of such sum, as if the same had been part of the price agreed upon.

V. This Act shall take effect on and after the 12th day of March, 1859.

Schedule A.—Rates of duty to be charged on the following goods imported by sea into any port of India not being a free port:—Bullion and coin, precious stones and pearls, grain and pulse, horses and other living animals, ice, coal, coke, bricks, chalk, and stones (marbles and wrought stones excepted), cotton wool, books, machinery for the improvement of the communications and for development of the resources of the country—all free. And the collector of customs, subject to the orders of the local executive government, shall decide what articles of machinery come within the above definition, and such decision shall be final in law. Cotton-thread, twist, and yarn—five per cent.; tea, coffee, tobacco and all preparations thereof, spices (including cassia, cinnamon, pepper, cloves, nutmegs, and mace), haberdashery, millinery, and hosiery, grocery, confectionery, and oilman's stores, provisions, hams, and cheese, perfumery, jewellery, plate, and plated ware—twenty per cent.; porter, ale, beer, cider, and other similar fermented liquors—four annas the imperial gallon; wines and liqueurs—two rupees the imperial gallon; spirits—three rupees ditto. And the duty on spirits shall be rateably increased as the strength exceeds London proof; and when imported in bottles, six quart bottles shall be deemed equal to the imperial gallon. All articles not included in the above enumeration—ten per cent.

Schedule B.—Rates of duty to be charged upon goods exported by sea from any port in India not being a free port:—Bullion and coin, precious stones and pearls, books, maps, and drawings printed in India, horses and other living animals, cotton, wool, sugar and rum, spirits, tobacco and all preparations thereof, raw silk—all free; grain and pulse of all sorts—four annas the bag not exceeding two Indian maunds, or if exported otherwise than in bags—two annas the maund; indigo—three rupees the maund; lac dye and shell lac—four per cent. All country articles not enumerated or named above—three per cent.

His excellency then proceeded to explain the reasons which had led to the introduction of a bill of so much importance, the object of which was to increase the duties on imports. He observed, that the financial position of the government at the end of the year 1856, was good, and full of promise for the future—the previously existing deficit having been reduced from 104 lacs to 18 lacs; but the new financial year was only a few weeks old, when there fell that first spark which kindled the late wide-spread conflagration, of which the embers were but now dying out. Then came, he said, a time when they could no longer talk of balance-sheets; hearts, brains, hands, were alike required to think and act, and fight for their country. Now that its honour was vindicated, now that our character as merciful masters in our power was established, it was time to examine into the state of our financial resources, reduced, some seemed to think, well-nigh to exhaustion. He did not concur in that opinion; and he should shortly state, without going into minute detail, the most

prominent items of the expenditure of the late war, in order to show that no choice was left to the government, but that it was imperatively necessary for them to seek at once for resources in the taxation of imports into the country. His lordship then proceeded to say, that since May, 1857, when the mutiny commenced, there had arrived at Calcutta, from England, fifty-two regiments of infantry, nine regiments of cavalry, and thirty-eight companies of artillery and engineers. This army, to be kept in a state of readiness for the field, had received reinforcements, from Bengal alone, of 20,000 men; 165 transports, mostly of large size, had arrived at Calcutta; and not less than 5,000 horses had been landed there, besides large arrivals in Bombay. The commissariat expenditure for the year 1857, exceeded two millions sterling: this item had been doubled, and, for the present year, would be largely increased. Of munitions of war, there had been landed 7,000 stand of arms, and 186 rounds of shot and shell; and, of course, every item of that department bore like heavy proportions. It must be borne in mind, he observed, that with all this expenditure, they had to face a general and large rise in cost in every item, from an elephant down to a camp-kettle—ranging, in some cases, as high as 300 per cent. advance: the cost of carriage to the North-West Provinces had risen, in the last year, to £10,000 per mensem to Allahabad alone; and, in like manner, there was increased cost in England to be carried to account. He claimed, then, the admission, that it was no idleness or carelessness that gave rise to their present necessities, but the unavoidable cost of carrying out gigantic operations, that compelled the measure he had laid before them. They would better judge of their position when he stated, that at the close of the year ending 30th of April, 1858, they found themselves with a deficit of 817 lacs of rupees; *i.e.*, 799 lacs worse than at the commencement of that year. Of that excess, 601 lacs were due to expenditure in India; the rest in England. The loss of revenue amounted that year to 350 lacs; loss of treasure, 130 lacs; increase of military expenditure, 382 lacs. To one point he could speak of his own knowledge—that, in the estimate of the expenditure of the current year, there was certainly, as yet, no sign of bettering their position. That statement, at the end of the approaching April (1859), he greatly feared would be found to exceed 1,300 lacs. To meet the enormous expenditure, recourse had to be made to exceptional courses by debentures in England: eight millions sterling had been raised. The proceeds of loans in India, from the 1st of May to that time—say twenty-two months—was 914 lacs. Those two amounts together did not meet the amount of the expenditure; but it would be seen, by making the allowance for the excess in the balance of 1857 over 1858, there was a difference of 414 lacs; and that added to the two items given above, came nearly up to the amount mentioned. His excellency then said—"Whatever may be done by loans—whatever may be the opinion of individuals on the extent to which they should be raised, either in India or in England, one fact remains—we must find means to meet the interest upon them. He could appeal to them (the legislative council) on that ground alone, that it was their duty at once to provide as largely as they could, by all just means, to meet the demands coming upon them; and there was no means which would operate so entirely without injury to the public interest, or with less injury or pressure on individuals, than by raising the customs duty on imports." The present tariff, he observed, was based upon a system which had now passed away in England, and of which but few relics remained: and, adverting to the progressive adoption of free trade in England, and the repeal of the navigation laws, he said that the existing tariff varied from three-and-a-half to five per cent. on English, and from five to seven-and-a-half per cent. on goods of foreign origin. By the measure now submitted for the adoption of the legislative council, every protective or differential duty was cleared away, and the duties proposed would be levied solely for the purposes of public revenue. His lordship then proceeded to enumerate the various items embraced by the bill; and said, in conclusion, that it only remained for the council to decide the time at which the measure should come into operation. In ordinary cases, there would be a delay of three months from its introduction; but it was the intention of the government to propose that day to suspend the standing orders, so as to allow the bill to pass, and its provisions would then at once be put in force. He was aware that the change would interfere with the current operations

of the trading class; but it was better for all classes that there should be no interval between the passing of the bill and its action. He admitted that, in case of contracts to deliver goods at Calcutta at a fixed price (such price being, of course, based upon the existing rates of duty), there would be a difficulty; but, to save all hardship to parties under such contracts, a clause had been introduced into the bill, enabling the contractor to claim the additional duty from the buyer, as if such duties formed part of the original contract. After some further observations, his lordship moved that the bill be read a first time; and it was read accordingly.

On the motion that the standing orders be suspended, in order that the bill might be read a second time, the Hon. E. Currie said he had no idea of the intention of the government to pass the bill that day, and he trusted the council would not be borne upon to pass a bill of the kind, without an opportunity of considering its details. It was scarcely possible, on hearing such a bill read at the table, to follow its details, or to give any consideration to them; and it appeared to him that it was making mere ciphers of members of council, who, till that moment, had no opportunity of knowing the contents of the bill.

To this remark the governor-general replied, that there was assuredly no intention on the part of the government to make ciphers of any members of the council; and that the bill was pressed forward solely on public grounds, for the purpose of avoiding the doubt and uncertainty, and the total paralysis of business which must arise, if such a measure were held open for discussion.

The Hon. James Colville said he also shared in the surprise of the member for Bengal. He had certainly some idea of the suspension of the standing orders, to accelerate the progress of the measure; but he did not expect they would be called upon to pass it *per saltum* in a day.

After some further remarks, *pro* and *con.*, the bill was read a second time, and the governor-general gave notice of motion, that it should go into committee on the following Monday; and retired from the council-chamber.

On Monday, March the 14th, the legislative council again assembled, and went into committee on the bill. Upon arriving at section 4, relating to enforcement of duties from buyers, under contracts for goods to arrive, the Hon. E. Currie said, that, before coming to the council, he had been waited upon by members of the mercantile community, who desired to represent that this clause, which was presumed to be for their relief, would, in reality, be of great injury to them; that there were very heavy contracts running for goods to arrive at fixed prices, to the extent of eighty per cent. of the arrivals for the ensuing two months, which would have to be delivered to the buyers at that fixed price, notwithstanding the provision in the bill; that if the duty was added, the native merchants would refuse to receive the goods; and if the importers attempted to enforce the payment, they would, in many cases, injure their business connection; and, on the other hand, if they did not enforce it, the owner of the goods at home, seeing this clause, would not allow them to claim any deductions from their returns, on account of this increase of duty; and so the loss would in every way fall upon them, the agents or factors in India.

The governor-general, in reply, said he could not understand the force of the objection. The clause did not put any compulsion upon the seller to enforce his contracts; it only empowered him to do so if he thought it desirable. The object was certainly not to oppress the correspondents of English houses in India, but to enable them to protect their interests.

The Hon. Sir J. Colville said his position was one that brought such matters as these very much before him; and he quite realised the difficulties of the position, which would be greatly augmented if the clause was retained.

The Hon. B. Peacock, on the part of the government, declared that it was certainly not prepared to abandon the clause, which was a most equitable one; and, moreover, its operation was entirely a question of choice for the parties interested. After some further remarks, the clause passed as it originally stood.—The Hon. E. Currie said, he saw no reason why articles of pure luxury, namely, precious stones, should be free of duty, whilst jewellery, made up, paid twenty per cent.; and Sir J. Colville said the same anomaly had struck him.—Lord Canning, while allowing the anomaly to exist, explained that it was most impolitic, and against every sound principle of taxation, to impose a tax which was nearly, if not

quite, impossible of collection; and while a king's ransom might be hidden, as he might say, in one's mouth, it was hopeless to impose any duty upon such articles.

After some objections had been urged against the free introduction of machinery, and the difficulty of defining many articles under item No. 15, Schedule A, the bill passed through committee, was reported, read a third time, and passed.

And now, upon the devoted head of the governor-general, burst the storm of indignant remonstrance and invective that had been gathering during the past sixty hours among the mercantile community of Calcutta, and which had even already manifested itself in public meetings hastily convened in Calcutta, and subsequently in Bombay and Madras, and in the more subdued tone of memorials from the Chambers of Commerce of the three presidencies. The Bombay papers were specially earnest and unanimous in their condemnation of the new tariff. "The inability," said the *Bombay Times*, "of Lord Canning's administration to cope with our financial difficulties, has been demonstrated most painfully by a new act of legislative infirmity, which casts the whole burden of the deficit upon the trade of the country. A new tariff has been suddenly imposed upon us without a day's warning; doubling, trebling, and quadrupling the duties upon all imports. We have given this administration a frank and loyal support throughout its difficulties; but its reputation seems destined to split upon the rock where nine-tenths of the administrations of the world suffer shipwreck."—Another paper, of the same presidency, declared, that "Lord Canning seems resolved to alienate from him for ever the respect and esteem of all right-thinking men. He has capped his past financial blunders by the introduction of a new customs tariff, which threatens to sap the existing trade between England and India to its very foundations."

The annexed narrative of events is from the *Bombay Gazette*:—"On the morning of the 14th of March, importers passing goods through the custom-house were surprised by a demand for greatly increased duties. They were informed that these were levied in accordance with instructions received from Calcutta by the electric telegraph; and a government notification subsequently verified this information. Eventually, it appeared that a bill 'to alter the duties of customs' had, on the 12th, been introduced into the legislative council by Lord Canning himself, who desired to have the standing orders suspended, in order that he might pass it through at once. Mr. E. Currie and Sir James Colville, however, objected to the so precipitate passing of a most important measure, with the nature and details of which they had no opportunity of becoming acquainted, except that afforded by the clerk in reading it at the table. So the final sanction was deferred from Saturday to Monday, on which last-named day the bill became law, some hours after it had been put into operation here, and probably elsewhere.

"The excitement created here was great, and extended to all classes of the community. The matter affected the European part of it especially; for the duties on almost every imported article of consumption, from bonnets to beer, were quadrupled—raised from five per cent. to twenty per cent. And this just when the exigencies of the late times of disturbance had run up prices of European supplies to a point previously unheard of.

"The principal sufferers, however, were likely to be those who, having sold goods 'to arrive,' agreeing, as usual, to pay the duties and other charges thereon, found that their perhaps small profit was converted into a heavy loss by the necessity of having to pay double or fourfold the amount of duty which they had, on the faith of a long-existing tariff, taken as an element in their calculations. It was found, indeed, when the act in full was promulgated here, that a clause was inserted, designed to protect such persons, by enabling them to recover the extra duty from the purchaser; but, both here and at Calcutta, it seems thought by the merchants generally, that this only makes matters worse. The British importer will not take the native purchaser into court on such a point; and yet, if he be only an agent, he may, with this clause in existence, be held liable by his principal to make good the amount of extra duty.

"The measure took effect here on Monday, the 14th instant; and on Tuesday, the 15th, a numerously attended meeting was held on the subject. It was therein resolved, first to ask Lord Elphinstone to suspend, if he could, the fulfilment of the instructions which he had received, for a period long enough to enable importers to

avoid the injury consequent upon their immediate enforcement; if not, till the result of a reference to Calcutta, by telegraph, could be ascertained. His lordship could not suspend the measure at all; but he had anticipated the views of the mercantile community, and himself had telegraphed to Calcutta on the subject. The reply thence was, that no suspension could be allowed.

"Then the merchants assembled again, and resolved to memorialise Lord Stanley against the act, denouncing as well the impolicy of such a measure generally, as the injustice of its sudden operation. The memorial, a temperately worded but cogent document, goes home by this mail, and will, we trust, receive due consideration. Our great hope, however, is in the agitation of the manufacturers at home, who are at least as deeply interested in the matter as our Indian merchants and agents."

The absence of notice of the alteration formed the grand point of complaint. The financial necessities of the government formed, of course, their justification. Had the mercantile community received notice of the intended alteration, the revenue would probably have suffered considerably.

A string of resolutions was passed at a meeting of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce, convened on the 15th of March, to the following effect:—

"1st. That this meeting records in the strongest manner, the surprise and alarm with which the mercantile community of Bombay has received the government revenue notification of yesterday, and protests against the glaring injustice of the government of India in introducing, without notice, changes so seriously and prejudicially affecting the trade of Bombay."

"2nd. That as mercantile operations now pending were based upon the late tariff, they cannot, in the opinion of this meeting, be subjected, without great injustice, to pay an enhanced rate of duty."

"3rd. That the chairman of the Chamber of Commerce be requested to memorialise the right honourable the governor in council, expressing the feeling of the meeting in regard to the notification, and praying him to suspend the enforcement of the tariff."

A deputation was named to present the memorial, the result of which has been already stated.

The *Bombay Times* was supremely indignant. It remarked—"But to come to the notification that has excited all this uproar. It must, of course, be withdrawn; the Chamber is quite powerful enough to insist upon it. The notification is but another of those blunders which spring from legislating in the dark, and cannot be persisted in, in the face of a proper remonstrance; only let us take care that the remonstrance lays down a principle which will preclude the recurrence of such mistakes in the future. There are two issues involved in this matter, which should be argued separately. The enhancement of the duties is one affair; the mode of introducing the change another: and the two questions should be the subject of separate memorials. It is the mode of introducing these changes against which the strength of the protest should lie; and it should explicitly insist upon the abandonment of the system of secrecy now followed, whether in the negotiating of a new loan, the levy of a new excise, or an alteration of duties. We defy the government to name a single good purpose this secrecy serves; while the mischief that results from it brings the administration into contempt, and sets all classes against it in hostility. Neither the local administration, nor the supreme government, had any intention of doing a wrong to our merchants in this matter. But there is an old lady's notion in the council, that the whole art of successful change in fiscal matters is to keep the government intention a profound secret. Here, again, is one of those fallacies that go unchallenged, because supposed to be self-evident. The only proper and safe way of introducing a change, is to advertise its proposed nature, that you may ascertain how it will affect private interests. The government assumes that it knows all about the matter beforehand, and takes its conscious integrity of purpose as a sufficient substitute for information. The result is confiscation. The notification, as fraught with injustice to many interests, must be withdrawn, and its provisions submitted to the careful examination of the public, before the date of its imposition is fixed. The effect those provisions will have upon the interests of our trade, will be reviewed by us by-and-bye. In the meantime, let there be an uncompromising demand for its recision, and let our merchants conform thereto, only under protest.

"We defy any man to say what the

effects of the notification will be. Changes so sweeping as it inaugurates were never perhaps before introduced so summarily. The only proper and safe way of introducing such a measure, would have been to send it, in the shape of a bill, through the legislative council. The public would then have had the opportunity of carefully weighing its provisions, while all the interests affected thereby would have been heard against it. The present system is that of legislating in the dark. Lord Canning and his advisers hardly know what 'a sail to arrive' means; and that men should be allowed to play football with interests so weighty as those of our Indian commerce, is not to be tolerated. It is time that the imperialism of the Indian government gave place to a frank recognition of the fact, that there is an intelligent community outside, whom it may consult with advantage. We have no hostility to government that is not of its own creating, and would much prefer to be found supporting it in the main, to continual carping at it. The address of the Chamber of Commerce to the local government has appeared in our columns, as well as the governor's reply thereto. It is satisfactory to find that Lord Elphinstone had partly anticipated the prayer of the memorial, by telegraphing a recommendation to Calcutta, 'that goods shipped previous to the receipt of the notification' should be exempted from its operation. His lordship's meaning is not perfectly clear; but if he intend, as we suppose, that all goods in harbour and afloat up to the date of the notification reaching the ports of Europe, should be exempted, it would, perhaps, have been simpler to have recommended that the notification should not take effect until the 1st of October next."

Elsewhere, the same journal remarks—"If there is any sense of justice in the merchants of Bombay, they will protest in fitting terms against the attempt made by this new Customs Act, to divert from themselves its disastrous consequences, and to impose them by legislative violence upon the native dealer."

A meeting of the mercantile community of Madras, to protest against the new tariff, was held on the 25th of March, and resolutions in accordance with the views of the meeting, were forwarded to the lieutenant-governor for transmission to Calcutta.

Amongst the most hostile to the obnoxious measure, those were loudest in their complaints who took the suddenness of its application as the ground for their objection. The bill certainly was introduced into the council on a Saturday; and on the following Monday it became law, and the new duties imposed by it were instantly exacted. There unquestionably appeared an indecent haste in this precipitancy, which, taking the mercantile classes by surprise, was calculated to exasperate them; and there was, *primâ facie*, some reason for their dissatisfaction, since, upon such an occasion, all mercantile calculations must be overthrown; and cases of individual hardship were more than possible: but, upon reflection, it must have been apparent that, under the circumstances, and taking into consideration the object for which the new tariff was imposed, the demand urged, that the operation of the new arrangements should be postponed, and a notice of some months be given, was preposterously absurd. The object of the government was to obtain funds to pay the interest of money borrowed for the pressing exigencies of the state in a protracted season of extreme peril; and with all due recognition of mercantile patriotism and morality, the inevitable result of such procrastination would have been, that the largest possible quantity of commodities would be passed in the interval at the low duties, and the collection of the increased rates so immediately necessary, would have been deferred for a very long period.

While engaged in caring for their temporal concerns, the people of Madras also evinced a due regard to the welfare of their spiritual and educational interests by memorialising the government against any further state encouragement to the missionary movement, which had been largely supported by grants of public money. Their appeal to the governor-general on the subject, concluded as follows:—"Your memorialists earnestly request that the system of grants in aid may be abolished, and the sums at present disbursed through that channel, devoted to the establishment of government provincial schools; by means of which a far better education can be afforded to the people than has been, or can be, in the institutions of the missionary societies, by which the larger portion of the grants is swallowed up, to the intense dissatisfaction of the people; this appropriation having already evinced its natural consequences—as foreseen by the Hon. Mr. P.

Grant, in his minute dated the 12th of October, 1854—in the unhappy events in the North-West Provinces: that the temple property may be secured by legislative enactment; that government officials may be restrained from taking part in missionary proceedings on public anniversaries and meetings; and that the neutrality promised by your lordship, and solemnly confirmed by her majesty the Queen, may be undeviatingly observed and adhered to;—by which course of just and impartial policy, the people of India will most assuredly be won over to prize the English government beyond that of any of its predecessors, and, in due time, will be auspiciously and certainly realised the wise and memorable observation of her majesty at the close of her gracious proclamation—'In the prosperity of the people will be our strength, in their contentment our security, and in their gratitude our best reward.'"

By the beginning of May, 1859 (some two years after the terrible outburst of the sanguinary war that, in so short a period, had inflicted dire calamity upon thousands), reorganisation, rather than rebellion, became the great difficulty of government. Every department—administrative and executive—had been rudely shaken, and, in some instances, had been shattered into fragments: these had to be reconstructed, and the whole machinery necessary for their healthy action had to be reorganised. This difficulty added not a little to the Herculean labours imposed upon the viceroy and his council; but it was imperative that it should be surmounted. The financial difficulty already referred to, was, as we have seen, a colossal stumblingblock in the way of the government, not easily removable by any expedient likely to be satisfactory to all parties; and although money sufficient to pay the interest on the loans could be obtained, still the existing sources of revenue were far from adequate to the unavoidable permanent expenses of the government, and a recourse to new channels of supply became inevitable. Among the items calculated upon as likely to yield the required funds, it was proposed to extend the succession duty to all personal property, and all real property, not protected by the perpetual settlement. A tax on tobacco was also contemplated, which, with the succession duty, would add a second million to the one calculated from the new customs tariff. The succession duty was not expected to be unpopular; but that on tobacco was likely to be much so, as every human being in India smoked—the wife as well as the husband, the child as well as the wife. A rise in price, therefore, of this article would affect every native; but still the population had never yet resisted indirect taxes. A third impost, in the shape of a marriage licence fee, was also proposed. This tax, levied by the Mussulmans, was in accord with the native ideas, and would be inappreciable in the midst of all the expense on feasts, torches, nautches, tinsel, and gilt cloths, usually equal to two years' income. The money being provided for the loans by which to tide over the years of difficulty, there remained the reduction of expenditure to income. The orders for this end, it was felt, must come from England, for the mass of private interests and inveterate prejudices rendered large reductions by the local government impossible. There was, in truth, but one feasible reduction. The total of civil expenditure could not be reduced; for all saved by cutting down salaries, and more, would be exhausted in the increased establishments imperatively required. The European military expenditure could not be diminished for years, except by cutting off the Indian allowances—a very difficult, and perhaps dangerous expedient. There remained still the three native armies, officially reported to comprise 243,000 men. Even this enormous number did not represent the full truth. The 8,000 military police in Bengal were not included in it, nor the 22,000 military police embodied for Madras. Those men were sepoys as to everything but duties, and were an addition to the regular native army they ought to have superseded. Omitting Bengal Proper, which wanted no troops beyond three regiments of Europeans, there were sixty counties to be protected: 1,000 men for each county would, it was officially reported by the Madras government, suffice to keep internal order. There were no external foes, except one or two native powers—the Nizam, the king of Burmah, and the tribes beyond the Passes. Allowing 60,000 more sepoys for those three objects, there were 120,000 native troops. If that view was correct, the native army was in excess of the permanent requirements by 120,000 men, costing in pay £2,250,000; and in the European force necessary to watch them, keep them faithful, and kill them when they mutiny, as much more. Still no important reduction could be

made without peremptory orders from England. All luxuries are necessaries while we are accustomed to them; and the presidency governments naturally declared it impossible to reduce their establishments. They had to be cut down peremptorily at first, and raised afterwards, if experience showed that more natives were indispensable.

With regard to the probability of future disaffection, and its possible growth, it was considered that one of the most effectual checks would be found in decentralisation in the creation of provincial municipalities, and the granting of greater powers to the governments of presidencies. Hitherto the supreme council and legislature of Calcutta, which were entirely composed of government officials, had regulated the administrations of all India; the governments of the presidencies had no initiative; and the want of such initiative was the cause of serious inconvenience to them, at the same time that it led to hasty legislation on the part of the centralised administration at Calcutta. A proper consideration of these radical defects could not be postponed. It had to be entered upon with determination; and the results to be anticipated were the demonstration that measures of a nature too general in their application should be avoided; because what was a good law in one part of India, would be found a bad one in another part of the country. The field of legislation had to be contracted and subdivided, and the dangers incident to centralisation gradually neutralised. The present period was propitious for reforms; for such a plain field had seldom been open to a statesman, and a heavy responsibility would have been incurred by the present rulers if the advantage was not taken. The necessity for new taxes and retrenchment already afforded just grounds for altering systems which had been maintained beyond the time when they could be preserved with advantage; and though it did not appear, as yet, that the opportunity of improvement was clearly understood, there were symptoms which indicated the birth of a new policy. Sir C. Trevelyan, the new lieutenant-governor at Madras, seemed to be the pioneer of a better order of things, and had already dealt a final blow to a great and intolerable nuisance. The system of correspondence which so long involved in delays inextricable the most important questions of national improvement, was henceforth to be revised. Sir C. Trevelyan's assurance was not required to convince Englishmen that the correspondence with the home government had become intolerable; but it was news to residents in India to hear that the home government was prepared to discontinue it. The system having been disapproved at home, the natural consequence was, that no compunction was felt in its abolition in India. The routine of references, from Bombay and Madras to Calcutta, and from Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta to London, involving, as it did, the duplicate and triplicate copying of immense files of letters, had become an intolerable nuisance, by delaying for years the final settlement of questions frequently in their nature trivial, and therefore requiring nothing but immediate decision. The majority of questions submitted were practically neglected; the most important only were considered; and the result was, that routine prevented improvement in small things; while, in large and important matters, it delayed and impeded their final settlement. That such pernicious results were in future to be avoided, was a great boon to all who had dealings with the government. The saving to the exchequer, from the reduction in the copying department, at the same time, produced a most gratifying reduction in expenditure. Having gone thus far, the government became sensible of the necessity of reforming the system of check, countercheck, and audit, which necessitated the entertainment of an army of unnecessary clerks; for, under the system as it existed at the time of the assumption of the direct government by the crown, the number of abstracts, certificates, and other documents, drawn out in the course of a month in the pay and audit offices of the presidencies, would have astonished Downing-street, and frightened the Horse-guards. Words would fail to convey a just impression of this nuisance, of which one instance may suffice as an example of the extent to which it affected those who were subject to its annoyance. A Bengal subaltern officer of a native infantry regiment, had arrived in Bombay for the purpose of proceeding home on sick certificate. Having been recommended a sea route, for the partial re-establishment of his health before finally leaving India, he obtained a month's preparatory leave to proceed to Bombay. The journey was a longer one than the sick man anticipated, and his leave expired two days previous to

landing at Bombay. Before he could leave that harbour for home, the following formalities were imposed upon him:—He had to write to Calcutta to have his leave extended for the two days. To his letter a reply would be dispatched; on receipt of which, his agent in Bombay would be able to draw pay for two days, on the production of an abstract in triplicate, a copy of the order, and a form of authority constituting the drawer as agent. Thus five documents were to be produced before the question of this officer's pay could be finally disposed of; and the following list details the roll of documents he had to sign before leaving Bombay:—1, a copy of the order of preparatory leave; 2, pay certificate; 3, "no-demand" certificate, showing that no claims are producible against his pay; 4, security bond, in case any such claims should be forthcoming; 5, extract of general order granting furlough to Europe; 6, a life certificate, assuring the authorities that the officer in question is not dead; 7, a certificate that no advances have previously been made; 8, 9, 10, abstracts for pay in arrears up to the date of the expiration of the preparatory leave; 11, 12, 13, abstracts for three months' advance of pay; 14, 15, 16, abstracts for the first half of passage-money; 17, 18, 19, abstracts for the second half of passage-money; 20, certificate from the captain, of the date on which the vessel sailed in which the officer took his departure; 21, pilot's certificate that the ship sailed, and that the officer was a passenger in her (this certificate, to be attached to the abstract of the second half of the passage-money, enables the agent of the ship to draw); 22, 23, 24, abstracts for the two days' extension of preparatory leave already alluded to; 25, extract of the order extending the preparatory leave; 26, form of authority on which the officer's agent is to draw the pay for the two days on his behalf. Thus twenty-six documents were required before a Bengal subaltern could draw three months' pay, and proceed on furlough to England. It is easy to judge of the immensity of the number of government records, when those of a not unfrequent and simple case were so voluminous.

If Bombay had not yet taken the initiative in reforms similar to those of Madras, it appeared to be on the eve of changes in policy which were of exceeding importance. The fact that the chief of Meeruj, in the South Mahratta country, had been permitted to adopt a son, was a proof that the hereditary policy in that respect had been beneficially altered. And there was reason to believe that adoptions would never, in future, be objected to. This, and the enactment of the new succession law, which was to supersede the enam resumption, it was considered would do more than any other measure to secure the loyalty and affection of the Southern Mahrattas, who, hitherto, had been a fertile cause of disquietude to every successive administration in India.

The final disposal of the ex-king of Delhi became a question of some difficulty, in consequence of the sentence of the court by which he was tried, indicating the Andaman Islands as his place of exile; those islands having already been chosen as penal stations for the rebels taken in arms. It was considered injudicious to place the deposed king, as a rallying-point, in immediate proximity to them; and at length, British Kaffraria was suggested for the future abode of the prisoner.—On the 10th of March, 1858, the governor of the colony, Sir George Grey, announced the intentions of the government to the local parliament, in the following terms:—"A correspondence will be laid before you, detailing the reasons for which it is intended to detain the king of Delhi in confinement in British Kaffraria. You will find from those papers, that this is an isolated case, and that no intention exists of transporting prisoners from India to her majesty's South African possessions." This assurance, it seems, was by no means satisfactory to the colonists, who so strenuously objected to the precedent proposed to be introduced, that it was deemed expedient to alter the intentions of the government, and to select another locality for the residence of the prisoner. After some further delay, a station in British Burmah, named Tonghoo, some 300 miles inland from Rangoon, and represented as the most desolate and forlorn district of the whole country, was finally chosen for him; and early in October, 1858, an order of the supreme government directed the removal of the ex-king and his family to Calcutta, where his final destination was to be made known to him. The departure of the mournful *cortège* took place at an early hour in the morning of Thursday, the 7th of October, in the following order:—A squadron of lancers as an advanced guard: a palanquin carriage, in which were the deposed king and two of his sons, Jumma Bukht and Shah Abbas (the

latter a mere child, son of a concubine); the carriage was surrounded by lancers: a second carriage contained the begum, Zeenat Mahal, and some ladies of the zenana: a third carriage conveyed the Taj Mahal begum (a second wife of the ex-king), and her female attendants. These conveyances were followed by five magazine store carts, in which were twenty of the male and female attendants of the prisoner. The whole were closely guarded by lancers, a strong party of whom formed the rear of the cavalcade.

In this order, the escort, with its charge, proceeded towards Allahabad *viâ* Cawnpore, at which place it arrived, without interruption, on the very day the proclamation declaring the sovereignty of the Queen of England over Hindostan and its dependencies, was announced to the people of India. Upon reaching Allahabad, the prisoner, with his family and attendants, were placed on board a river-flat for conveyance to Calcutta. The *Soorma* flat, in tow of the *Koyle* steam-tug, reached Diamond harbour on the 4th of December, where her majesty's steam-ship *Megæra*, which had recently arrived from the Cape with troops, was found ready to receive the prisoner and convey him to Rangoon, where he arrived on the 9th of December. The ex-king was immediately landed without any public demonstration, and sent into the interior under a strong guard, which had been detailed off for the better security of the exiles in their new abode. And thus miserably ended the career of the last king of the race of Timur.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE CAUSE OF REBELLION DISCUSSED; MANIFESTO OF THE KING OF DELHI; NATIVE IMPRESSIONS; OFFENSIVE CONDUCT OF EUROPEANS; LORD STANLEY AT ADDISCOMBE; THE RELIGIOUS QUESTION; OPENING OF PARLIAMENT; REWARDS DISTRIBUTED; INDIAN FINANCE; RENEWED DISCUSSION ON THE SECRET DESPATCH, AND REPLY TO LORD CANNING'S EXPLANATION; COMPARATIVE MERITS OF EMINENT MEN, AND THEIR REWARDS; THE VICTORIA CROSS; OFFICIAL DELAY; LORD STANLEY'S EXPLANATIONS; THE INDIAN LOAN BILL; MISSIONARY PETITIONS; DEFEAT OF THE MINISTRY; DAY OF THANKSGIVING PROCLAIMED; THANKS OF PARLIAMENT TO LORD CANNING AND THE ANGLO-INDIAN ARMY; OBSERVATIONS ON THE WAR AND ITS RESULTS; STRENGTH OF THE ARMY IN INDIA; PARLIAMENT DISSOLVED; THE DAY OF THANKSGIVING; DISCONTENT IN THE COMPANY'S LATE ARMY; THE NAWAB OF FURRUCKABAD DISPOSED OF; FINANCIAL RIGHT OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY; CONCLUSION.

THE question of cause and effect, as it regarded the fact of the Indian mutiny of 1857, was but partially solved, when the curtain fell upon the closing scenes of the great drama which, for more than two years, had absorbed the attention of the civilised world. Throughout the vast provinces of Bengal, the influence of religious fanaticism—the yearnings of disappointed ambition—the impatience of a foreign rule, which coerced, while it did not protect, the people from the tyranny and oppression of its servants; and the reliance of the native races upon the prophetic auguries of their soothsayers and moulvies—had doubtless much to do with the garnering of that vast harvest of discontent, which an alleged intention of the government to interfere with the inviolability of *caste*, at length scattered broadcast over the country. The following statement of grievances, published in the *Delhi Gazette*,* as a manifesto issued by the king at an early period of the rebellion, explains very fully to the people the sense entertained by their native princes of the wrongs under which they suffered, and in some degree sheds light upon the causes of the revolt:—

"It is well known to all, that in this age the people of Hindostan, both Hindoos and Mohammedans, are being ruined under the tyranny and oppression of the infidel and treacherous English. It is therefore the bounden duty of all the wealthy people of India, especially of those who have any sort of connexion with any of the Mohammedan royal families, and are considered the pastors and masters of their people, to stake their lives and property for the well-being of the public. With the view of effecting this general good, several princes belonging to the royal family of Delhi, have dispersed themselves in the different parts of India, Iran, Turan, and Affghanistan, and have been long since taking measures to compass their favourite end; and it is

* September 29th, 1857.

to accomplish this charitable object that one of the aforesaid princes has, at the head of an army of Affghanistan, &c., made his appearance in India· and I, who am the grandson of Abul Muzuffer Sarajuddin Bahadur Shah Ghazee, king of India, having in the course of circuit come here to extirpate the infidels residing in the eastern part of the country, and to liberate and protect the poor helpless people now groaning under their iron rule, have, by the aid of the Majahdeens, or religious fanatics, erected the standard of Mohammed, and persuaded the orthodox Hindoos who had been subject to my ancestors, and have been and are still accessories in the destruction of the English, to raise the standard of Mahavir.

"Several of the Hindoo and Mussulman chiefs, who have long since quitted their homes for the preservation of their religion, and have been trying their best to root out the English in India, have presented themselves to me, and taken part in the reigning Indian crusade, and it is more than probable that I shall very shortly receive succours from the west. Therefore, for the information of the public, the present Ishtahar, consisting of several sections, is put in circulation, and it is the imperative duty of all to take it into their careful consideration, and abide by it. Parties anxious to participate in the common cause, but having no means to provide for themselves, shall receive their daily subsistence from me; and be it known to all, that the ancient works, both of the Hindoos and the Mohammedans, the writings of the miracle-workers, and the calculations of the astrologers, pundits, and rammals, all agree in asserting that the English will no longer have any footing in India or elsewhere. Therefore it is incumbent on all to give up the hope of the continuation of the British sway, side with me, and deserve the consideration of the Badshahi, or imperial government, by their individual exertion in promoting the common good, and thus attain their respective ends; otherwise if this golden opportunity slips away, they will have to repent of their folly, as is very aptly said by a poet in two fine couplets, the drift whereof is—'Never let a favourable opportunity slip, for in the field of opportunity you are to meet with the ball of fortune; but if you do not avail yourself of the opportunity that offers itself, you will have to bite your finger through grief.'

"No person, at the misrepresentation of the well-wishers of the British government, ought to conclude from the present slight inconveniences usually attendant on revolutions, that similar inconveniences and troubles should continue when the Badshahi government is established on a firm basis; and parties badly dealt with by any sepoy or plunderer, should come up and represent their grievances to me, and receive redress at my hands; and for whatever property they may lose in the reigning disorder, they will be recompensed from the public treasury when the Badshahi government is well fixed.

"Section I.—Regarding Zemindars.—It is evident that the British government, in making zemindary settlements, have imposed exorbitant jummas, and have disgraced and ruined several zemindars, by putting up their estates to public auction for arrears of rent, insomuch, that on the institution of a suit by a common ryot, a maidservant, or a slave, the respectable zemindars are summoned into court, arrested, put in gaol, and disgraced. In litigations regarding zemindaries, the immense value of stamps, and other unnecessary expenses of the civil courts, which are pregnant with all sorts of crooked dealings, and the practice of allowing a case to hang on for years, are all calculated to impoverish the litigants. Besides this, the coffers of the zemindars are annually taxed with subscriptions for schools, hospitals, roads, &c. Such extortions will have no manner of existence in the Badshahi government; but, on the contrary, the jummas will be light, the dignity and honour of the zemindars safe, and every zemindar will have absolute rule in his own zemindary. The zemindary disputes will be summarily decided according to the Shurrah and the Shasters, without any expense; and zemindars who will assist in the present war with their men and money, shall be excused for ever from paying half the revenue. Zemindars aiding only with money, shall be exempted in perpetuity from paying one-fourth of the revenue; and should any zemindar who has been unjustly deprived of his lands during the English government, personally join the war, he will be restored to his zemindary, and excused from paying one-fourth of the revenue.

"Section II.—Regarding Merchants.—It is plain that the infidel and treacherous British government have monopolised the trade of all the fine and valuable merchandise, such as indigo, cloth, and other articles of shipping, leaving only the trade of trifles to the people, and even in this they are not without their share of the profits, which they secure by means of customs and stamp fees, &c., in money suits, so that the people have merely a trade in name. Besides this, the profits of the traders are taxed with postages, tolls, and subscriptions for schools, &c. Notwithstanding all these concessions, the merchants are liable to imprisonment and disgrace at the instance or complaint of a worthless man. When the Badshahi government is established, all these aforesaid fraudulent practices shall be dispensed with, and the trade of every article, without exception, both by land and water, shall be open to the native merchants of India, who will have the benefit of the government steam-vessels and steam carriages for the conveyance of their merchandise gratis; and merchants having no capital of their own shall be assisted from the public treasury. It is therefore the duty of every merchant to take part in the war, and aid the Badshahi government with his men and money, either secretly or openly, as may be consistent with his position or interest, and forswear his allegiance to the British government.

"Section III.—Regarding Public Servants.—It is not a secret thing, that under the British government, natives employed in the civil and military services, have little respect, low pay, and no manner of influence; and all the posts of dignity and emolument in both the departments, are exclusively bestowed on Englishmen; for natives in the military service, after having devoted the greater part of their lives, attain to the post of subahdar (the very height of their hopes), with a salary of 60r. or 70r. per mensem; and those in the civil service obtain the post of sudder ala, with a salary of 500r. a-month, but no influence, jagheer, or present. But under the Badshahi government, like the posts of colonel, general, and commander-in-chief, which the English enjoy at present, the corresponding posts of pansadi, punj-hazari, haft-hazari, and sippah-salari, will be given to the natives in the military service; and, like the post of collector, magistrate, judge, sudder judge

secretary, and governor, which the European civil servants now hold, the corresponding posts of wuzeer, quazi, safir, suba, nizam, and dewan, &c., with salaries of lacs of rupees, will be given to the natives of the civil service, together with jagheers, khilluts, inams, and influence. Natives, whether Hindoos or Mohammedans, who fall fighting against the English, are sure to go to heaven; and those killed fighting for the English, will, doubtless, go to hell. Therefore, all the natives in the British service ought to be alive to their religion and interest, and, abjuring their loyalty to the English, side with the Badshahi government, and obtain salaries of 200 or 300 rupees per month for the present, and be entitled to high posts in future. If they, for any reason, cannot at present declare openly against the English, they can heartily wish ill to their cause, and remain passive spectators of passing events, without taking any active share therein. But at the same time they should indirectly assist the Badshahi government, and try their best to drive the English out of the country.

"All the sepoys and sowars who have, for the sake of their religion, joined in the destruction of the English, and are at present, on any consideration, in a state of concealment, either at home or elsewhere, should present themselves to me without the least delay or hesitation.

"Foot soldiers will be paid at the rate of three annas, and sowars at eight or twelve annas per diem for the present, and afterwards they will be paid double of what they get in the British service. Soldiers not in the English service, and taking part in the war against the English, will receive their daily subsistence-money according to the rates specified below for the present; and in future the foot soldiers will be paid at the rate of eight or ten rupees, and sowars at the rate of twenty or thirty rupees, per month; and on the permanent establishment of the Badshahi government, will stand entitled to the highest posts in the state, to jagheers and presents:—

Matchlockmen	2	annas a-day.
Riflemen	$2\frac{1}{2}$	do.
Swordsmen	$1\frac{1}{2}$	do.
Horsemen, with large horses .	8	do.
Do. with small do. .	6	do.

"Section IV.—Regarding Artisans.—It is evident that the Europeans, by the introduction of English articles into India, have thrown the weavers, the cotton-dressers, the carpenters, the blacksmiths, and the shoemakers, &c., out of employ, and have engrossed their occupations, so that every description of native artisan has been reduced to beggary. But under the Badshahi government the native artisans will exclusively be employed in the services of the kings, the rajahs, and the rich; and this will no doubt insure their prosperity. Therefore these artisans ought to renounce the English services, and assist the Majahdeens, or religious fanatics, engaged in the war, and thus be entitled both to secular and eternal happiness.

"Section V.—Regarding Pundits, Fakirs, and other learned persons.—The pundits and fakirs being the guardians of the Hindoo and Mohammedan religions respectively, and the Europeans being the enemies of both the religions, and as at present a war is raging against the English on account of religion, the pundits and fakirs are bound to present themselves to me, and take their share in the holy war, otherwise they will stand condemned according to the tenor of the Shurrah and the Shasters; but if they come, they will, when the Badshahi government is well established, receive rent-free lands.

"Lastly, be it known to all, that whoever, out of the above-named classes, shall, after the circulation of this Ishtahar, still cling to the British government, all his estates shall be confiscated, and his property plundered, and he himself, with his whole family, shall be imprisoned, and ultimately put to death."

In this appeal to the people, to whom, as distinguished from the army, it was specially addressed, there was doubtless much of truth mingled with error; and, coming from the highest authority at the time, impressed with the royal seal and titles of the king himself, it confirmed and strengthened the sense of injustice which the natives were already too prone to believe they suffered under. In Oude, the germinating cause of mischief was of another and a loftier character. The people had beheld the sudden prostration of their country, which, by the arbitrary will of strangers, had been reduced from the rank of an independent state to the position of a mere province of Bengal: they knew their king to be a prisoner; their royal family dispersed, and their nobles and chiefs despoiled of wealth and power. In Europe, much less than this would have been held to warrant patriotic resistance to the death; and, in Oude, a natural feeling of indignation, and a resolve to avenge the wrongs of their native princes and of their country, became an inevitable consequence of the proceedings of the Company's government. In addition to these causes of discontent, a kindly-intentioned, but ill-explained or understood, reform in the tenure by which land was held, which followed immediately upon the annexation, had the effect of unsettling the minds of the ryots, while it incensed the talookdars, or feudal chiefs; and sufficient time had not yet elapsed for the enlightenment of the people as to their true interests. In the resistance of a whole people to an act by which their nationality was destroyed, and the throne of their king had been shattered into fragments, reflecting men could see much that distinguished the rebellion in Oude from that which had left its dark and bloody stains upon the soil of Bengal. On their part, the Oudians were unquestionably in the position of men struggling for the independence of their country and the defence of their homes. On our side, it was undeniable that we were fiercely striving to tighten the grasp of recent aggression; while we eased our

consciences by endeavouring to believe that the men who resisted us were rebels; the fact being, that they owed us no allegiance; and that, by their resistance to an enforced and obnoxious rule, they were doing no more than, in our own case, under similar provocation, would have been held by us to be both patriotic and justifiable. And even in the royal manifesto already quoted, all was not said that might have been alleged of the grievances under which the people laboured through the system by which they were governed: but the omission was in some degree supplied, at a later period of the struggle, by a native of high rank, in the confidence of the government; who, by his position, was intimately acquainted with the working of the Company's administration in India, and with the opinions to which that administration had given birth. In a paper drawn up by that person, for the express purpose of enlightening the government upon the state of India, he says—"I have, within the last few months, collected some facts and opinions from various quarters, as to the causes of the rebellion and mutinies which commenced in May and June of last year (1857); and, with your leave, I will give you the results of my inquiries and of my meditations. I cannot pretend to pronounce whether my conclusions are just or not; you must weigh them well in your own mind on principles of justice. First, after the establishment of the British supremacy, many large and small estates belonging to the nobles and landlords of Hindostan, which had been acknowledged as hereditary property during the rule of both Hindoo and Mussulman dynasties, were attached by the British authorities, and title-deeds (*sunnuds*) required for each separate estate, large or small: up to that period no sovereign or governor had ever attempted such proceedings. And these regulations and these proceedings are in active operation still. Even sovereign princes, who had always lived in friendly alliance, and indeed in perfect submission to the Hon. Company—and the hereditary succession of whose principalities was firmly guaranteed by treaties, in which it was said that the sovereignty should descend to their heirs and successors—have not been exempt from the confiscation of their rights. From the time that the British government began to be most firmly established, the process of extinguishing native sovereignties began to be put in force; and even their accumulated wealth, and their jewels and other property, which ought to have been the inheritance of their widows and children, have in many cases been disposed of by public auction, and the proceeds placed in the Company's treasury. From these reasons all people commenced to have doubts of the justice and good intentions of government; and more especially men of noble birth and ancient lineage, being completely ruined and degraded, thought that even death was preferable to such a life.

"2. Schools have been erected in every city, and persons of the lowest extraction have been instructed in various learning and science; and some of them, after government examinations, have become moulvies among the Mussulmans, and pundits among the Hindoos. Persons have attained to high rank in the service of government, without there having been any inquiry at any time into the respectability of their extraction or of their connections. For hundreds of years, under the rule of the kings of Delhi, the most careful distinctions of rank were observed and enforced, so that certain castes and tribes were even strictly confined to certain trades and professions; and the higher branches of education were not considered applicable to persons of low birth and mean occupation; but the sons of princes and nobles, after qualifying themselves by study, were admitted by the monarch to the most honourable and responsible offices, both in the civil and military service, many appointments being reserved for the great Hindoo families, in which they were made hereditary, and others being in a similar manner made hereditary in respectable Mohammedan families. The intention of the native sovereigns was, that in case of any rebellion, the great landholders and the hereditary officials in every district and in every city, having so great an interest in the stability of the government, and fearing to lose their hereditary situations, would certainly exert all their authority and influence to suppress all resistance to the monarch's commands.

"The policy of the British government has been directly contrary to this old-established native system; for it has spread abroad through the country persons of low birth and connections, who have been educated in government schools, and passed the examination. These people, by means of their official position, have completely deceived and misled the ignorant; while vast

numbers of the people have been worked up into fears for their religion and their old customs by these new pundits and moulvies of base extraction, who have been completely intoxicated by the learning they have acquired in the government schools, and have devoted themselves—the pundits to making chelas (Hindoo religious novices), and the moulvies to making mureeds (Mohammedan disciples), of every young person who fell under their influence. These new moulvies, intent on making a great name for themselves, having no real pretensions of family or solid learning, have all taken to preaching the most extravagant doctrines of the Mohammedan religion, pushing the precepts of the Koran far beyond the old and accepted interpretations. These moulvies have misled the people, persuading the Hindoos that the government intended to destroy their caste with the 'greased cartridge,' and persuading the Mohammedans that they were to be forcibly converted to the Christian religion. And now, hundreds of thousands of God's creatures, on both sides, have been destroyed in consequence, and the government has been put to enormous expense and trouble.

"It ought to be well considered, that the British government has now ruled in India for more than a hundred years; that millions of Mussulmans, and Hindoos of the highest caste, have willingly entered into the British service, have worn the European dress, and that many of them have learned the English language. Even Mohammedans, although attached to their own religion, have actually fought with nations of their own race, and of the same religion; as, for instance, in Affghanistan: and in the same manner Hindoos have fought in the Company's army against Hindoos, and have arrested criminal Brahmins, and delivered them up to justice, knowing that they would be put to death. Many Mohammedans have entered into the private service of English gentlemen, and performed all the offices of the table and kitchen, and have constantly cooked and served up food which is forbidden to be touched by the precepts of their religion; for, in the Mussulman faith, it is strictly enjoined that no true believer is to eat or drink, or buy or sell, or give or handle, or serve to the tables of others, those articles which are unclean or forbidden. But we all know that both Hindoos and Mussulmans are in the constant habit of taking medicines, both in the solid and liquid form, at the hands of English doctors, and of submitting cheerfully to various other operations and practices, by which, according to the letter of their ceremonial laws, the Mussulman would be defiled, and the Hindoo would lose his caste. Yet who ever heard of a Brahmin sepoy washing his mouth with earth or cow-dung after leaving the hospital? Then how is it to be believed that they would spontaneously have made all this uproar and rebellion about a new-fashioned cartridge? These mutinies and the rebellion were all the work of the moulvies. Most of the leaders of the rebellion are moulvies and other Mohammedan devotees; but a few of them are Hindoo pundits.

"3. The government, many years ago, commenced the issue of stamped paper; and it was made a law, that no petition of complaint or redress would be received in any court of justice, unless it was written on stamped paper of a certain price. Thus, when people are unable to purchase stamped paper, they are often compelled to submit to injury, oppression, and wrong. This is more especially galling and aggravating in what are considered to be trifling cases of abusive language and petty assaults.

"4. The pay of every native official in the civil service of government is by far too small, and much less than in former times, while great power is put into their hands. This is more especially true of the sheristadars, and other amla of the courts of collectors, the magistrates, and the judges; for, in fact, most of the suitors in these courts apply to them in the first instance, and arrange matters with them. Cases involving thousands and lacs of rupees are sometimes virtually settled as the sheristadars choose. They succeed sometimes in getting decrees and orders passed just as they prompt the English officer; and sometimes they do not succeed: but, whatever happens, they always have the evidence under their own control, as it is all written and recorded by these officials. In consequence of this ill-gotten power, the whole tribe of amla (the ministerial officers of the courts) have become puffed up with pride, assume the post and the habits of noblemen, while they are completely demoralised and corrupt. In fact, they have adopted such expensive habits, that few of them now could exist without the help of bribes, their pay being so small. Thus are the subjects of

government ruined, and the good name of government destroyed.

"5. The plaintiff and defendant having argued their case in court, if a decree is given in favour of plaintiff, the defendant is ordered to pay the sum due to the plaintiff within a certain specified time. If he is unable to pay, his house and goods are seized in distraint, and the unfortunate man is ruined. The same process is employed for collecting revenue balances. Under the native rulers, both Hindoo and Mussulman, the custom was, that if any landlord or other person was not able to pay his debts or the amount of a judgment obtained against him in a court of justice, in one sum, then an arrangement was made for payment by instalments, to which the plaintiff was obliged to submit. And in cases of balances of revenue and other debts due to government, instalments spread over many years were allowed; and when the landlords appeared to have been over-assessed, a reduction was made in the government demand. Very frequently the judge would persuade the creditor to forego all claim to interest, and even to accept half the money due to him as payment in full. Under the British government these paternal and benevolent exertions on behalf of the subjects are quite abandoned, and in their stead the most elaborate system for extracting every rupee from debtors and defaulters is put in force. The old system, which was most convenient and much approved by all, even by the money-lenders and merchants, was kept up, to my own knowledge, until the year 1823. Up to that period, also, the custom of settling disputes and claims of all sorts by Punchayut was adhered to; and fellow-citizens, assembled in a Punchayut to settle the affairs of their neighbours, always did their best to make matters straight, to mitigate animosity, and to make the terms of settlement at once equitable and easy. This was the natural consequence of the arbitrators being of the same race, and possessing the same feelings and customs as the disputants. But with a view to increase the revenue from the sale of stamped paper, the government has discouraged and checked the old custom of Punchayut as much as possible, so that few disputes and differences are now settled without a great expense in stamps, and a long process in some court of law.

"6. Formerly, under the old native sovereignties, the government provided, by grants of land, and other convenient means, for the expense of town and city police and village watchmen. Under the British government, every house, whether it be that of a noble or of a poor man, or of a widow, is charged, according to a certain rate, with a tax called the Chowkeydaree tax, from which the police is paid; and if any person is unable to pay the tax within the prescribed period, a distress issues against him, and his house and trifling effects are sold by auction for the police tax. And no person whatever, living in a house, is exempt from the tax, or from distraint if a defaulter, however poor he may be.

"7. No case in the courts of justice can be decided without the evidence of two witnesses; and, owing to certain defects in the courts, which I cannot now explain, the amount of false evidence is without bounds, and the crime of perjury without punishment. The plaintiff never fails to have his two or more witnesses, and the defendant is equally ready with evidence. They swear to positively contrary facts, and even contradict themselves; and yet these false witnesses are never punished for perjury. From this there has arisen a very common impression, whether just or unjust I will not say, but which is widely spread through the country, that the government do not wish perjurers to be punished, for fear that suitors and witnesses should be afraid to resort to the courts, and that thus the revenue from stamped paper should be diminished. Thus they say that the courts of justice are turned into shops for the sale of stamps.

"8. From the first establishment of British power in India, up to the year 1830, all people had the most perfect reliance on the words and on the promises of every English officer, whether of high or low rank, whether young or old. There was not a doubt as to the good faith of the British government. And, in fact, up to that time the government had not deviated in the slightest degree from any one of its engagements or promises, even if, by the carelessness or mistakes of former officials, the government had been involved in inconvenient and unprofitable obligations. Even verbal promises, and others that were known only as traditions, were religiously adhered to. But, in these days, even written and recorded title-deeds, and engagements of the most solemn nature, have been evaded or repudiated. If the injured persons protest and appeal against these decisions, they are told

that such are the orders, and such is the system, of the British government, and that it is not bound by the customs of former governments. By many years' experience of this new system, the confidence of the people, both rich and poor, in the good faith of the British government, has been completely destroyed; every one says now that the word of the government is not to be trusted.

"9. There is another objectionable point in the administration of justice—that when a plaintiff has got a decree in his favour in one court, after much loss of time and trouble, the defendant may appeal to another court and get the judgment reversed. Thus the dignity and authority of the judges and magistrates are lowered; and obedience to their orders, and confidence in their decisions, cannot be expected."

The taking of bribes, and theft, are also spoken of as quite inadequately controlled and punished in the courts of law; and the effect of the prevailing system of justice, as it is applied to this class of offences, is also pointed out by the writer.

But irrespective of these various grounds for discontent, there was also one which had sank deeply into the hearts of the sensitive and impulsive natives of Hindostan, who had for ages prostracted themselves at the feet of *Caste*, and who now saw that most venerated institution treated with indifference, if not with contumely, and the highest and most privileged of their race looked down upon with a repulsive affectation of superiority by strangers of another faith, who had acquired domination over them, more through the dissensions and treachery of the people than by legitimate conquest. The treatment of the native races of India by European officials, was, as a rule, such as no people of spirit would submit to for an hour; nor could it have been ventured upon but for the wide expanse of ocean that lay between the servants of the Company and their masters. In the course of the rebellion, extenuatory facts were not wanting to account for many of the outbursts of popular feeling which, first exhibiting itself in the mutinous disorders of a few sepoys, spread, with the rapidity of lightning, into a popular movement, and, in its fury, made wreck of whatever stood in the way of a long-pent-up, but justifiable discontent. The danger and the evil were alike increased through the general ignorance that prevailed among the Europeans of the native languages, by which defect all familiar intercourse between the governors and the governed was prevented, and the gulf of races and creeds that yawned between the people and those who ruled them, became daily yet more wide and impracticable. This result was, moreover, sustained by the *hauteur*, and insolence of tone and manner, assumed by the civil and military servants of the Company in their dealings with even educated and wealthy natives, which naturally prevented any approach to cordiality or confidence on either side.*

Upon this subject, the native writer to whose communication we have just referred, observes—"The great majority of English officers, both civil and military, are guilty of using bad language to their subordinates, dependents, servants, to the sepoys, and to the people of the country in general.

* A case illustrative of this view of the subject, is also supplied by an article in the *Madras Athenæum* of September, 1858, which comments, with deserved severity, upon the want of courtesy shown by the servants of the Company in the Mofussil, to the natives of the country; and instances the following epistle as a specimen of the tone in which, too often, the former indulged. The document was addressed, by a sub-collector of the government, to a tehseeldar, who, officially, was the virtual lieutenant-governor of more than a hundred villages:—

"*To the Tehseeldar A. of the Talook B.*—When you appeared before us you promised to procure —— for the governor in four or five days, whereas sixteen days have transpired, and you have not fulfilled your promise. You appear by your conduct to be a *liar and shuffler*, and quite unworthy of belief. Immediately on the receipt of this hookum (order), you are directed to explain why you have uttered an untruth, and the reason for not considering the importance of the governor's business.

"D. E., Sub-Collector.

"F. G., Jayobneviss."

The epistle was sealed with the collector's official seal, and dispatched. The *Athenæum* asks—"What can be expected of men who live under a system of insults, threats, and extortion such as is here indicated?" We need be little careful in giving a reply. You may expect, in return, obsequious and ready obedience as long as you are in circumstances to enforce it; and when you are no longer so—a second Cawnpore massacre. Do not be in too great haste to conclude thence, that you are living in the midst of a den of wild beasts. Human nature is very much the same in the four quarters of the globe. It repays contumely with hate; and he must have lived in India with his eyes shut, who has failed to observe how little of true courtesy, or conciliatory bearing, is shown by our countrymen in their intercourse with the natives. Dr. Duff, who has written much, and well, on the subject of the present crisis, places this matter second on his list, when enumerating the causes of disaffection—"The want of conciliatory and confidential intercourse between our officers generally, and the still surviving native chiefs, heads of society and people."

In former days, three out of four English officers who were in any place of authority, were experienced, well acquainted with the language and customs of the country, and had some knowledge of the world; and, in particular, had seen much of India in their service and travels: only one quarter of the English gentlemen were young, and learning their duties. At present, the state of things is very different; but I shall say no more on this point." It was not necessary, perhaps; the statement as it is, comprises, in a few quiet words, a sufficient exposure of one of the worst features of the national character, when developed under the condition of absolute rule, and aggravated by the evil passions necessarily engendered by the horrors of an internecine strife. In corroboration, however, of the statement, the authority of Lord Stanley, then secretary of state for India, may be instanced. At the half-yearly public examination of the cadets at Addiscombe college, on the 10th of December, 1858, his lordship, as president of the institution, took occasion to refer to this glaring abuse, in his address to the young men then preparing for service in India, in the following terms:—

"No man, I believe, can be a really efficient general, far less an efficient administrator, who does not closely study the human machinery with which he has to work, the people of the country in which he lives and acts. Do not imagine that your work in that respect is more than begun when you have acquired the necessary qualification of language. Examine native habits, native ideas, native character; do it in a spirit of fairness, and you will gain at least this, even if you gain nothing else—that you will avoid that ignorant and unwise contempt for all that is Asiatic, which, politically and personally, does Englishmen so much harm in the East. You cannot live, however you may attempt it, in a state of entire indifference to those who surround you in such multitudes. If you do not bear them good-will you will bear them ill-will; and, as it seems a law of nature that between different races of men, until they get acquainted, a certain repugnance shall exist, so it is equally certain that by better knowledge, if there be only the will to acquire it, that feeling of repugnance is dispelled." Continuing his admonitory counsel, and after adverting to the loyalty and valour of many of the native princes and their levies, who had fought side by side with the Europeans during the existing struggle, with unsurpassed fidelity and honour, the noble secretary concluded by saying—"Remember, that for a European gentleman in India, there is, strictly speaking, no private life. He is one of the ruling race: he is one of the few among the many: he is one of a population some 10,000 strong, among more than ten times as many millions. There are, little as he may know or care about it, quick eyes to watch his conduct, and envious tongues ready enough to disparage his nation and his race. A single officer, who in his intercourse with, or example before, the natives around him, forgets that he is an officer and a gentleman, does more harm to the moral influence of his country, than ten men of blameless life can do good."

How far the agitation that acquired renewed vitality immediately upon the suppression of the war of the mutinies, for the more extensive diffusion of the tenets and practices of the Christian religion in India, may, at some distant period, operate to destroy the overweening and offensive assumption of superiority thus gently referred to by Lord Stanley, time alone can show: but meanwhile it had become necessary, for the future safety of the country, that the bearing of Europeans of every class, towards the native races of India, should be very considerably modified; and no time could be better chosen to inaugurate a new epoch in the history of its people, than that which marked the introduction of the imperial government of Queen Victoria.

The question of religion had also, for years past, as treated by the authorities, contributed to place the European government of India in a false position. It professed Christianity, and, upon principle, ought consistently to have deprecated and discountenanced the impure rites of a debasing idolatry among its subjects; advocating and upholding, in lieu of it, a theology based upon the purest doctrine ever promulgated for the enlightenment of mankind: but it not only tolerated, and liberally supported, the superstitious and monstrous worship of the gods of India, but, by its countenance and pecuniary support, aided in the propagation of a faith which, as a Christian government, it professed to condemn. Its acts were, in this matter, contradictory, vacillating, and embarrassing; for, while it observed the forms of Christian worship, and upheld its church services on the one hand —on the other, it gave the right hand of

fellowship to idolatry, subsidised its priests, and maintained its temples. Thus we are told by a writer well versed in the affairs of India,* that "large allowances are paid from the state treasuries in every collectorate of Western India, for the performance of idol and Mohammedan worship. The Indian government, not content with prohibiting its servants from attempting to convert the natives, actually makes them disbursers of payments for the performance of idol worship! * * * Before the collector can disburse these sums, the officiating Brahmin and Synd must obtain a certificate that the ceremonies have been properly performed. On the production of this certificate, the collector pays the annual allowance, for the performance of what he must regard as the greatest sin a man can commit. Upwards of £30,000 are annually paid away in these collectorates. In addition, many entire villages, of large magnitude, are permanently alienated for the same purpose. The rental of these, in each collectorate, averages about £1,500 a-year; thus increasing the disbursements for the maintenance of idol worship, to the sum of nearly £50,000 a-year."—The following facts, in connection with this unholy alliance between the Christian religion and the gross idolatry of India, were given on authority, as existing in November, 1857:—"In the Madras presidency, there are now 8,292 idols and temples, receiving from government an annual payment of £87,678. In the Bombay presidency, there are 26,589 idols and temples under state patronage, receiving grants to the amount of £30,578 10*s.*; to which must be added the allowance for temple lands: giving a total for the Bombay presidency, of £89,859 6*s.* In the whole of the Company's territories, there is annually expended, in the support of idolatry, by the servants of the Company, the large sum of £171,558 12*s.*" In addition to these facts, it was notorious to the people of India, that the position of native converts to Christianity in the ranks of the army, was systematically one of extreme and marked annoyance. Excommunicated by his former associates and co-religionists, he not only was received with indifference by his Christian comrades and officers, but his promotion was stopped, and occasion sought for his discharge from the army, however meritorious his conduct as a soldier might have been (irrespective of the fact of his conversion). Such discharge involved the loss of pension, and sent him home to his family an outcast and a beggar. Seeing, therefore, so little accordance between the precept and the practice of Christianity in the relations of government with its native army, it was not to be expected that any great faith could be reposed in its professions of regard for the inviolability of the Hindoo religion, when so little care was taken to maintain the declared principles upon which its own was founded.

In connection with this subject, a large and influential class in England, asserted that the propagation of Christianity in India had ever been systematically checked by the government of the Company, and, that had missionaries been duly encouraged from the first, and the officers of both services had been called upon to display a becoming zeal for the evangelisation of the natives, Christianity would have made so great a progress before the present era, that the horrors of the sepoy revolt would never have taken place, or, at all events, must have been greatly alleviated. But persons holding such opinions were perhaps ignorant, that besides great difficulties in the way of proselytising, non-interference with the laws and religion of the natives had been the condition of European advancement to supreme power in India. Without this understanding, the Company neither could have been assisted by a native army, nor could it have obtained the acquiescence of the masses in its progressive advancement to territorial power. Whatever may have been the errors or shortcomings, as regarded this question, during the Company's rule, it now remained for the Queen's government to profit by experience, and "from the nettle danger, to pluck the rose, safety." By a judicious interposition of its supreme authority in India, the position of the British, after the great struggle had collapsed into a series of mere partisan conflicts, was materially altered from what it had been before the troubles commenced. The natives of India had fought for their creeds, and lost; and the Indian government at home had changed hands during the contest: and it was only reasonable to assume, that with new men, new measures for the benefit of the country would be inaugurated. The 'vantage-ground held by the royal government had not been gained without great

* *England and India; an Essay on the Duty of Englishmen towards the Hindoos.* By Baptist W. Noel, M.A. Nisbet and Co.: 1859.

sacrifice of blood and treasure; and it was not likely that it would be occupied without an effort to improve it. It was urged by the advocates of proselytism, that the moment had arrived for a public and decided demonstration of Christian principles, as well as for an unsparing elimination of all heathen practices which were actively pernicious, and opposed to the fundamental principles of morality. The systematic dedication of native children, at Hindoo temples, to a life of profligacy, was one offence that, in their view, required immediate and rigorous prohibition by law. The processions at the Mohurrum, which had frequently been productive of sanguinary broils and gross indecencies, they also urged should be forbidden; and that other practices common to the religious observances of the natives, should be repressed and abolished by authority. But the difficulty in the way of such desirable reforms, which, by the way, had not entered into the calculations of these well-intentioned but too sanguine reformers, was this—that not only would native prejudices be aroused to a dangerous extent among the people themselves; but the moment government had placed itself in the attitude of repression suggested, hundreds of over-zealous but inconsiderate officials, both native and European, would emulate each other in pushing such reforms far beyond the limits which justice and toleration prescribe; and the strict line of impartiality once passed, a door would be thrown open, through which a considerable amount of persecution would enter, to rekindle the almost dying embers of disaffection to English rule. Whether such a risk would be likely to tend ultimately to the positive advancement of Christianity in India, was to be a question left for the next generation to answer: it did not fall within the range of duty, on the part of these theorists, to solve it.

With these multifarious and important subjects before it, each of which demanded instant consideration and adjustment, it may readily be conceived that the new government of India had an arduous and difficult task to accomplish, before it could hope for any permanent improvement in the vast field spread before it. The parliamentary session of 1859, was, however, about to open, and the eyes of the country were turned towards it with earnest expectation of good for India.

On Thursday, the 3rd day of February, 1859, her majesty, Queen Victoria, opened the third session of the fifth parliament of her auspicious reign, with a speech from the throne, in which were the following passages relating to Indian affairs:—

"The blessing of the Almighty on the valour of my troops in India, and on the skill of their commanders, has enabled me to inflict signal chastisement upon those who are still in arms against my authority, whenever they have ventured to encounter my forces; and I trust that, at no distant period, I may be able to announce to you the complete pacification of that great empire, and to devote my attention to the improvement of its condition, and to the obliteration of all traces of the present unhappy conflict.

"On assuming, by your advice, the direct government of that portion of my dominions, I deemed it proper to make known, by proclamation, the principles by which it was my intention to be guided, and the clemency which I was disposed to show towards those who might have been seduced into revolt, but who might be willing to return to their allegiance. I have directed that a copy of that proclamation should be laid before you."*

On the following day, in consequence of some alleged misrepresentations in parliament during the preceding session, in reference to the governor-general and Sir John Lawrence, Earl Granville said he was anxious to take that early opportunity of making a statement with regard to Sir John Lawrence, one of the most distinguished men in India, and to whom the country was greatly indebted for the part which he took in the suppression of the rebellion. The noble earl proceeded to say, that he had had a correspondence with that gentleman with respect to a statement made by him the preceding year, and would now state the result of it. In the course of a debate last session, he had stated, as a proof of the firmness of Lord Canning, that on hearing some negotiations were being carried on with the insurgents at Delhi, he took it upon himself to send a telegraphic message, objecting to their being proceeded with, although they had been regarded favourably by Sir John Lawrence and by the military authorities. This statement was made upon information of the most reliable character. From communications, however, which he had since received from Sir John Lawrence,

* See *ante*, p. 518.

it appeared that the negotiations were not carried on with the body of the insurgents, but were proposed by the king of Delhi himself to the general in command, General Reed—not General Wilson, as he supposed at the time—who thought, and Sir John Lawrence concurred in that opinion, that it was desirable to negotiate with the king of Delhi, on condition that he should give an assurance that he had never issued orders for the murder of any of our fellow-countrymen, and on his giving a guarantee to deliver into our hands one of the gates of the town. The chief reasons assigned by Sir John Lawrence for agreeing to these negotiations, were the small number of our troops, the inefficiency of our siege-train, the immense disproportion of the field guns of the enemy, and a variety of other circumstances, which placed our army in a position of considerable jeopardy. In this state of things, it was thought desirable to enter into negotiations, with the view of saving many valuable lives. At that period, the communications between the place where Sir John Lawrence was, and Calcutta, were entirely stopped. Sir John Lawrence sent information to Lord Canning as to his views on this matter; and he had reason to believe that that particular despatch was not received by Lord Canning. It appeared that afterwards a message was received from Lord Canning, stating that he had heard rumours of such negotiations being on foot, and that he objected to any negotiations which might result in placing the king of Delhi in his former position. That message arrived after the negotiations were found to be fruitless, and when the siege was nearly completed. These statements were the results of a very long letter from Sir John Lawrence, and of confirmatory documents. He never, for one moment, doubted that any course which was taken by Sir John Lawrence could not be defended by the most weighty reasons and arguments. He was, however, still of opinion that it required great moral courage on the part of Lord Canning, when he heard that rumour, to take upon himself to forbid such negotiations; and although he had no doubt that Sir John Lawrence was right at the time, and that if possession of the place could have been obtained by negotiation, it would have prevented the loss of most valuable lives; still, on the other hand, judging after the event, it was some advantage that Delhi should have been taken without any negotiations having been completed with the king, who was at the head of the insurgents. He should be very sorry if anybody imagined that he wished to disparage either of those distinguished men in order to raise the character of the other. Such was certainly not his intention. On the contrary, he believed that both, in their different capacities, performed their duties in a manner which was fully appreciated both in this country and in India; and what was especially satisfactory to himself, was the fact that in this correspondence Sir John Lawrence spoke in the highest terms of Lord Canning; just as Lord Canning, in his private letters, never failed to acknowledge, in the warmest terms, the great services of Sir John Lawrence.

In the House of Commons, the same evening, Mr. Hadfield, referring to the paragraph in the royal speech which related to India, took an opportunity of mentioning the alarm felt in the manufacturing districts of England, lest a deficiency should arise in the supply of their staple materials. This more particularly related to cotton, of which it was believed that India might, under proper management, furnish an abundant supply. What India wanted, he said, were roads, and water, for the purposes of irrigation; and with these, he believed that country would be able to make all the difference between an abundant and a restricted supply of cotton. According to calculation, the monopoly of supply enjoyed by the United States, cost us two millions annually; while India might save us that amount; and therefore he asserted that that country had a strong claim on our government. He hoped the noble lord opposite would tell the house what the government intended to do with reference to the encouragement of public works in India.—Lord Stanley, in reply, trusted that the house did not expect him to go into details as to the amount of our cotton supply, or as to the state of public works in India, the more especially as he would have a better opportunity ten days hence, when it would be his duty to introduce the subject of Indian finance.

The question of rewards to such of the native princes of India as had remained true to their allegiance during the rebellion, was mooted in the House of Commons on the 11th of February, by Mr. Vernon Smith, ex-president of the Board of Control: in answer to whom, Lord Stanley stated, that the subject had been under the consideration

of government, and that despatches had been sent out, naming certain native princes as specially deserving of reward, and calling for a report on the claims of others. He also informed the house, that rewards had already been given to the rajah of Putteeala, by a cession of territory worth two lacs a year, and something more; to the rajahs of Jheend and Nubba, territory worth one lac each; and to the rajah of Chirkaree, land of which the value was not yet ascertained. The Guicowar had also received a remission of the tribute or subsidy of three lacs of rupees annually, which he was bound by treaty to pay for the support of a force of irregular cavalry. The cases of Scindia, Holkar, and the Nizam, were then under the consideration of government: and in addition to the honour already conferred by the Queen upon Jung Bahadoor, it was in contemplation to restore to him some territory in Oude, which had formerly belonged to Nepaul. His lordship stated, that the government, both at home and in India, was deeply impressed by a sense of the obligations it lay under to the native princes mentioned, and that it was not their intention to destroy the grace and value of the gifts to be conferred upon them, by deferring them until the memory of the services rendered should cease to be present to the minds of the people of India.

In connection with this subject, it may be here noticed, that the government of India had on its part evinced a sense of the eminent services of one of its civil officers, by a reward alike munificent and deserved. When, in August, 1857, the Dinapore brigade broke into mutiny, it may be remembered that a gentleman named Boyle, residing at Arrah,* fortified his house, and under its shelter, in conjunction with the civil magistrate of the district, Mr. H. C. Wake, preserved the lives of several Europeans—defending the position with a sagacity and valour that had the effect of arresting the progress of rebellion for a considerable time, and ultimately forcing the mutineers to abandon their designs in that quarter. For more than eighteen months, Mr. Boyle had vainly sought compensation for the damage done to his property by the enemy: the only notice taken of his representations being a very cold and formal letter of thanks. At last, when that "hope deferred which maketh the heart sick" had almost vanished, the government suddenly informed him that a jaghire of £1,000 a-year had been settled on him for life, and £500 a-year upon his heirs for ever. The gift, carved out of the forfeited estates of Koer Sing, was estimated to be worth £20,000; and the announcement of the princely and well-merited reward was received with extreme pleasure throughout India, as a token that Europeans there would ultimately be as generously rewarded for their heroism and sacrifices, as the native defenders of the government had been, or were likely to be. A railway *employé*, named Victor, also received a donation of 1,000 rupees for meritorious conduct at Arrah.

On the 14th of February, the financial affairs of India were brought under the notice of parliament by Lord Stanley, who, in moving for leave to bring in a bill to enable the secretary of state in council of India to raise money in the United Kingdom for the service of the government of India, gave the following outline of the financial state of that country during the past two years, as compared with that of the two years preceding. The noble lord said, that the total revenue in the years 1856-'57, was £33,303,000; the expenditure, £33,482,000; showing an apparent deficiency of £179,000: but this expenditure included a large sum laid out upon objects which came under the comprehensive title of "public works," and but for which there would have been a considerable surplus. The deficiency, which in the year 1853-'54 was £2,100,000, was in 1854-'55, £1,700,000; in 1855-'56, £1,000,000; and in 1856-'57, as before stated, only £179,000: showing that, at the time of the outbreak of the mutiny, the equilibrium between revenue and expenditure was nearly restored. The accounts for 1857-'58 had not been received; but the estimated revenue was £31,544,000, and the expenditure £39,129,000; showing an estimated deficiency of £7,600,000, besides the extra expense for troops and stores, amounting to £1,500,000: so that the total deficiency in the year 1857-'58, in round numbers, amounted to £9,000,000. The estimate for 1858-'59 was—revenue, £33,016,000; and expenditure, £45,629,000; showing an estimated deficiency of £12,600,000: to which, if the deficiency of 1857-'58 be added, the total deficiency of these two years since the mutiny, was £21,600,000, in which no account was taken of the compensation for the loss of private property. Lord Stanley then noticed the items of the Indian revenue,

* See *ante*, pp. 104—107.

four-fifths of which was derived from two sources—namely, the land revenue (including the sayer and abkaree taxes) and the opium monopoly, neither of which admitted of augmentation. The former grew only with the growth of the territory; and the latter was, upon principle, open to objection. The material progress of India, therefore, did not, as in other countries, produce a corresponding result upon the public revenue; while there was more difficulty in imposing new taxes in India than elsewhere. There was not the same means of ascertaining what the public feeling was, nor the same opportunities of receding from an unpopular impost. There was only one resource—that of diminishing the outlay; and he thought he might safely assume, that the deficiency of £21,600,000 was more than due to an expenditure for extraordinary services. The military expenditure for 1856-'57, the year before the mutiny, was £11,546,000. In 1857-'58, the first year of the mutiny, it amounted to £18,212,000; and in 1858-'59 it reached £22,598,000: so that there was, in these two years, an excess of nearly £18,000,000 in military expenses alone. Besides this, the loss of revenue by non-collection and plunder, was estimated at £5,650,000: these two causes alone made up a sum of £23,620,000, and exceeded the amount of the apparent deficiency. He looked forward likewise, he observed, to a considerable reduction of the civil expenditure by a more extensive employment of uncovenanted servants. The salaries of the covenanted servants were undoubtedly large; but no one, he remarked, ought to deal with this question without considering the extreme difficulty of getting fit men to fill that service. Lord Stanley set forth various grounds which led him to form hopes that the financial condition of India would improve by the diminution of expenditure, as well as by an impulse given to the revenue. The military ascendancy of England, he observed, had been completely established; changes of policy had been introduced; our power had been concentrated; and a large portion of our territories had been so recently acquired, that time had not been afforded for the development of their resources. He then proceeded to another branch of the subject—namely, the present state of the Indian debt, the amount of which was £74,500,000, of which the home debt was £15,000,000, and that raised in India £59,500,000. However great this debt might appear, yet, relatively to the amount of the revenue up to the year 1856-'57, it had not increased—not exceeding two years' revenue. He dwelt upon the enlargement of the commerce of India, which had doubled in the last twenty years; upon the extension of public works and railways, and upon the returns already yielded by some public works. He then adverted to the subject of the tenures of land in India, with special reference to the colonization of the country by Europeans, and pointed out the difficulty and danger of meddling with the different modes of land settlement. One class of lands the state had the power to deal with unshackled—namely, unoccupied and unclaimed lands; and it was quite possible, he thought, to open these lands to Europeans. Upon this part of the subject he adverted to the enam inquiries, respecting which, he remarked, an error prevailed. The main object of these inquiries was not to improve the revenue or to destroy titles, but to confirm them; to give to landholders what in this country was termed a parliamentary title. In conclusion, he asked the house to authorise a loan to the government of India of £7,000,000, expressing at the same time his hopes, that although the deficiency might continue, it would not be necessary to seek any future loan for India in this country. The noble lord concluded by moving, that the house should resolve itself into a committee to consider the subject on the following Friday; on which day the motion was discussed; and, ultimately, a resolution on which to found the proposed bill was agreed to. Upon the second reading on Monday, the 7th of March, Sir G. C. Lewis protested against the home exchequer being, under any circumstances, made answerable for the debts of India; and Mr. Bright declared his belief, that no permanent improvement could be expected in Indian finance, until the whole system of government in that country was remodelled and reformed. The present plans, he contended, comprised only some temporary relief to the local, at the expense of the imperial, revenue. No change of any real importance had yet been accomplished, in consequence of the formal assumption of sovereignty in India by the Queen; nor was any real reform to be looked for so long as the ministry continued, as at present, surrounded by a council consisting of men who had grown up under the old system of

misgovernment, and who would of necessity oppose and thwart every proposal for fundamental amelioration. Enlarging upon the mismanagement of the Indian administration, the opportunities that had been missed, the resources that were left undeveloped, and the miseries which had in consequence overtaken the inhabitants of that country—the honourable member maintained, that no cure could be discovered for the present chronic state of deficiency and embarrassment, until the governmental system was thoroughly improved, and the population of Hindostan rendered so contented and prosperous, that the enormous army which was now requisite to keep down revolt, could be reduced to the proportions of a mere police force.

On Friday, the 25th of February, the subject of a national thanksgiving for the success of the British arms in India, was introduced to the House of Lords by the Duke of Marlborough, who asked whether, in the opinion of her majesty's government, the time had not arrived for a public thanksgiving for the successes which God in his mercy had granted to the British army in India, on the suppression of the late rebellion? He referred to the successes which had followed the late Fast on the subject of the war, as a proof of the efficacy of such a mode of procedure.—In reply to the observations of his grace, the Earl of Derby said, that he was not one of those who lightly considered or disregarded the idea of the interposition of a higher Power than that of man in the ordering of human affairs. He most cordially agreed with the noble duke in believing, and every day confirmed him more strongly in the conviction, not only with regard to Indian, but to all other affairs, that however we might shape our human courses, we were little able to carry them to any result without the aid of a higher Power. He thought that the blessing of God had been singularly manifest in the distressing affairs of India. From the very first moment, down to the present time, there had been many instances in which neither the skill of our generals nor the bravery of our troops would have been able to command success, had it not been for the interposition of Almighty Power. He agreed with the speech from the throne, in believing that the time was not far distant when her majesty might be able to announce, as she could not then, the complete subjugation of India. When that time should come, neither parliament nor the sovereign, while, on the one hand, they would honour those through whose human aid it had been brought about, would be slow, on the other, in ascribing the glory and praise where it was due. But he could not say that he thought that the time had come either for honouring those who were concerned in staying the rebellion, or for any public manifestation of thanks to Providence. He thought that it would be more suitable to the occasion, to wait until there was a complete subjugation of the revolt, and until they had again restored in India the inestimable blessings of tranquillity and peace.

The affairs of India continued to engage the attention of both houses of parliament from the commencement of the session; and on the 18th of March, the Marquis of Clanricarde moved for a copy of the answer of the governor-general to the secret despatch of the 19th of April, 1858,* with the reply of the secretary of state, and subsequent correspondence on the subject. He also asked for information as to the tenure under which the landowners in Oude then held their estates; and expressed his opinion, that from the nature of recent proceedings in Oude, the governor-general had not receded from the policy of his despatch of March, 1858; since, although sparingly, yet confiscations had been in some cases enforced.—In reply to this, Lord Derby vindicated the course pursued by the government of India, and said that Lord Canning had not changed his policy, but had modified it; for, instead of confiscations being made the rule (as the proclamation would have led the people to believe), they had been the exceptions. The noble earl further stated, that her majesty's government had the greatest confidence in Lord Canning, as was shown by the tone of their despatches, and by their having recommended him to her majesty—who had already conferred upon him the Grand Cross of the Bath—for advancement in the peerage. With regard to the tenure of the land in Oude, there had been no re-grant from the crown, but it was held under the terms of the proclamation of amnesty and forgiveness; and in that manner the proprietors had entered on their original property, from which, in 1857, they had been expelled. The production of the papers moved for, would not be opposed.

To the two first of these documents reference has already been made; the third, moved for, being the reply of Lord Stanley,

* See *ante*, pp. 479; 501; 506.

as secretary of state for India, to Lord Canning's vindication of his policy; which, under date of December 9th, 1858, was as follows:—

"My Lord,—Your lordship's despatches, No. 26½, to the secret committee of the East India Company, dated the 17th of June, and No. 17A, of the 4th of July,* to the Court of Directors (in the foreign department), having been considered by her majesty's government, I now proceed to offer such remarks upon them as they appear to demand.

"The first of these despatches is a reply to the letter of the secret committee of the 19th of April, commenting upon the proclamation issued on the 3rd of March to the talookdars and other landholders of Oude, after the reoccupation of Lucknow by British troops; the second is in reply to the letter of the Court of Directors of the 18th of May, covering a resolution of confidence in your lordship, passed by the court on the 10th of that month. In both of these despatches you explain and vindicate the course of policy which you adopted in issuing the above-mentioned proclamation to the landholders of Oude.

"I do not propose to follow, paragraph by paragraph, the elaborate arguments contained in these letters. They have been considered with the attention which was due to the high character and the distinguished position of your lordship; and I observe with satisfaction that the policy indicated in the document adverted to, as regards the claims of the talookdars and other proprietors in Oude, has not in practice been adopted by you, and is declared, on your own authority, never to have been intended to have been carried into effect. However indiscriminate and unsparing may have been the sentence of confiscation which your proclamation pronounced, that sentence has not been put in force; and the issuing of it would appear to have been merely a menace, designed to strike awe into the minds of those still arrayed in arms against the British government.

"Though anxious to support your authority, and to regard in the most favourable point of view any explanation of your public conduct which you might have to offer, her majesty's government cannot alter their previously expressed opinion with regard to the policy which, in this instance, you have pursued. They cannot think it wise for a government, either in Asia or in Europe, to utter threats on which it is not meant to act; and they apprehend that the tendency of such threats, when addressed to insurgents in arms, is to drive into desperate and hopeless resistance some, at least, of those who might be induced to submit by an invitation couched in more lenient terms. They are, however, glad to receive, and ready implicitly to accept, your assertion that the practical effect produced upon the minds of the people has been but small. They learn with satisfaction, that the personal explanations, to which you refer as having been given by your desire through the officers of your government, have dispelled the alarm which its contents were likely to excite. And the whole tenor of your lordship's administration in India, and the moderation of language and of action which you have known how to preserve in circumstances of unusual difficulty and universal excitement, confirm, if confirmation were needed, the assurance which you have given of your intention to deal in a spirit of mercy and justice with those whose rights appeared to be imperilled by the language of your official declaration.

"While her majesty's government adhere to the opinion expressed by them respecting that declaration, it seems to them needless further to comment on a document which has been practically cancelled by yourself; and whilst regretting what they cannot but consider as a mistaken act on your part, they desire publicly to express their full approval of your general policy, and their confident hope that the measures taken by you for the suppression of insurrection in India, will at no distant period lead to the entire pacification of that country.

"I have, &c.,

(Signed) "STANLEY."

On the same evening, in the House of Commons, Lord John Russell said, that as it appeared from all the accounts received from India, that the pacification of Oude had been effected, and that, generally speaking, the revolt had been put down throughout India; he wished to know if it was intended to propose to that house to give a vote of thanks to the governor-general of India, to the distinguished general in command of the troops, and to the other officers, civil and military, who had assisted in the great and glorious event of the pacification of India. His lordship then deprecated the mode in which the government had acted

* See *ante*, p. 506.

in reference to the governor-general, and said it was with pain and astonishment he had read the despatch of the 9th of December, which appeared, by its cold and sneering tone, to convey a distrust which her majesty's ministers did not think fit, for some reason or other, openly to express. That despatch had consequently suggested a doubt whether it was the intention of the government to do justice to Lord Canning for his high services in the suppression of the mutiny. He hoped he was mistaken in the conclusion he had arrived at, and that, on the contrary, it was the intention of the government to propose a vote of thanks to the governor-general, to Lord Clyde, and to the other officers who had distinguished themselves. With respect to Lord Clyde, he said no man could entertain the least doubt that any difficulty would be felt; for no man, in a military position, had acted with greater vigour, decision, and judgment; and he trusted the gallant general might return, and long wear, in this country, the laurels he had gained in Hindostan.—Mr. Kinnaird said, that as the dreadful events of the mutiny were over, there was a general expectation abroad, that some distinguished mark of merit would be given to Sir John Lawrence. The late government of India had actually made a provision for sustaining any honour that might be conferred upon him, by voting him a pension; and he considered there would be a general feeling of disappointment if the man who was considered the saviour of India had not some mark of favour from the crown bestowed upon him.

Lord Stanley, in reply to the last speaker, assured the house that the government fully recognised the great services rendered by Sir John Lawrence; but he could not admit that no recognition of those services had taken place. Sir John Lawrence had been promoted from the rank of commissioner to that of lieutenant-governor—had received the thanks of the house, a baronetcy, the Grand Cross of the Bath, a special pension of £2,000 a-year, in addition to the pension to which he was entitled by right as a retired member of the civil service; and, moreover, held for life, if he so pleased, a seat in the council for India. He hoped that Sir John Lawrence's career might not yet be considered as closed, and that some future government might, if that distinguished individual did not return to England, still avail themselves of his services in India. With respect to the question of the noble lord, he might state, that it was the intention of the government to propose to that house a vote of thanks to those who, whether in a civil or military capacity, had taken a prominent part in the pacification of India. In that vote both the governor-general of India and Lord Clyde would be included.* He considered it inconvenient at that time to reopen the discussion on Lord Canning's proclamation, the issue of which had already been fully debated. At the proper time he should be ready to vindicate the course taken by government; and if ever the debate should be resumed, he believed it would be attended with the same result.†

Lord Palmerston animadverted upon the language of the secretary of state for India, in replying to the observations of Lord John Russell. He said his noble friend did not revert to the debates of the last year, and did not advert to the policy of the government in India; but he did make some pointed observations on that which struck with pain every man who read the document alluded to. His noble friend, the member for London, had observed on the taste and the feeling—to say no more—of that despatch which the noble lord, the

* The question of honorary distinction for meritorious service in the field, had become a subject of frequent consideration in the highest quarters; and, as the year 1859 progressed, the *London Gazette* was redolent of notices of royal favours personally bestowed upon surviving heroes of the Indian war. Among the brave recipients of that much-coveted badge of the order of valour, the Victoria Cross, the son of the lamented Havelock now held conspicuous rank. This young officer, in August, 1857, was a lieutenant in the 10th regiment, in the Company's service, being also aide-de-camp to his father. He had now, within two years, attained the rank of lieutenant-colonel; and on the 9th of June, 1859, the official list of officers and others, upon whom her majesty, on the preceding day, had personally conferred the distinction of the Victoria Cross, contained the following paragraph:—"To Lieutenant-colonel Sir Henry Marsham Havelock, Baronet, late lieutenant 19th foot (now 18th foot), for leading on the 64th regiment to the capture of the last reserved gun, a 24-pounder, at Cawnpoor, 18th August, 1857." (See *ante*, p. 28). A mark of royal favour was also bestowed upon Mr. T. H. Kavanagh, assistant-commissioner of Oude; who was presented to her majesty at a *levée* on the 25th of June; and, on the 8th of July, the *Gazette* announced, that the proud distinction of the Victoria Cross had also been conferred upon him, for services rendered in connexion with the relief of Lucknow. See his narrative of adventure in Nov., 1857 (pp. 84—86).

† *Vide ante*, pp. 481, 482.

secretary for India, had thought it consistent with his duty to send to Lord Canning; and the noble lord must not be allowed to escape from those remarks by endeavouring to revert to the discussions of last year. He (Lord Palmerston) deeply regretted that the noble lord should have thought it befitting his position, as a minister of the crown, to write a sneering, taunting, ironical despatch to Lord Canning, in answer to explanations which every man might read with admiration. He would now say nothing as to the concealment of those explanations for many months, during which, they lay in the office of the noble lord.* At last they came out; and no man who read them could avoid entertaining sentiments very different from those expressed in the despatch of Lord Stanley.

In reply to a subsequent question—whether the despatch of the 9th of December† had been submitted to the Indian council for *consideration* before its transmission to Lord Canning?—Lord Stanley said the despatch had been communicated to the council for their *information*, but it had been sent, like the previous correspondence, by the secret committee. The subject was again mooted in the House of Commons on the 22nd of March, when Lord Stanley distinctly stated, that the despatch in question was sent out upon the responsibility of the secretary of state (himself) alone. It was shown to the members of the council before it was sent out, but it was not submitted to them for consideration; nor did they express any opinion upon it, or protest against it.

The matter did not end here; as, on the 25th of the month, Mr. Salisbury, the member for Chester, returned to the charge, and after asking some questions as to the precise date of the arrival of Lord Canning's despatch of the 17th of June, 1858, and for any memorandums of the council on the despatch of the 9th of December—said, he was influenced by no party or personal motives in putting such questions. He had entertained a decided objection to the Oude proclamation, and was also hostile to what was called the Cardwell resolution of last year;‡ but he had been greatly pained at the terms in which the noble lord's despatch to Lord Canning was couched. He would not say that despatch was insolent, but it was certainly a most injudicious document to be addressed by the minister of the crown in this country, to a nobleman filling the high and distinguished and difficult position which Lord Canning occupied in India. He had been credibly informed that the despatch of Lord Canning,

* As a specimen of the somnolent influences of the Indian secretariat, under the control of Lord Stanley, the following despatch from Lord Canning to the Court of Directors—in which he vindicated his council in India from some comments unfavourable to it, which had been made in this country—may be adduced. The despatch, it will be observed, bears date July 6th, 1858; but it was not until Saturday, March 19th, 1859, that it was allowed to disturb the repose of the home government of India, by publicity. Such a document, upon such a subject, ought not to have been suppressed unnecessarily for a day, much less for seven months! But it may be observed, that as a rule, all matters of explanation from India were subjected to a like system of procrastination, and that, by accident or design, few documents of the kind were published in this country until public interest in the subject of them had nearly subsided.

"*To the Hon. the Court of Directors of the East India Company.*

"Home Department, Allahabad, July 6th, 1858.

"Hon. Sirs,—It has caused me much regret and pain to observe, that upon more than one occasion during the recent discussions in parliament upon Indian affairs, it has been alleged that the governor-general has not received from the members of the council of India, that decided and effective support which, in the difficulties by which the government of the country has been surrounded, he might have expected to receive.

"2. This has been expressed in different terms; but, however expressed, it is so contrary to fact, and so unjust to those with whom, as colleagues, I have had the pleasure and advantage to act, that I trust I may be allowed to place on record my distinct denial of the allegation.

"3. A general charge can be met only by a general denial; and were the charge directed against myself, I should not have troubled your honourable court with any notice of it. But it is directed against others whom I best can vindicate; and therefore I desire to say, that the support which I received from my honourable colleagues, all and each, from the first beginning of the mutinies up to the time when I left Calcutta and became separated from the council, was constant and zealous, and that it was uniformly given with that frankness and independence of judgment, without which co-operation in council is worthless.

"4. I am the more anxious to say this, because, since I left Calcutta, two most valuable servants of your honourable court—my respected friends Major-general Low and Mr. Dorin—have retired from the council of India, and returned to England.

"5. Their final separation from the government of India, makes it especially incumbent upon the head of that government to be careful that no injustice which it is in his power to avert, shall be done to their past honourable service.—I have, &c.

"CANNING."

† See *ante*, p. 644. ‡ See *ante*, p. 482.

dated the 17th of June, was received in this country before parliament was prorogued last session. He had also been credibly informed that the despatch of the 9th of December had been submitted to the Indian council, and that, although no positive declaration might have been made to the noble lord against the terms of that despatch, the council had put a minute or memorandum upon their books, declaring that, in their opinion, that despatch ought not to be sent out to the governor-general of India.

Lord Stanley, after making some observations as to the divisions and functions of the council for India, said, that Lord Canning's despatch of the 17th of June was received in London on the 2nd of August, but it did not reach his hands until the 3rd or 4th of August, at which time the session had closed, and it was not in his power to lay the document before parliament.* With regard to any memorandum or minute of council on the despatch of the 9th of December, asked for by the honourable member, the only paper that answered in the slightest degree to the description of those referred to by him, was a minute of the political committee, to whom the draught despatch was in the first instance referred. It was suggested, however, that as all the other correspondence on the subject had taken place through the secret department, it was desirable that the same course should still be pursued; and upon that suggestion he had acted. He sent the despatch through the secret department, and it never was brought by him before the council. He had stated on Monday evening, in reply to a question which was put to him without notice, that no protest had been made against the despatch. That was strictly and literally the case. No protest in any form had been recorded against it; and if he had had an opportunity of considering his answer, he would have said, that from the form in which the despatch went out, the opinion of the council was not taken upon it, and that, therefore, no opportunity for any protest was afforded. He had stated, in reply to the question to which he referred, that the despatch was sent out through the secret department, and upon the responsibility of the secretary of state alone; and, as he had already observed, the only paper which answered the description of the honourable gentleman, was an extract from the minutes of the political committee, stating that the draught of the despatch was read and approved without any further explanation. With regard to the despatch itself, which was the subject of these questions, he thought the house would not expect him to enter upon a defence of so important a document on the present occasion. He would, however, take that opportunity of stating, most plainly and distinctly, that nothing was further from his mind, either at the moment of writing that document—for he was responsible for it—or at any other time, than to take any step which would give personal offence to, or wound the feelings of, Lord Canning. If it were considered that such was the effect of the document in question, he could only say that he regretted it, and did not intend it. At the same time, the expression of opinion contained in that despatch was deliberately formed, and as deliberately asserted; and he thought, that upon such a matter—a question of policy—it was the duty of the government, holding the opinions they entertained upon the subject, to take care that their views were fully and unequivocally conveyed to Lord Canning, as a public officer, for whose conduct her majesty's servants were responsible to the country.

The subject of Indian finance was again brought before parliament on the 25th of March, when Lord Derby, in reply to some observations of the Earl of Ellenborough, said, he regretted that the Indian finances were not so prosperous as could be wished, and was sorry to inform the house that it would be necessary, forthwith, to ask parliament for power to raise a further sum for Indian purposes. His lordship then proceeded to explain the correspondence which had taken place between the governor-general and her majesty's government, on the subject of these financial difficulties; and observed, that a deficit of £11,500,000, in round numbers, had to be provided for. Deducting £1,000,000 that would shortly be forwarded to India, there would remain £10,500,000, which would be further reduced by another million from a reserve fund of £12,000,000. This would leave £9,500,000, which the governor-general proposed to reduce to £8,000,000, by imposing a slight tax on imports, stamps, and home-grown tobacco. These eight millions were to be paid off by a loan in India of £5,000,000, and the governor-general

* Parliament was prorogued by commission on Monday, the 2nd of August, 1858.

looked to this country to forward £3,000,000 in addition to what had been already forwarded. Under these circumstances, her majesty's government had come to the conclusion that it would be necessary to ask for leave to raise a further sum than the £7,000,000 at first contemplated. What the exact sum would be he could not yet say; it would be at least £3,000,000, and perhaps £5,000,000. This was exclusive of prize-money and compensation. Looking to the effects of railways in India, he concluded that the gloomy state of Indian finances would soon assume a brighter hue; and he deprecated any attacks on the government because they had not at once asked for the whole of the sum since found to be necessary, as it had been impossible for the home government to anticipate the present demand.

On the 28th of March, certain papers connected with the Indian financial question, were issued by order of the House of Lords. These consisted of copies of despatches from the governor-general in council, to the secretary of state for India, of the 26th of January and 5th of February, 1859, relative to Indian finances; and of despatches in reply. In a despatch of the 16th of March, Lord Stanley informed the governor-general that he could not refrain from observing, that his requisition for an immediate supply of bullion from this country, without a previous indication of his contemplating such a step, appeared to furnish evidence of some want of foresight on the part of those officers of the local government to whom the financial arrangements were entrusted: and observed, that the disposition to look to this country as a certain resource for supplies of specie, could not too strongly be discountenanced. His lordship dismissed a proposal for the remittance of bullion "at once," as one that could not be entertained; and added, that her majesty's government, after the fullest consideration, were inclined to recommend, that if further measures should prove to be absolutely necessary, the preferable course to follow might be, to open a six per cent. loan, payable at the option of government in five or six years, for a fixed and specified amount, and to state distinctly that the loan will be closed immediately that amount is subscribed. There was an important addendum, however, to this despatch, which disposed of one of the previous statements. This addendum was as follows:—

"Since this despatch was written, I have received your letter dated the 5th of February, No. 19, earnestly soliciting that further remittances of bullion, to the amount of two crores, in addition to the requisition already complied with, may be forwarded without delay; one crore to arrive in the course of April or May, and the other as soon afterwards as it can be dispatched. Her majesty's government have learned with deep regret the state of your financial prospects, which have forced you to make this further requisition, which it is most inconvenient to meet, provision not having been made for such large demands in the loan about to be contracted here under the authority of parliament; yet, under all the circumstances, they do not feel that they can decline to comply with it, at least to the extent of remitting a second million of bullion. Measures will accordingly be taken for sending another million, to arrive, if possible, in the course of the month of May, and in the proportion of one-third to Bombay, and two-thirds to Calcutta. If indispensable, and in the event of my not meanwhile receiving more favourable accounts, a further supply of bullion will be remitted to you within the limit of a third crore. Her majesty's government are glad to see, from your present letter, that you are considering the practicability of introducing new measures of taxation, which are so urgently needed to meet the increased payments which will have to be made, even after the necessity for carrying on extraordinary military operations shall have ceased.

"I have, &c.,

(Signed) "STANLEY."

Lord Stanley wished also to strongly impress upon the governor-general the fact, that any efforts that could be made in this country with a view to obviate financial embarrassment in India, must inevitably be of little avail, unless the necessity for increasing the local income, and for effecting a large reduction of expenditure, was kept steadily in view, and measures founded thereon were promptly carried into effect.

A copy of a despatch from the secretary of state for India, to the governor-general, was issued, with other parliamentary papers, on the 30th of March. In this paper, two recent petitions from missionaries, relative to the connection of the government of India with native worship, were referred to; and Lord Stanley stated, that in the opinion of her majesty's government, the repeal of

the regulations of the Bengal and Madras codes, by which the general superintendence of lands granted for the support of mosques and temples was vested in the officers of the government, should no longer be delayed, provision being made at the same time for an appeal to the established courts of justice in all disputes relating to the appointment and succession to the management of Hindoo and Mohammedan religious institutions, and to the control and application of their funds; and Lord Canning was requested to take the necessary steps for bringing the subject under the consideration of the legislative council. Upon one of the petitions his lordship thus remarked:—

"In presenting the petition for a legislative enactment to suppress cruel and inhuman practices at the Churruck Poojah, the member for the Lower Provinces of Bengal referred to an opinion of the Court of Directors, to the effect that endeavours for the suppression of the cruelties of the festival should be based on the exertion of influence rather than upon any act of authority. In accordance with this view, her majesty's government would be disposed to leave the remedy, as suggested by the lieutenant-governor of Bengal, to the progress of education and its legitimate effects, were any hope held out of the discontinuance, within a reasonable time, of these public exhibitions of cruelty. Of this, however, there seems to be but little prospect, so long as those who engage in them are left in ignorance of the light in which such exhibitions are viewed by the government. In the presidency of Bombay, the practice of hook-swinging has been suppressed by order of the government, and (according to the reports of the district magistrates) without any dissatisfaction on the part of the general population. In the Madras presidency, the sense of government has been marked by the insertion, as opportunity occurred, in sunnuds for lands appropriated to the support of religious festivals, of a clause declaring that forfeiture will follow any repetition of the practice of hook-swinging; and in several parts of the presidency the practice has entirely ceased. It is in Bengal chiefly that the revolting ceremonies connected with the festival most extensively prevail, and that the efforts made to discountenance them have been attended with the least success. Although the suppression of a cruel and demoralising public spectacle is a fit subject for legislation, it is not the intention of her majesty's government, in the foregoing remarks, to press upon you any immediate legislative interference in the matter. It appears to them, however, that the lieutenant-governor of Bengal might be instructed to take advantage of such opportunities as may occur, of discountenancing the practice as far as in his power. Possibly a provision, hostile to the cruelties of the festival, may be inserted in leases of government lands, or of lands under the management of government officers; the sympathies of influential landed proprietors, and other members of the native community, may be enlisted in the same direction; and other means, such as will often be found in the course of official administration, may also be taken of making known the views of the public authorities in regard to such exhibitions, without causing alarm as to the intentions of the government, or producing dissatisfaction in the minds of the people. Should such measures fail to produce any perceptible diminution of the practice, it will then be necessary to consider whether the government is not called upon to take more decided steps for putting an end to observances so flagrantly opposed to the dictates of common humanity."

On the 31st of March, a division took place in the House of Commons upon the government Reform Bill, which resulted in a majority of 39 against ministers; 626 members out of 656 (the full roll of the house) being present. After taking some time for consideration, her majesty's servants determined to appeal to the country rather than resign office; and, on the 5th of April, an announcement to that effect was made to the House of Lords by the Earl of Derby, who characterised the opposition to the rejected measure of reform, as factious and unconstitutional, and asserted, that the government had been defeated, "not by fair parliamentary opposition, but by an ingenious manœuvre."

On the 4th of April, in the House of Commons, a motion for the third reading of the East India Loan Bill was submitted, when Lord Stanley stated that it would be necessary to make a demand upon parliament for larger borrowing powers for India, than he had originally contemplated; but he was not then prepared to go into details upon the subject. A short discussion on the general financial affairs of India followed; and ultimately the bill was read a third

time, and passed. Upon its arrival in the Lords, Lord Derby, on the 7th of April, stated that the house must look upon the sum to be raised by it as a grant on account, which it was necessary to obtain before the dissolution of parliament; but that a further sum of £5,000,000 would be required. The bill passed the House of Lords, and received the royal assent on Friday, the 8th of April, 1859.

A supplement to the *London Gazette*, of Tuesday, April 12th, contained the following notification of a day of thanksgiving for the success of the British army in India:—

"At the court at Buckingham Palace, the 12th day of April, 1859, present, the Queen's most excellent majesty in council.

"It is this day ordered by her majesty in council, that his grace the Archbishop of Canterbury do prepare a form of prayer and thanksgiving to Almighty God, for the constant and signal success obtained by the troops of her majesty, and by the whole of the forces serving in India, whereby the late sanguinary mutiny and rebellion which had broken out in that country hath been effectually suppressed, and the blessings of tranquillity, order, and peace are restored to her majesty's subjects in the East; and it is ordered that such form of prayer and thanksgiving be used in all churches and chapels in England and Wales, and in the town of Berwick-upon-Tweed, upon Sunday, the 1st day of May next.

"And it is hereby further ordered, that her majesty's printer do forthwith print a competent number of copies of the said form of prayer and thanksgiving, in order that the same may be forthwith sent round and read in the several churches and chapels in England and Wales, and in the town of Berwick-upon-Tweed.

"WM. L. BATHURST."

A similar order was also made extending to Scotland.

At length, the period arrived when it was felt no longer necessary to delay an expression of the nation's gratitude, through parliament, to the great men by whose wisdom, energy, and valour, India had been preserved to the British crown; and, in accordance with a notice previously given, the Earl of Derby, on Thursday, April 14th, moved, in the House of Lords, that a vote of thanks should be given to the governor-general of India, the commander-in-chief, and the other officers, civil and military, and to the non-commissioned officers and soldiers, both European and native, of the Indian army: and seldom had there been presented to the notice of parliament a finer theme for an orator capable of rising to the spirit of a great occasion. His lordship said, he rejoiced to inform the house that the rebellion was completely crushed; and that the time had now come to thank those who, under Providence, had contributed to the gratifying result; and said, the first person to whom he would propose a vote of thanks was the governor-general, Lord Canning. The noble lord then proceeded to address their lordships as follows:—

"In order to appreciate the services which have been rendered by her majesty's viceroy, the governor-general, Viscount Canning, it is only right that your lordships should bear in mind what were the circumstances under which that noble lord assumed his present onerous and arduous task. Immediately upon that noble lord's arrival in India, disaffection began to manifest itself in that country. A spirit was breaking out which had for a considerable time been smouldering, and perhaps overlooked and neglected; and just at the period when the noble lord undertook the duties of his arduous office, he was encountered by a sudden explosion. That outbreak occurred at a time when he was necessarily unacquainted with many of the circumstances of the country which he was about to govern. That explosion took him by surprise, and he was obliged to seek for counsel from those who had had the greatest experience in India. It is not surprising, therefore, that Lord Canning, on his first arrival, did not fully appreciate the magnitude of the danger by which he was surrounded; but from the time—and it was not long—when he became alive to the perils with which our empire in India was threatened, he applied, in grappling with the difficulties which he foresaw, and the dangers which he encountered, all the powers of a powerful mind, and all the faculties of an active and energetic disposition. He applied himself sedulously, diligently, and earnestly to the encountering of the great dangers by which he found himself surrounded. It is true that the noble viscount, from first to last, has pursued sagaciously, steadily, and resolutely, a consistent course—that he has never permitted his mind to be thrown off its balance by representations of exaggerated fears on the one hand, or by extravagant and

passionate resentment on the other. He has carefully and steadily watched the course of events. He has left untried nothing which could be done by indefatigable industry, by constant assiduity, and by a most patient attention to all the details of business, and all the means by which this great revolt might be encountered. He has been constant in his communications, and, I say it emphatically, most friendly in his intercourse with the commander-in-chief of her majesty's forces. He has had the happiness and the credit of solving the difficult problem which had been left to him to solve; he has brought the characteristic spirit of an English gentleman to the sagacity of a statesman. I think that your lordships will agree with me, that the period having arrived at which the noble viscount has successfully accomplished this great undertaking, your lordships and the other house of parliament ought not to grudge him the tribute of praise and thanks involved in the motion which I am now submitting; and your lordships will doubtless concur with me, that her majesty could not have chosen a more grateful or more fitting opportunity than the time at which the two houses of parliament are thus testifying their gratitude for his distinguished services, for manifesting her own sense of those services by conferring upon the noble viscount the dignity of a British earl."

Lord Derby then eulogised the services of Lord Elphinstone, the governor of Bombay, as only second to those of Lord Canning; and then referred to the eminent services of Sir John Lawrence and his distinguished brother, in the following terms:—"I hope that noble lords connected with the military service will not consider that I am treating them with disrespect, or that I am improperly postponing the consideration of their claims to the public thanks of parliament, if, following the order of the resolutions which have been placed upon your lordships' table, I first refer to those civilians who have distinguished themselves by their services during the period of this revolt. The first name to which I have to call your attention is one than which none is better known or more highly honoured in India. Two illustrious brothers have borne that name with the highest credit, and with the noblest distinction. One of them, unhappily, is no more. He has fallen in the active service of his country—fallen, unfortunately, too early to receive an intimation of the honours which his sovereign and parliament were prepared to bestow upon him. The other still survives; and I rejoice to think that Sir John Lawrence, who has arrived in this country within the course of the last few days, will have returned in time personally to know the appreciation of his services entertained by the country and by parliament; that he will be enabled, as a member of the Indian council, to give the benefit of his experience and advice in the management of important and arduous duties; and that he will see how heartily parliament appreciates that devoted attention to the public business which he ever displayed, and that firm courage and dauntless resolution with which, with the very insufficient means at his disposal, he met and sternly put down every appearance of disturbance in a district but newly acquired to the British empire—how by the very terror and awe inspired by his name, and by the respect due to his character, he not only altogether suppressed every symptom of revolt in that wild and newly-acquired district, but made his word law throughout that country, and made that country another England, pouring forth its supplies and reinforcements for the purpose of quelling the dangerous mutiny now happily extinguished."

His lordship then proceeded to recount the claims of Messrs. Frere and Montgomery, and of Sir Richard Hamilton, to the thanks of the country, for their able administration of extensive provinces (Scinde, Oude, and Central India), and for the conciliatory policy pursued by them, which had led to the most gratifying results, and for which her majesty had evinced her appreciation by conferring on the two first-named the distinction of civil Knights Commanders of the order of the Bath. He then said—"In turning from the civil to the military branch of the service, and in asking your lordships to give the thanks of the house to those gallant officers whose names are contained in the resolutions upon the table, I am aware—and I rejoice that it is so—that I shall not have to call your lordships' attention to any circumstances of such deep and thrilling interest, and of such painful excitement, as those which were commemorated on the last occasion, when a vote of thanks was proposed in this house. We have had, thank God! during the last year, or year and a-half, to record no such horrors as the massacre of Cawnpore—no

such atrocities as those that were committed before the siege of Delhi. We have not had to watch with that painful anxiety with which, day by day, during the progress of that memorable siege, we waited to see whether it was possible that success could crown efforts made with means so disproportionate to the opposition which they had to encounter. Nor have I to relate to your lordships the painful interest with which we received, mail by mail, the accounts of that marvellous advance of the lamented Havelock. We have not had to speculate in agonising suspense over the probable fate of the garrison of Lucknow, or to thrill with satisfaction at their first and temporary relief—to have our hopes again dashed by the news that the garrison was still beleaguered; and, at length, to have them crowned with satisfaction by the announcement of the final and complete relief of that heroic garrison. From objects of such thrilling interest—from events occasioning such deep anxiety, the statement which I have now to make to your lordships will be altogether free. It will relate, indeed, to occurrences with regard to which the public expectation has been aroused: but that expectation can scarcely be said to have taken the form of anxiety; for since the earlier days of the period to which I am about to refer, one unbroken chain of success has characterised our arms—success engendering confidence; and, to such an extent, that the slightest check has been regarded rather as an unlooked-for disappointment by the public, than as what might be anticipated from the nature of the struggle in which we have been engaged. Happily, also, the period to which I refer has not been marked by that lamentable loss of distinguished lives which characterised the early period of this revolt. Doubtless, many have fallen who have left a fearful gap in their own families and private circles—many who, if they had been spared, might have risen to the greatest eminence, and have held the highest stations in the public service; but of those who have filled a place in the eye of the country, there are comparatively few who have been cut off during the present year. Three there are, to whom your lordships will permit me to refer, by whose premature death the country has sustained the deepest loss. Mention has been already made in this house—but this is an occasion on which that mention may well be repeated—of the distinguished services of the late lamented Sir William Peel. To a bravery which almost verged on rashness, to a determination which bordered on the heroic, he joined those high qualities of frankness of disposition, openness of manner, cordiality of feeling, and great private virtue, which endeared him to his own friends and those who immediately surrounded him, as much as his public character entitled him to the respect and admiration of his country. Two others there were of a somewhat different character, in whose premature death India, at all events, has sustained a most serious loss. I allude to two men, both of them models of chiefs of irregular forces, which they themselves had formed and disciplined from among tribes and natives who had not long before been our enemies, over whom by their valour, their rigid discipline, and at the same time by their careful attention to their real wants, comforts, desires, and even prejudices, they had obtained an influence which was all but marvellous, and which enabled them to lead their troops, so formed and disciplined, into any danger and into any conflict with as much confidence as if they had been British soldiers. One of these men has met a soldier's death; the other, unhappily, has succumbed under labours which were too great even for his vast powers; but it will be long before the people of India, I am sure it will be long before the Punjab and Scinde, will lose the memory of Hodson's Guides and Jacob's Horse. With these exceptions, the list of those heroic men who have fallen in the service of their country since last year, is happily small. I turn with satisfaction to the more pleasing task of commemorating and recording the services of those who are still to receive the reward of their distinguished valour. I need say nothing in this house of the merits of Lord Clyde. His former services spoke trumpet-tongued for themselves; and his career in India, throughout, has thoroughly vindicated the high military character with which, at a moment's notice, he went out to that country at the call of his sovereign. Cool and cautious in coming to a determination, to such an extent that superficial critics ventured to put upon him the charge of slowness—always eager and anxious to spare the lives and labour of his men—unsparing, even to recklessness, of his own energies—wary in forming his plans—sagacious in making his combinations—he was determined not to strike before the time came for striking an effectual blow;

but, when that time came, the blow was struck, and it was with the full force of an entire campaign. He knew when to strike; and those whom he encountered found that he knew how to strike."

The noble lord then proceeded briefly to recapitulate the principal events of the campaign; in the course of which he recounted, graphically and eulogistically, the services of Major-general Mansfield (the chief of the staff), and of Sir James Outram, Sir T. H. Franks, Sir Archdale Wilson, Sir R. Napier, Sir E. Lugard, Sir Hope Grant, Brigadier-general Walpole, Sir Hugh Rose, Major-general Roberts, Major-general Whitlock, and Sir J. Michel; and he then called upon the house for a vote of thanks to the officers and men of the Indian army, as also to the men of the naval brigade, and their gallant commander, Captain Sotheby, and to such seamen and marines as had rendered important service in India. In conclusion, his lordship again congratulated the house on the restoration of tranquillity; and declared that, in Oude alone, 1,000 forts had been captured and destroyed, and 480 cannon, and a million stand of arms, had been taken. As far as military operations were concerned, he said he considered our task in India was accomplished; but a far more formidable one awaited us, seeing that it was now the duty of the British government to subjugate the hearts and affections, as well as the persons, of the people of India, by restoring to them the blessings of good government, by seeking their moral and social progress, by developing the resources of the country, by administering justice fairly and temperately; and, by such means, to satisfy the natives that it was not only their fate, but their interest, to remain true to their allegiance.

The noble earl concluded an eloquent and impressive speech, by moving the following resolution for the adoption of the House:—

"1. That the thanks of this house be given to the Right Hon. Viscount Canning, G.C.B., her majesty's viceroy and governor-general of India; the Right Hon. Lord Elphinstone, G.C.B., governor of the presidency of Bombay; Sir John Laird Muir Lawrence, Bart., G.C.B., late lieutenant-governor of the Punjab; Sir Robert North Collie Hamilton, Bart., agent to the governor-general in Central India; Henry Bartle Edward Frere, Esq., commissioner of Scinde; Robert Montgomery, Esq., late chief commissioner in Oude; for the ability with which they have severally employed the resources at their disposal for the re-establishment of peace in her majesty's Indian dominions.—2. That the thanks of this house be given to General the Right Hon. Lord Clyde, G.C.B., commander-in-chief in India; Lieutenant-general Sir James Outram, Bart., G.C.B.; Major-general Sir Hugh Henry Rose, G.C.B.; Major-general Henry Gee Roberts, Major-general George Cornish Whitlock, Major-general Sir Archdale Wilson, Bart., K.C.B.; Major-general Sir James Hope Grant, K.C.B.; Major-general Sir William Rose Mansfield, K.C.B.; Major-general Sir Thomas Harte Franks, K.C.B.; Major-general Sir Edward Lugard, K.C.B.; Major-general Sir John Michel, K.C.B.; Brigadier-general Robert Walpole, C.B; Brigadier-general Sir Robert Napier, K.C.B.; for the eminent skill, courage, and perseverance displayed by them during the military operations by which the late insurrection in India has been effectually suppressed.—3. That the thanks of this house be given to the other gallant officers of her majesty's army and navy, and also of her majesty's Indian forces, for the intrepidity, zeal, and endurance evinced by them in the arduous operations of the late Indian campaign.—4. That this house doth highly approve and acknowledge the valour, self-devotion, and brilliant services of the non-commissioned officers and private soldiers, both European and native, who have taken part in the suppression of the recent disturbances in India; and that the same be signified to them by the commanders of their several corps, who are desired to thank them for their gallant behaviour."

Lord Granville expressed the satisfaction which Lord Derby's full and accurate statement had afforded him. With singular pleasure he had heard the just and deserved compliment to the governor-general of India—a compliment which buried in oblivion all the former discussions on Lord Canning's conduct in the late terrible crisis. The conduct of the governor of Bombay, Lord Elphinstone, was beyond all praise, in the fearlessness with which he had assumed the heavy responsibility of denuding himself of troops, in order to supply the more pressing exigencies of other parts of India. After high praise of the commander-in-chief and his lieutenants, whose names had become household words in every cottage, he expressed his regret that it was impossible, from the precedents of the house, to include, in the present motion, the names of those whom death had removed. He of course alluded to such names as Havelock, Neill, Peel, and Henry Lawrence. He considered that the sanguine views which he had ever held as to the suppression of the rebellion, had been confirmed by the statement of Lord Derby as to the tranquillity of India. And if such was the case, it was now our duty to look to the social improvement of the country which had been reconquered by our efforts. He cordially supported the motion of Lord Derby.—The Duke of Cambridge said, that though it would be almost invidious, where

all had done so well, to bring particular names prominently forward, he still considered that the various brigadiers at the head of small columns, had deserved well of their country; and could not forbear expressing the high sense which he entertained of the services of Brigadiers Jones, Walpole, Horsford, Barker, Showers, Hope, and many others. It would be superfluous and preposterous for him to echo the praises of Lord Clyde, whose deeds were known not only throughout England, but over the whole continent. Never had a campaign, carried on by small movable columns, been so ably conducted. He expressed a high opinion of the abilities of Sir W. Mansfield, and the determination of Sir Hugh Rose and Sir J. Michel. The native troops, as well as the Europeans, had nobly done their duty; nor could he pass over in silence the efficiency of the commissariat. In speaking of the very great services of Sir John Lawrence, he would not omit the name of Sir Sidney Cotton, of whom he spoke most favourably. In reducing the number of troops in India, he trusted there would be no undue haste, but that due care would be taken for the exigencies of the public service.—Lord Ellenborough protested against the clubbing together the name of the governor-general of India with those of his subordinates, although they might be even governors of provinces. As the whole responsibility was with the governor-general, if he failed, so he should have his full meed of praise if he succeeded; and it was his opinion that the merits of the governor-general should be specified in a distinct vote. He found the same objection with the military vote; and thought that a distinction should have been made between Lord Clyde and his lieutenants. His object in addressing the house was to call attention to the merits of the troops; for the generals could not have done what they had done with troops of inferior mettle. In the highest terms he praised the qualities of the British soldiers, and declared that he knew of no war in which troops had displayed so much perseverance, pertinacity, and fortitude, under great sufferings and unparalleled difficulties.—Lord Gough and Lord Albemarle both cordially agreed to the motion; and Lord Derby asked permission to insert in the resolution the names of the naval brigade and of Captain Sotheby. In reply to Lord Ellenborough, he stated, that at first he intended to pursue the course of giving a distinct vote of thanks to Lord Canning and to Lord Clyde, but that he had been guided by the precedent of last year; and he assured him that he had no intention to deprecate the bravery and discipline of the gallant troops who had so nobly done their duty. The motion was then agreed to, *nem. con.*

In the House of Commons, on the same evening, a similar motion was brought forward by Lord Stanley, who went over the same ground as the preceding speakers, and bore eloquent testimony to the wisdom and valour that had justly earned the tribute he claimed for the army of India from the representatives of the people.—Lord Palmerston, in seconding the motion, said he could add nothing to the glowing and heartfelt eulogium which Lord Stanley had bestowed upon the distinguished men—civil, military, and naval—referred to in the proposed vote; but he asked permission to join in that eulogium, and drew the attention of the house especially to the conduct of the great number of civilians scattered over India, who had been exposed to imminent peril, and whose heroic endurance and gallant efforts had conferred additional lustre upon the records of the country to which they belonged.—Sir De Lacy Evans, Lord John Russell, Mr. Vernon Smith, and several other members, expressed their gratification at the proposed vote; and, ultimately, the motion, which embodied resolutions similar to those of the upper house, was agreed to, amidst the cheers of all parties.

It was observed, with respect to this honourable expression of a nation's thanks, that it had been the lot of this country to be so often engaged in hostilities, that a vote of thanks was almost an event of periodical occurrence; and as it generally indicated some foe overthrown, or some new dependency acquired, it bore a kind of analogy to a Roman triumph: but, in the present case, the event had an importance attached to it peculiarly its own;—the Indian mutiny had produced one of the greatest disasters, as its suppression had become one of the chief glories, of our modern history; and now that the heroic band upon whom the fate of an empire had rested, had nobly done their work, and made their names known as symbolic of triumph wherever men of European race were found, it must have been a task more agreeable than usually falls to parliamentary leaders, to recall

to memory their successive achievements, and to show how, from the depth of surprise and ruin, a few brave men had raised the name of their country to more than its former height of power and reputation. From the first ominous whisperings of discontent and conspiracy, to the flight of the last broken horde of rebels across the Nepaulese frontier, was a space of less than two years; yet, in that interval, the mightiest empire ever conquered by man, was to all appearances lost—and again won by the indomitable spirit of a few English soldiers. And it is to be remembered, that much of this glorious achievement—namely, the conquest of Delhi, and the relief of Lucknow, had been effected, and, in short, the whole neck of the rebellion had been broken, before a single regiment from England had set foot on Indian soil. A few hundred men of the Chinese expedition and from the Cape establishment, were hurriedly dispatched to the seat of war; and, for a time, no other help could be given to the handful of men who, at a distance of 700 miles from the coast, and with 100,000 fanatics in arms pressing around them, were able not only to hold their ground, but to wrest fortified places from the enemy, and rescue their own besieged countrymen from their merciless and blood-stained hands.

In looking back to the spring of 1857, from the corresponding season of 1859, it seemed as if a century had passed; so great and so portentous were the events that had intervened. At the former period, the East India Company possessed a name that had influence in the courts of monarchs. The admiration of continental Europe was freely given to the time-honoured body under whose auspices an empire had been created, and by which thrones had been overturned; as the living impersonation of that union of war and commerce by which, during progressive centuries, English greatness had been built up. At home, the *prestige* of the Company was considered as a talisman to insure the obedience of the natives; and the friendship of the chiefs, and the system of government which the Company had established—its machinery of residents, and magistrates, and collectors, was supposed to be identified, in the eyes of Asiatics, with the existence of the corporation itself; and thousands believed that any interference on the part of the crown and parliament in Indian administration, would not only disturb the allegiance of the people, but would actually destroy the foundations of the government. The spring of 1857, however, with its terrible eventualities, approached; and ere it had passed away, the mutterings of the storm burst into a desolating tempest, and wonder and alarm succeeded to complacent self-gratulation. People could not understand how the horrors that flashed suddenly upon them, could have been engendered, and acquired strength, without even a suspicion on the part of the authorities. They saw that governors, residents, and generals, and civil and military functionaries of all grades, were at fault—that not one of them had, even at the eleventh hour, a notion that one of the largest armies in the world was on the point of a general mutiny—that regiments were corresponding with regiments hundreds of miles off—that Mussulmans and Hindoos had laid aside their feuds to turn against their common ruler; and that the most warlike populations in India were ready to take part with the revolted troops. And thus, while the mine was being carried under their feet, while every servilely obsequious attendant knew that those he served were doomed, and that all around only waited for the signal to pour out their blood like water upon the earth, the victims of this great and fearful conspiracy had not a suspicion that anything was wrong! Such was the consequence of the gulf that existed between the Englishman and the native. The want of sympathy between the two races had induced an isolation of the dominant class, which now rendered it an easy, because unsuspecting, prey to the race by which it was surrounded. It was not possible to believe, that if the intimacy which it is said prevailed in the early days of English rule had still been cultivated, that things could have gone so far without the European community being warned of the impending danger. But as, in the New World, the antipathy of the Anglo-American to the negro has been carried to a degree which the contemporaries of Washington would not have imagined possible, so the English officer of some half century since, who lived on courteous terms with the native gentlemen of his neighbourhood, had been unfortunately succeeded by a class whom an unchecked and abused instinct of nationality, had influenced to look with immeasurable disdain upon all native society.

But this fault, great and damaging as it undoubtedly was in its consequences, was,

nevertheless, nobly atoned for by the courage, skill, and devotion that was shown in meeting the evil it had created. It is not again necessary, at the close of this work, to dilate on the exploits of Wilson, Nicholson, and Neill; on the siege and assault of Delhi; the marches and battles of Havelock; the relief of Lucknow; the chivalrous self-denial of Outram; the brilliant campaigns of Grant, Rose, and Franks; and those other events of marvellous enterprise and undying interest which have already been described in these pages, and are now fixed in the memory of the world: but it may be observed with propriety, that in the conduct of the war of the mutinies, consequences of no small moment to England were involved. Her enemies had thereby again beheld the obstinacy with which Englishmen can resist and avert danger in spite of overwhelming odds, and the energy with which they set to work to repair a defeat: and it probably will not soon be forgotten by them, that at the crisis of its emergency, and while its ill-wishers were prophesying that England would only be enabled to recover her dominion in the East by the help of continental arms, and at the cost of some of its most valued dependencies—a little force of Europeans had already stormed the capital of the Moguls—had avenged on the guilty princes of the house of Timur, the slaughter of our surprised and unprotected people, and had struck terror throughout Asia, from the Lower Ganges to the shores of the Caspian. To those men was it owing, that the splendour of the British name throughout the world had been rescued from a temporary dimness, and that the noblest empire that conduct and valour ever won, was definitively secured to the crown of their sovereign.

The numerical strength of the British army in India, was adverted to in the House of Commons, by Sir G. C. Lewis, on the 15th of April; and in reply to his inquiry, General Peel (then secretary for war), stated, that speaking from memory, the British army in India amounted to seventy-three regiments of infantry, and twelve of cavalry; of which aggregate force he wished to withdraw as many regiments as possible; but that in Lord Clyde's opinion, seven regiments of infantry and one of cavalry were all that could be spared.* He further stated, that with respect to artillery, the Indian government were preparing to raise twelve batteries of their own, which would render it unnecessary to increase that arm of the service by draughts from this country.

On Tuesday, April 19th, parliament was prorogued by commission; and, on the following Saturday, a notification in the *London Gazette* announced its dissolution, and that her majesty had summoned a new parliament, to meet for the dispatch of business on Tuesday, the 31st day of May then following.

On Sunday, the 1st day of May, pursuant to the royal proclamation already referred to, a thanksgiving service was performed at the churches and other places of worship throughout the country, the day having been set apart, by royal proclamation,† as one of thanksgiving to Almighty God, for the success of our arms in India, in suppressing the rebellion and restoring tranquillity. In the metropolis especially, the churches were well attended, and, in most places, a serious desire was evinced by the congregations to sympathise with the occasion. The following form of prayer and thanksgiving was prescribed for the occasion:—

"O Almighty God, who by Thy Providence orderest all things, both in Heaven and earth; we desire to approach Thee this day with the voice of praise and thanksgiving. Thou hast graciously hearkened to the supplications of Thy people, who humbled themselves before Thee, and turned to Thee for succour in the hour of danger. Thou hast heard our prayer: Thou hast maintained our cause: Thou hast frustrated the treacherous designs which were formed against our sovereign and her rule, and threatened British India with wasting and destruction. It hath pleased Thee to scatter our enemies, and to give victory to our arms, and to show that there is 'no restraint with Thee to save by many or by few.' We desire to confess that

* By an official statement published in April, 1859, the following appeared to be a list of the total number of officers and men serving in the "military force" in India, according to the latest returns—viz., in Bengal, her majesty's army, 46,388 men; her majesty's "Indian forces" (Indian artillery), 5,644; and local corps, 62,692: making a grand total of 104,724, besides 6,704 police. In the Punjab, 27,711 men, of whom 24,078 were serving in the Punjab and the Delhi territory, and 3,633 in Hindostan; and in Madras, 11,726 men of her majesty's army, and 72,964 of the Indian forces: making, together, 84,690 men.

† See *ante*, p. 650.

it is through Thy mercy that the hearts of our countrymen have remained undaunted in peril, and patient in suffering: Thou hast guided the counsels of our rulers, and strengthened the hands of our soldiers—Thou hast comforted the widows and the fatherless, and through Thy providence their affliction has been relieved. Grant, we beseech Thee, that every renewal of Thy lovingkindness towards our country may lead us to unfeigned thankfulness, and dispose us to walk more humbly and obediently before Thee.

"And now, O Lord, when through Thy goodness tranquillity has been restored to our rich and fruitful territory in the East, direct, we pray Thee, the minds of its inhabitants to the Author of our strength, and source of our power, even to Thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom Thou hast sent. Let the light of the everlasting Gospel disperse the darkness of idolatry and superstition which has encouraged their murderous rebellion. Teach them to prize the benefits which they have long enjoyed through the supremacy of this Christian nation, and so dispose the hearts of those who sojourn there, that they may set forth, both by word and good example, the blessings of Thy holy religion. So shall the calamities from which we have been mercifully relieved be overruled to the promotion of Thy glory, and the advancement of the kingdom of Thy blessed Son, our only Lord and Saviour: To whom, with Thee and the Holy Ghost, be all honour and glory, for ever and ever. Amen."

On the 7th of October, 1857, the nation had humbled itself under the chastening hand of the Almighty, for the calamities which had been brought upon a vast portion of the empire, through the revolt of its Indian army; and many who were seriously impressed with the lesson thus imparted to the rulers of the land, thought that humiliation had been too long delayed. The principal massacres had taken place before the end of July; Delhi had been stormed and recovered on the 14th of September; and the tide of misfortune was already on the ebb, when the attitude of deprecation and humility was assumed: and when, on the 1st of May, 1859, the nation was called upon to offer its thanksgivings for victories won and for the suppression of the revolt, the day of rejoicing at this moment was considered by many as premature as the one of humiliation had been tardy; for five of the prime leaders of the rebellion were still in arms against British rule, and there was, apparently, Inflammable material enough to raise a second flame throughout India, quite as destructive as that which was now flickering in the air.

And, unfortunately, another source of disquietude had by this time become visible, in the avowed objection of a portion of the European artillery and cavalry, belonging to the late East India Company, to be unceremoniously transferred to the Queen's service. The circumstances attending this unexpected difficulty (which first exhibited itself at Meerut, of ill-omened notoriety), appear to have been as follows:—

On Sunday, the 1st of May, the very day on which the people of the United Kingdom were offering their tribute of thanksgiving for the successful results of the war, a trooper of a cavalry regiment, stationed at Meerut, reported to his officer, that meetings of Bengal artillerymen, and troopers of the 2nd cavalry, had been held on the subject of their transference to the crown without being re-enlisted and attested, and receiving free bounty-money—a procedure which they looked upon as illegal and unjust; and that they were deliberating upon the means to obtain a formal discharge from the service of the Company, prior to entering upon any military obligation to the crown. The importance of this communication rendered immediate steps necessary to ascertain the fact of the objection, and the extent to which it had spread among the late Company's troops; and information was conveyed to General Bradford, commanding the district; who, the same day, held a council of war, at which it was decided to seize the ringleaders of the movement. Subsequently, however, the general determined to adopt a milder course; and, on the 2nd, the garrison was ordered out, each regiment on its own parade-ground. The general, with Brigadier Horsford, then inspected the Bengal horse artillery; after which the latter officer addressed the men; expressed his regret at the information which had been forwarded to head-quarters, and called upon such of them as were content to remain in the service of the Queen, to step forward. Although the appeal was answered by the prompt advance of about two-thirds of the men present, it was deemed advisable to deprive the corps of its small arms, and confine the men to quarters. The

general then proceeded to the parade-ground of the 2nd regiment of Bengal cavalry, where a similar proceeding took place; and it was here ascertained, that a plan of resistance to their regimental officers and superior commanders, had not only been organised by the malcontents, but that, at one moment, they were on the point of breaking into open hostilities against the authorities. To meet the emergency thus threatened, the commander-in-chief, then at Simla, was telegraphed to, and immediately came down to the scene of disquiet. Upon his lordship's arrival, he made known his views in the following general order:—

"The commander-in-chief has received a full report of the disquiet that has lately pervaded the minds of some of the men belonging to the Bengal artillery and 2nd European cavalry at Meerut.

"His excellency is happy to observe that the demeanour of the men towards their officers has been properly respectful.

"If a soldier has a complaint to make, or considers himself in any manner aggrieved, it is his right to make a proper and respectful representation through the usual channels to superior authority, and to ask for redress. But when this representation has been made, the soldier must be at his duty, and he must wait with due deference, patience, and obedience, for the ultimate decision.

"The commander-in-chief desires that the soldiers of the Bengal artillery and 2nd light cavalry, who have lately been struck off duty, may return to their duty.

"The major-general commanding the division is directed to convene a 'special court of inquiry,' for the purpose of hearing what every man has to say. The evidence taken will be the fullest possible. Each man in the two regiments will be called upon to state whether he has any grievance; and if so, what that grievance is, and what are the grounds of it. It is only by such means that the commander-in-chief can arrive at the real merits of the case, as considered by the men; and in this manner the assurance will be conveyed to them that every man's sentiments will become known to the highest authority, and that due consideration will be given to them.

"With regard to the question at issue—viz., the transfer to the crown of the late Company's army, which has caused the recent excitement—the men will perceive that it affects them in common with their officers, and all the services of the country, including the civil service. There is no distinction drawn between any ranks, and they are called on alike to obey an 'act of parliament.' But if any party feels himself aggrieved by an 'act of parliament,' he is at liberty to petition respectfully against it. It is on this ground that his excellency has ordered the court of inquiry—viz., to enable the men who consider themselves aggrieved by the late act, to give expression to their own views, or, in other words, to petition in a soldier-like and regular manner, which they understand themselves, against what they consider to be a hardship.

"The court of inquiry will assemble, composed as follows, immediately after the arrival of the judge-advocate-general at Meerut:—President—Brigadier Horsford, Bengal artillery. Members—Colonel Huyshe, Bengal artillery; Colonel Radcliffe, her majesty's 75th foot. Colonel Young, the judge-advocate-general of the army, will conduct the proceedings.

"The above order will be entered in the regimental and company orderly books of all the European corps at Meerut.

(Signed) "W. R. MANSFIELD, Major-general,
"Chief of the Staff."

The promulgation of this order was attended with the happiest effect, as it satisfied the men that the soldier's grievance would now be dealt with by a soldier, and that their interests would no longer be influenced by the opinion of crown lawyers, who, in answer to the question submitted to them as to the granting of additional bounty to the European troops formerly in the pay of the Company, and by it transferred to the crown, had decided against the right of the men to any such grant. Colonel Johnstone, assistant-adjutant-general of artillery, was immediately sent, by Lord Clyde, to Calcutta, to consult with the governor-general, and it was expected, also, to advise him that the claim of the late Company's European troops was equitable, and ought to be conceded.

It was unfortunate that the war which had ended so gloriously, and in which the valour of the troops concerned in this untoward movement was most conspicuous, should have had a cloud unnecessarily cast over its history in the very hour of consummating its triumphs; and it was felt by all reasonable people, that the mere fact of a legal opinion being thought necessary as to the validity of the transfer of the army, ought to have been a sufficient reason to accede to the desire of the men to be re-enlisted upon entering into the Queen's service, without raising an unseemly legal question upon the subject.

With regard to the justice of the claim on the part of the men, it might be supposed, that except it had become entangled in the meshes of legal subtlety, no question could have arisen about it. During the existence of the Company, a large number of men took service under it, and were bound to it by oaths and by the regulations of its service: they were not in the slightest degree identified with the service of the crown, nor were they recognised by it in its military arrangements. To the East India Company only, therefore, those men belonged: they were its soldiers, its defenders, the promoters of its interests and policy; and whatever might become of

their masters, there was certainly no existing obligation which united them, as a military body, to another ruler. Now, to say the least, it was culpable ignorance on the part of the governing powers, both in India and at home, not to have foreseen the complications which might naturally arise out of the transfer of a large army from one authority to another: besides which, it certainly appeared, that but slight account was taken of the feelings of these European soldiers of the Company, when they were unceremoniously handed over from Company to Crown, as if they had merely been so many bullocks or elephants. That they should object to this summary mode of disposing of their services, was but natural and reasonable. It was *not* right that the remnant of a glorious army, which had made for itself a history of undying fame, should be transferred like a drove of cattle, or a plantation of slaves, from one owner to another: and certainly somewhat more of consideration was due to those who had freely contributed their blood to win back a revolted empire. If, under the pecuniary embarrassments of the Indian government at the time of the assumption by the crown, the eight or ten lacs of rupees that might have been required for the re-enlistment of these men was really an object of difficulty, the least that should have been done, after explaining to them the strict *legal* view of the case as taken by the crown lawyers, was, to have told them that the value of their services could not be weighed against a paltry sum of money, but that the state was poor; and if it could not give them all they deserved, it would, at least, give all it could afford. Had such an appeal, or anything like it, been made to the late Company's troops, it is more than probable—nay, it is certain—that, with the generous spirit which animates the English soldier, not one man able to serve the Queen, would have refused to enlist into her Indian army.

The discontent which had exhibited itself at Meerut, was not, however, confined to that station. Allahabad, Berhampore, Lahore, and Gwalior, were equally disquieted by a sense of the injustice to which the late Company's troops were subjected; and it was rumoured and believed, that her majesty's 75th regiment, sympathising with the grievance of their new comrades in the service, had intimated that it would not act against them. Under such circumstances it was for the government to retrace its ill-advised step with the best grace possible.

Ultimately it appeared, that the wise measures taken by Lord Clyde to allay the discontent of the European forces of the late Company, resulted in the re-establishment of order and discipline throughout the whole body; and, by his sanction, the following petition to parliament was forwarded by the mail of the 25th of May, from the 3rd Bengal Europeans:—

"*To the Honourable the House of Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in Parliament assembled.*

"The petition of the undersigned men belonging to No. 3 and No. 8 companies 2nd Bengal European regiment of the late Hon. East India Company's service, on detachment duty at Sepree, Central India,

"Humbly showeth,—That your petitioners had the first official intimation of their services being transferred to the crown, without their consent or re-enlistment, on the 7th day of May current, by the following notification being read to them on parade:—

"'Fort William, 8th April, 1859.

"'No. 480 of 1859.—Upon the recent transfer of the forces of the late East India Company to the immediate service of her majesty, under the provisions of the Act of the 21 and 22 Vict., cap. 106, certain European soldiers of the East India Company's forces having claimed their discharge or their enlistment anew into the Queen's service with fresh bounty, the subject was brought under the consideration of her majesty's government, and referred to the law officers of the crown.

"'His excellency the viceroy and governor-general of India in council has now to announce to the European soldiers of her majesty's Indian forces in the three presidencies, who were formerly in the service of the East India Company, that her majesty's government have finally decided that the claim made to discharge, or re-enlistment with bounty, is inadmissible.

"'R. J. H. BIRCH, Major-general,
"'Secretary to the Government of India.'

"That your petitioners beg to bring under the notice of your honourable house, that they enlisted to serve in the Hon. East India Company's infantry, which the following question in your petitioners' attestation will show:—'8. Are you willing to be attested to serve in the East India Company's infantry, for the term of ten years, provided the said Company should so long require your services?' &c. That your petitioners beg to call the attention of your honourable house to another form of No. 8 question, contained in the schedules annexed to the Mutiny Act for the year 1854:—'8. Are you willing to be attested to serve in her majesty's army, or in the forces of the East India Company, according as her majesty may think fit to order?' &c.

"That your petitioners beg to submit to your honourable house that they were not attested by the latter question, but by the former; and that your petitioners beg humbly to submit their opinion that they could not, therefore, according to the meaning of the Mutiny Act, be transferred to her

majesty's service without your petitioners' consent, or without their re-enlistment.

"That your petitioners humbly submit to your honourable house, that such transfer, which has been decided by the law officers of the crown as being in accordance with the provisions of certain clauses of the India Act of last session, does not accord with the customs and usages of the service; as, when the crown assumed the government of the island of St. Helena from the late East India Company, the troops there belonging to the said Company were not then transferred to the crown, but received a free and unconditional discharge.

"That your petitioners beg also to submit to the consideration of your honourable house, that both in India and in the late East India Company's depôt in England, when a soldier belonging to the infantry was transferred to the cavalry, the said soldier had to be re-enlisted and resworn before a magistrate. How much more necessary does it appear to your petitioners that they should have been re-enlisted and resworn when your petitioners were transferred from the late East India Company's service to that of her majesty's Indian military forces.

"That your petitioners beg to submit that they are corroborated in the opinion of their right to claim their discharge, on the late East India Company ceasing to exercise governmental powers in India, by what her majesty's late first minister of the crown—Lord Palmerston—is reported to have stated, in his place in your honourable house, when introducing the first India Bill, that—'The other (the late Company's troops) will be transferred to the crown, for the service of the country, subject to certain conditions of service under which they have enlisted; and, of course, if any of them should dislike the change, they will be entitled to their discharge, if they prefer that, rather than to serve the crown on the same conditions and regulations as those underwhich they entered the service of the Company.'

"That your petitioners beg to submit to your honourable house, that they made their contract with the late East India Company, and no other party; and that the said Company, when ceasing their connexion with the government of India, could not, according to the usages and customs of the service, transfer your petitioners without their free will and consent; neither is it in accordance, your petitioners would beg humbly to submit, with the spirit of the recent legislation of your honourable house, to transfer British soldiers or British subjects from one service, or one master, to another, without their free will and consent.

"That your petitioners have been graciously permitted by Lord Clyde, commander-in-chief of the army in India (per mem. by his excellency, dated 'Kussowlie, 5th May, 1859,' par. 6, and published in Meerut divisional orders), to lay their grievances, entailed upon them by the recent India Act, as interpreted by the law officers of the crown, before your honourable house, that you may give them your most careful consideration.

"That your petitioners, while requesting of your honourable house to carefully consider your petitioners' case, by granting them that freedom of choice which your petitioners have endeavoured to show to your honourable house that they are entitled to, do not yield in loyalty to her most gracious majesty the Queen, nor in patriotism to their country, as the recent services of your petitioners during the mutiny in India have indubitably shown.

"And your petitioners, as in duty bound, will ever pray, &c.

"Sepree, Central India, May 16th, 1859."

(Signed by nearly the whole of the detachment.)

Such was the critical state of affairs as between the government and the late Company's army, when the mail of the 25th of May, 1859, left India—the men respectful, but firm in demanding their right; the government embarrassed by an unseemly blunder, which had placed it in an unsatisfactory point of view with the troops; and the natives watching with intense eagerness, in the hope that, from the unfortunate dissension which had arisen, they might be able to snatch an advantage that, if properly managed, would reopen the question of native supremacy.

The mail to which reference has just been made, also brought to England the decision of the Indian government upon the case of the nawab of Furruckabad, who, it will be remembered, was sentenced to death by a military commission sitting in his own capital, the execution being respited until confirmation of the sentence by the governor-general.* The reference to that high functionary resulted in an unwilling commutation of the sentence pronounced, which was notified in the following order:—

"Fort William, 10th May, 1859.

"His excellency the viceroy and governor-general in council has under his consideration the proceedings of the special commission assembled at Furruckabad for the trial of Tufuzzul Hosein, formerly nawab of Furruckabad.

"The charges against the prisoner were as follows:—

"'1st Count.—That he, Tufuzzul Hosein Khan, being a person owing allegiance to the British government, did rebel and wage war against the said British government from the month of June to the end of December, 1857, and acted as a leader and instigator in revolt in the Furruckabad district, one of the centres of rebellion during the above period.

"'2nd Count.—That he, Tufuzzul Hosein Khan, was a principal and accessory, before and after the fact, to the murder of many British subjects in the aforesaid district of Furruckabad and its neighbourhood, between the months of June and December, 1857, in the following instances:—

"'1st. To the murder of forty Europeans, more or less, on the Maunpoor Kutree, or sand-bank, in the month of July, 1857.

"'2nd. To the murder of European ladies and children, with Eurasians and native Christians, about twenty-two in all, on the Futteghur parade-ground, in the month of July, 1857.

"'3rd. To the murder of Kallay Khan, a loyal sepoy of the 10th native infantry, in the month of July or August, 1857.

* See *ante*, pp. 594—596.

"'4th. To the murder of two loyal Sikhs, names unknown, who were killed with Kallay Khan, sepoy, in the month of July or August, 1857.'

"After a patient, careful, and impartial trial, the Court pronounced the following verdict and sentence:—

"'The Court unanimously convict the prisoner Tufuzzul Hosein Khan, ex-Nawab Raees of Furruckabad, as follows:—

"'1st Count.—Guilty.—That is to say, that he, being a person owing allegiance to the British government, did rebel and wage war against the said British government from the month of June to the end of December, 1857, and was a principal leader and instigator in the revolt in the Furruckabad district, one of the centres of rebellion, during the above period.

"'2nd Count.—In the first instance, guilty of being an accessory, after the fact, to the murder of forty Europeans, or thereabouts, on the Maunpoor Kutree, or sand-bank, in the river Ganges, on or about the 4th of July, 1857.

"'In the second instance, guilty of being an accessory, before and after the fact, to the murder of twenty-two persons or thereabouts, being European, East Indian, and native Christians, men, women, and children, on the Futteghur parade-ground, on or about the 23rd of July, 1857.

"'In the third instance, guilty of being accessory, before and after the fact, to the murder of Kallay Khan, a loyal sepoy of the 10th regiment of native infantry, at Furruckabad, on or about the 29th of July, 1857.

"'In the fourth instance, guilty of being accessory, before and after the fact, to the murder of two loyal Sikhs, names unknown, at Furruckabad, on or about the 29th of July, 1857.

"'This Court having found the prisoner guilty as above, do sentence him, Tufuzzul Hosein Khan, to be hanged by the neck till he be dead; and do further adjudge that all his property, of whatever description, be confiscated; but in obedience to the orders of government appointing this commission, the execution of this sentence is suspended until receipt of further orders.'

"The governor-general in council entirely approves and confirms the verdict and sentence of the Court. The former is fully borne out by the evidence adduced on the trial, and the latter is the only sentence which could properly be passed on the criminal.

"But it came out on the trial, and was pleaded by the prisoner as a bar to the execution of the sentence, that before his surrender, a letter had been written to him by Major Barrow, the special commissioner with the camp of his excellency the commander-in-chief; in which he was invited to surrender; and that in this letter he was told that pardon had been extended to all who had not personally committed the murder of British subjects; and that, if he had not personally committed the murder of British subjects, he might surrender without apprehension.

"Whatever may have been the meaning of Major Barrow in addressing this letter to Tufuzzul Hosein, and whatever may have been the prisoner's understanding of it at the time, it is certain that, on the receipt of it, he immediately surrendered. He now claims the fulfilment of the promise of pardon made by Major Barrow; being found guilty, not of having personally committed the murder of English subjects, but of having been an accessory before the fact.

"The governor-general in council entirely condemns and disavows the act of Major Barrow, in making a promise contrary to the royal proclamation, and contrary to the express orders of the government excepting the prisoner from all benefit of pardon. But his excellency in council will not suffer it to be said that the prisoner, having been induced to surrender on the promise of a British officer in Major Barrow's position, has in consequence of that surrender been put to death for a crime of less degree than that which was designated by the officer as alone rendering him liable to punishment.

"The governor-general in council has therefore resolved to forbear carrying out the sentence of the Court on Tufuzzul Hosein, on the condition that he shall immediately quit the British territory for ever. If he accept this condition, he will be conveyed to the frontier as a convict under a military guard, and there set at liberty. If he refuse the condition, or if, having accepted it, he shall break it, or attempt to break it, now, or at any future time, the capital sentence pronounced upon him will be carried out.

"By order of the right honourable the governor-general of India."

Immediately upon this order reaching Futteghur, the nawab was required to select a place of residence; and he indicated *Mecca* as the most desirable city to which, as a Mussulman, he could repair. Short time was allowed for preparation. He expressed a desire to see his wives and children previous to his departure; but only the latter were allowed to have an interview with him. At its termination, he was heavily fettered, and lifted into a covered cart, the weight of the irons preventing him from using his legs; two servants were allowed to attend him, and 1,000 rupees were handed over to him for his subsistence, the whole of his estates having been confiscated. When placed in the vehicle that was to convey him to the verge of the British territory, he appeared depressed and haggard; and among the crowd of his countrymen who had gathered together to witness his departure, many were moved to tears by sympathy for him. A strong guard of the Futtehpore levy formed his escort, and six men with loaded rifles kept watch over his person.

The mails of the 3rd of June added little of interest to the information already possessed respecting the movements of the rebels; but the following despatch from General Mansfield, describes so fully the entire series of operations on the borders of Nepaul, from the time the rebel bands were driven across the frontier by Lord Clyde, that it may be properly referred to as an

official *résumé* of the closing incidents of the war:—

"*To Major-general Birch, C.B., Secretary to the Government of India, in the Military Department, Calcutta.*

"Army Head-quarters, Simla, 3rd May.

"Sir,—I have the honour, by order of the commander-in-chief, to bring to your notice for submission to his excellency the viceroy and governor-general, the series of events, in a connected form, which have taken place in the northern district of Oude, in Goruckpore, and the Nepaul frontier, since the rebels were driven across the border by his excellency at the end of last year.

"2. It will be in the recollection of the governor-general, that according to the orders of government, instructions were given forbidding the troops at that date to pursue their advantages beyond the limits of the British territory. The rebels had retreated *en masse*, under their principal leaders, to the far side of the first range of hills along which runs the frontier of Nepaul. They took up a position near the Sitka Ghât, beyond the first pass; while Brigadier Horsford remained encamped on the banks of the Raptee, within our own boundary. At the same time, the enemy, who had been beaten in the neighbourhood of Toolseypore by Sir Hope Grant, had crossed the mountains opposite the latter place. They remained in the first valley in considerable numbers.

"3. At the end of January, Maharajah Jung Bahadoor having expressed a wish that the British troops should operate in Nepaul, Brigadier Horsford was directed, by the commander-in-chief, to move forward and disperse the rebels, who were still encamped beyond the Sitka Ghât. On the 10th of February the brigadier gave execution to his orders, took all the guns possessed by the enemy, thirteen in number, and cleared the valley lying between the first two ranges of hills. He had been instructed not to pass the second range; to be most careful in his treatment of the Nepaulese authorities and people; to put an absolute stop to plunder; to forbid the slaughter of kine, even for the use of his British troops; and to cause the whole population to understand, that his march in Nepaul was merely for the purpose of securing tranquillity and safety for them. Brigadier Horsford's measures were taken, throughout, in exact accordance with his instructions. Compensation was paid for damaged crops; no cattle were killed; the strictest discipline was preserved; and it is gratifying to know that the inhabitants of the valley testified their regret when, the object of his mission having been accomplished, Brigadier Horsford retraced his steps after a fortnight's occupation of the country.

"4. Brigadier Horsford's advance caused great alarm among the followers of the Begum, the Nana, Bala Rao, Bainie Madhoo, Jodh Sing, Mahomed Hussein, and other rebel leaders, who still kept the remnant of the fugitive sepoys together. The numbers of these sepoys were largely stated by the Ghoorka authorities, much more so indeed than was guaranteed by facts. Nevertheless their numbers were considerable, and it is possible they may have amounted to ten thousand fighting-men, exclusive of the very numerous followers in attendance on the begum and the chiefs.

"5. At this time, Jung Bahadoor's plan to allow all the rebels who had retreated across the second range of hills to move eastward to the Gunduck, was communicated to the commander-in-chief by government. Jung Bahadoor proposed to allow this body of people to get as far as the Gunduck, where they were to deliver up their arms to his troops. They were then, having been furnished with passes by the British resident of Nepaul, to be led down in bodies of a thousand to Segowlie, for the purpose of being thence dispatched to their homes under the sanction of the British authorities. At the same time Jung Bahadoor manifested a wish, that a body of British troops should move eastward from Oude, through the Goruckpore district, to be ready to co-operate with his army, if the necessity should arise. There could be no doubt of the expediency of such a measure. It appeared extremely hazardous to the commander-in-chief to trust altogether to the likelihood of the sepoy disarmament, as proposed, and apparently hoped for, by Jung Bahadoor. If the sepoy rabble had appeared at the passes of the Gunduck, without a sufficient body of British troops being ready in that neighbourhood to bar their descent into our neighbouring provinces, the rich territory of Tirhoot would have been absolutely at their mercy. This being the case, no time was lost in organising, by order of the government, a sufficient brigade of all the arms, which was sent forward by corps, to take post at Ramnuggur, beyond the Gunduck, to the north of Segowlie. Colonel Kelly, 34th foot, was placed in command of it, and was carefully instructed to meet the views of Jung Bahadoor, if his design of the sepoy disarmament should succeed; but, in any case, to be prepared to bar the progress of any rebels into the district of Tirhoot. At the same time H.M.'s 19th foot was held in readiness at Dinapore, to be thrown across the Ganges and advance to Tirhoot itself if any contingency of the campaign should render the movement desirable. During this time all the posts were maintained along the border running to the north of Goruckpore and the Trans-Gogra districts. The Moradabad levy arrived in due course to reinforce the troops under Brigadier Horsford. H.M.'s 53rd regiment and the Kumaon battalion were detained on the frontier, although destined for other quarters.

"6. Reports reached his excellency, at short intervals, of the progress of the rebels through the country of Nepaul, till at length, at the beginning of March, they appeared on the Gunduck. It soon became evident that Jung Bahadoor's expectations would not be fulfilled; and that so far from any disarmament of the sepoys taking place, either voluntarily or in consequence of compulsion, by the Ghoorka forces, there was reason to believe that sympathy for the rebels existed in the Ghoorka ranks. After a time Jung Bahadoor again solicited the aid of British troops, and declared that the sepoys under the Begum and Nana, who had reached the Gunduck, were beyond his control. Thereupon Colonel Kelly was immediately authorised by the commander-in-chief, in anticipation of the orders of the governor-general (which followed shortly afterwards), to pass the border in his front, and to break up the bodies of rebels which had moved eastward. He was also empowered, by the commander-in-chief, to make requisitions on all the officers commanding troops along the Goruckpore frontier, that a combination among the various forces might be insured for the common object. Colonel Kelly acted in accordance with his instructions, and with great spirit. He advanced

with rapidity, pressed the enemy home, and defeated him twice with considerable loss, taking seven guns from him, and effectually turning the whole body to the westward.

"7. The immediate result of these actions was the surrender of some chiefs of note, including Mahomed Hussein and the ranee of Toolseypore. The rebel sepoys, fairly frightened, made to the westward; and in the second week of April, authentic reports reached the commander-in-chief that, although the begum was believed to be still not far from Bhootwal, she had but 150 followers with her. This was very important, as much alarm would seem to have previously prevailed in the Tirhoot district. At the request of the civil authorities in that quarter, her majesty's 19th foot and some Sikh cavalry had been pushed out in march to Tirhoot from Dinapore. This force did not encounter an enemy. In the course of his operations Colonel Kelly failed to meet with a friendly support from the Ghoorka generals, or other authorities. These latter persisted in their attempts to blacken the character of British troops in the court of Nepaul, ascribing all sorts of violence and outrage to them; and they actually asserted that villages, known to have been burnt and plundered by the rebels, had been destroyed by the British soldiery. This appears to have been met with great calmness; and his excellency has much pleasure in assuring the governor-general, that Colonel Kelly has been most explicit in his reports on the good discipline of the force under his command.

"8. About the last week of March, the rebels, who had been driven westward, began to show again in the mountain north of the Trans-Gogra district. They were starving, and in a most wretched condition. They had become satisfied that nothing was to be obtained in Nepaul and the Terai but the most scanty subsistence, and a certainty of jungle fever. They seem to have quickly made up their minds; and after having been engaged with great success by Lieutenant-colonel Gordon, of the 1st Sikh infantry, who repulsed them with considerable loss, part of them succeeded in passing Major Ramsay's post under the hills, and made for the Raptee. The troops at Nuwabgunge, Barabinkee, including the Queen's Bays, a regiment of Hodson's Horse, and a troop of horse artillery, were pushed on immediately across the Gogra to Secrora; and Major-general Sir Hope Grant, K.C.B., was directed to proceed himself in person to Fyzabad, to direct the operations which had now become necessary for the final destruction of the last remnant of the rebel army.

"9. Sir Hope Grant moved rapidly out of Lucknow with another regiment of Hodson's Horse and two horse artillery guns. When passing through Durriabad, he made arrangements for the safe guard of the Gogra, and then proceeded to Gonda, by way of Fyzabad. He was instructed to infuse the utmost energy into the movements and actions of all the officers commanding columns and posts in the district, and to desire that the rebels, who it was known were half-starved, worn-out, and utterly demoralised, should be attacked immediately, wherever they could be found, and under all circumstances. These orders have been acted up to, and several small affairs have taken place—all with signal success, with hardly any loss to ourselves, and giving the best practical proof of the abject state to which the rebels are reduced, and that the final and utter break-up of the last remaining insurgents may be immediately looked for. The affairs to which allusion have been made, are—one in which Major Cormick, of the 20th foot, commanded; two conducted by Major Vaughan, of the 5th Sikh infantry; another by Major Murray; a pursuit led by Colonel Walker, of the 2nd dragoon guards; and a spirited skirmish, under Captain Rennie. Brigadier Horsford having been in pursuit of the largest remaining body on the road towards the Khyreeghur jungles, came up with them near Buneapore on the 25th of April, and inflicted heavy loss. It is represented that the unhappy enemy is only seeking to escape observation. Several parties have given themselves up, both infantry and cavalry, besides various leaders, of whom perhaps the most considerable is Jodh Sing, the rajah of Churdah. The Nana lately wrote to Brigadier Rowcroft, attempting to excuse himself. In short, Lord Clyde would congratulate his excellency the governor-general on this irruption having taken place at a time when the arrangements made to meet such a contingency, three months ago, were still complete. Considering the temper of an influential portion of the Nepaulese, it is not impossible that the permanent residence of the rebel chiefs, and their sepoy followers in Nepaul, might have caused considerable trouble hereafter with the government of that country; while, at the same time, even their presence on a frontier we were unwilling to cross was a standing threat, and consequently not to be borne. It is therefore, in Lord Clyde's opinion, a happy circumstance that these wretched people were urged to take the course they have pursued, and so to bring on the immediate crisis, which cannot but prove the effectual termination of that great mutiny and rebellion which broke out exactly two years ago.

"10. In conclusion, his excellency desires me to say, that as soon as it can be done with prudence, no time shall be lost in sending the troops into quarters.—I have, &c.,

"W. R. MANSFIELD, Major-general,
"Chief of the Staff."

It now only remained for the home government, by its wisdom and liberality, and for the local government, by its energy and decision in carrying into effect the measures initiated by the supreme council for the tranquillity and future prosperity of the country, to consolidate and establish the fact of British domination over the races and creeds of its Indian empire. Fortunately, by the middle of the year, the power of guiding the destinies of that vast territory and its dependencies, had reverted to hands accustomed to govern, and who were, it may be said, personally identified with the epoch of the revolt. Shortly after the assembling of the new parliament, in June, 1859, a vote of censure and want of confidence was carried, in the House of Commons, against the administration of Lord Derby; in consequence of which his lordship and colleagues resigned office, and were succeeded by Viscount Palmerston,

as leader of a liberal and progressive cabinet. The seals of the secretary of state for India, first held under the imperial government by Lord Stanley, now passed into the hands of Sir Charles Wood, a statesman of acknowledged experience in Indian affairs, and whose appointment to the important office was looked upon with satisfaction by most parties interested in the future welfare of the country over whose councils he was called upon to preside.

We shall here close the history of the mutinous outbreak of 1857-'58. It is not necessary again to recall to the mental vision of Europe the splendour of the whole panorama of Indian history, from the sailing of the first English merchant ships into the Gulf of Cambay, in 1612, and the gorgeous embassy from James I. to the great Jehangeer (some three years after), down to the successful development of English civilisation in all its forms of railways, canals, roads, bridges, colleges, and village schools—that have altogether changed the face of the country, and, in the ordinary course of events, will doubtless ultimately change the very natures of its people. There is certainly no need that we should extend these pages merely to remind Englishmen of the transcendent valour exhibited, in the distant fields of Hindostan, by their countrymen, upon all occasions of need, from the days of Clive to those of Colin Campbell; or to tell them of the energy of the Anglo-Indian government, when really roused to action—from its heroic defiance of the tyrant of Mysore, in 1780, down to the triumphant issue of the late contest, in 1859; since the dignity and ability which characterised the powerful rule of the merchant princes of England over the diademed potentates and swarming millions of their Asiatic empire, has been patent to the world, from the first hour in which the East India Company found work for its hand to do, to the moment when the knell of its departing greatness burst upon the astonished ear of Europe.

The almost unbroken series of brilliant triumphs—by which the hydra of rebellion was crushed, and the mild sceptre of Queen Victoria was extended over a land yet bleeding from the ravages of a cruel and unprovoked war—had, by the Midsummer of 1859, left little ground for apprehension as to the permanent restoration of tranquillity among the varied races that had become subject to her majesty's direct rule. By valour and energy India had once more been fairly conquered in the field, and it was now that the triumphs of civilisation and of peace were to recommence. The task of reconciling antagonistic races and creeds to the rule of strangers, and of producing order from chaos, and safety from the midst of danger, might be difficult and tardy; but it was not insurmountable; for the *way* was manifest, and the *will* was to it.

We have thus traced the progress of the sepoy revolt of 1857, from its outbreak to its close—following the march of outrage, step by step, to the consummation of its punishment. Remembering that

"A honest tale speeds best when plainly told;"

it may be that less attention has been paid to ornamentation of style, than to fidelity of detail: and thus, if the work be not so eloquently phrased as some might desire, it nevertheless presents to the world a record of events compiled from authentic sources of information, and as correct, in regard to facts and dates, as careful reference to the irregular and fitful issue of official reports, military despatches, and parliamentary documents, combined with patient investigation, have rendered possible. In the earlier stages of the mutiny, when the mind of Europe was kept in a state of fevered excitement by reports of outrage that reached this country, in the most exaggerated form, much caution was necessary in sifting the *husks* of fiction from the *grains* of truth: and it is confidently hoped that the result of the endeavour to record facts only, is such as will entitle these volumes to rank among the standard histories of the era to which they belong.

THE END.

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